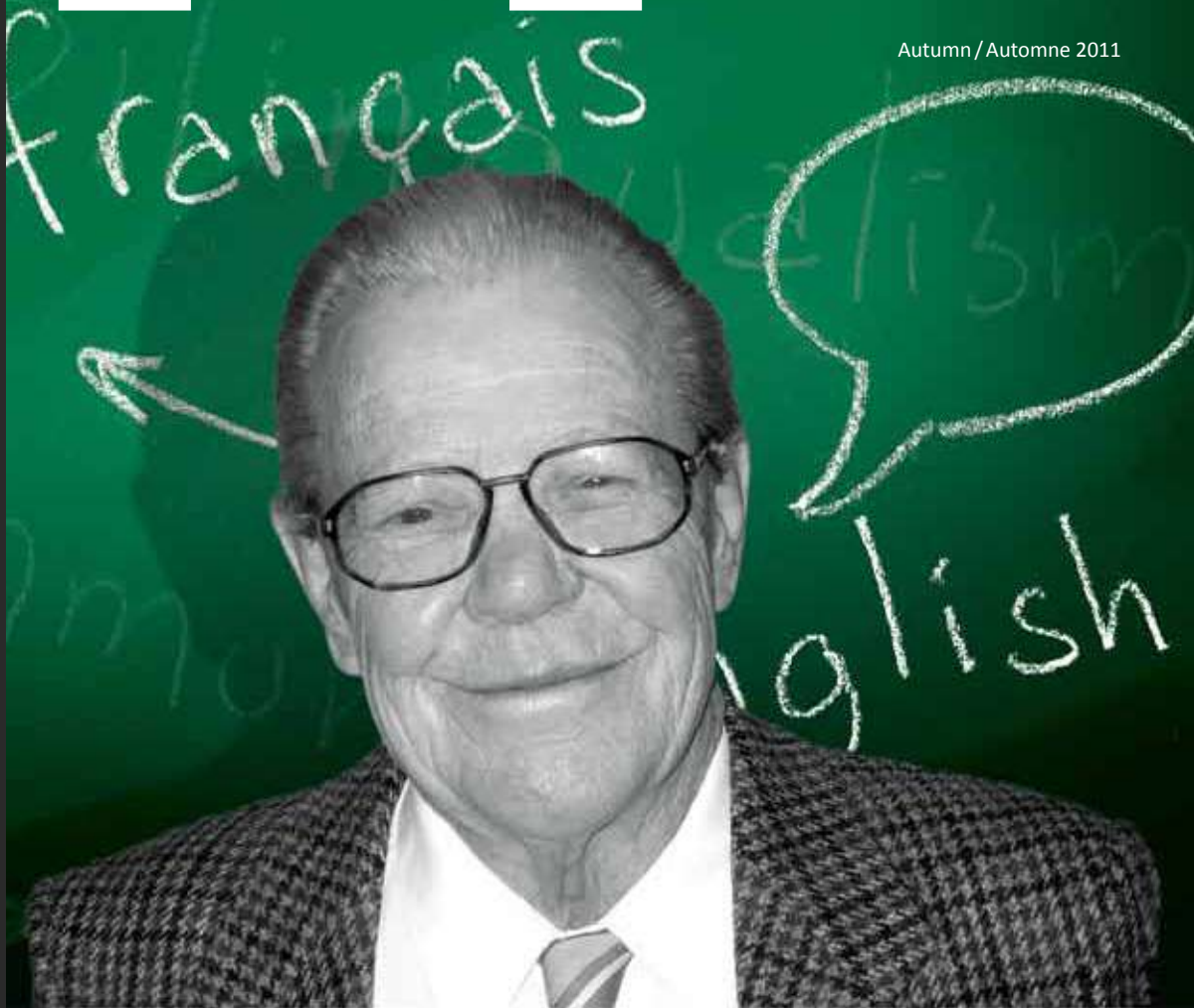# Canadian Issues
Thèmes Canadiens

Fred Genesee

Graham Fraser

Canadian Parents for French

John W. Berry

Dr. Merrill Swain

Sharon Lapkin

Allan U. Paivio

Robert C. Gardner

Howard Giles

Donna Christian

Jack Jedwab

Richard Y. Bourhis

James Costa

Roy Lyster

Dr. Victor C. Goldbloom

Garth Stevenson

Donald M. Taylor

Reed Scowan

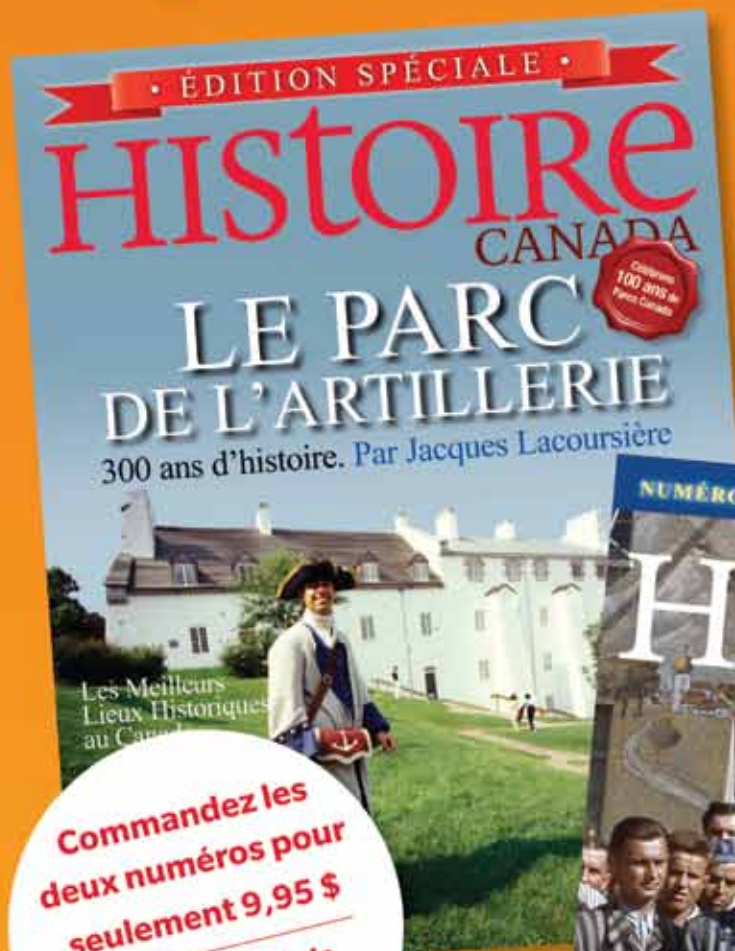Geneviève Audet

Frédéric Dejean

Marie Mc Andrew

WALLACE LAMBERT

The Quiet Evolution of Language and Cultural Relations
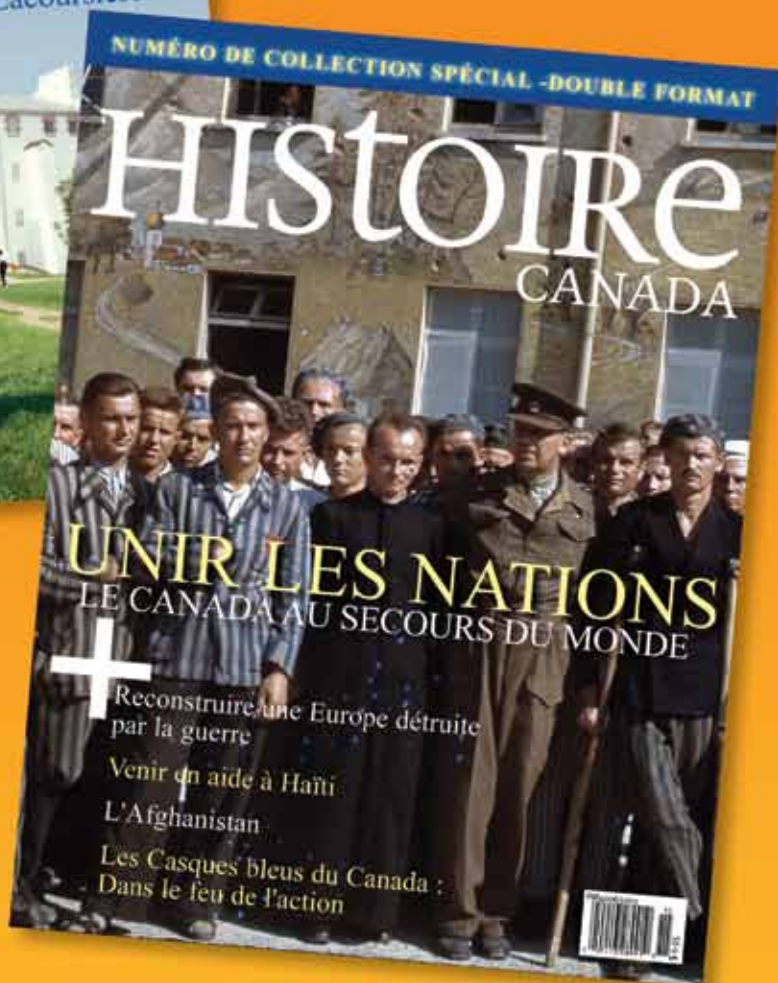## L'évolution tranquille du langage et des relations culturelles

CANADIAN ISSUES
THÈMES CANADIENS

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INTRODUCTION

Fred Genesee is Professor in the Psychology Department at McGill University, Montreal. He has conducted extensive research on alternative forms of bilingual and immersion education for language minority and language majority students. His current research interests include language acquisition in pre-school bilingual children, internationally-adopted children, second language reading acquisition, and the language and academic development of students at-risk in bilingual programs. He is the recipient of the Canadian Psychological Associate Award for Distinguished Contributions to Community or Public Service and the 2-Way CABE Award of Promoting Bilingualism.

On March 17 and 18, the Association for Canadian Studies hosted a symposium to celebrate the life and work of the late Professor Wallace (Wally) E. Lambert (1922 – 2009). Organized by the Association for Canadian Studies, *The Quiet Evolution of Language and Cultural Relations in Canada: A Tribute to the Work of Wallace Lambert* brought together researchers, former colleagues, teachers, politicians, and the media to celebrate one of Canada's most accomplished research psychologists. Lambert was one of the first researchers to recognize that bilinguals are probably more common than monolinguals around the world and, thus, deserve a central focus in the work of scientists. While Lambert's work is known and celebrated around the world, it was here in Montreal that the influence of his work has been felt most.

Lambert was a professor of psychology at McGill University from 1954 until 1990. He was one of the founders of modern-day psycholinguistics as well as the social psychology of language and is widely considered as the father of the scientific study of bilingualism. Lambert is perhaps best known in Canada for his research on French Immersion. Widely seen at the time as "an experiment" in second language education, English-speaking students entered the very first French immersion classroom in September 1965 in St. Lambert Elementary School (coincidentally also the name of the school). The immersion approach (or what is referred to as the "Canadian model of bilingual education" around the world) is now taken for granted, but it was a radical shift in second language education when it started up. Lambert's studies and those of his colleagues, and most notably G. Richard (Dick) Tucker, reassured parents and educators that the gift of bilingualism through immersion did not mean losing competence in one's native language or falling behind in academic domains; to the contrary, itoften resulted in superior abilities. Lambert and Tucker's pioneering work on immersion changed the educational landscape of Montreal and Canada for ever. At the same time, Lambert always cautioned that immersion in a second language had to be handled carefully when it came to children who speak minority languages; these children, he advised, needed to have their native language reinforced to ensure that bilingualism did not "subtract" from their native language competencies. The distinction between additive forms of bilingualism, as exemplified in immersion, and subtractive forms of bilingualism, as commonly occurs when immigrant children who speak other languages learn the dominant language of the community, but lose their home language in the process, has been widely adopted around the world as a useful and realistic way of viewing alternative forms of bilingualism. In hindsight, we can see that the St. Lambert experiment, was much more than a brilliant innovation in second language education, but an experiment in bridging the cultural divide between English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians. Moreover, the St. Lambert experiment foreshadowed the modern global era where knowledge of other languages and familiarity with other cultures has become commonplace in many schools around the world.

Lambert's pioneering work on immersion alone would have assured his place in the pantheon of scientific stars. But, his contributions to our understanding of bilingualism included much more. Along with Robert Gardner, his graduate student, he undertook innovative and ground breaking research on how learners' attitudes and motivations influence their success at learning. Their research together discovered that while some learners are motivated to learn a second language for instrumental purposes (e.g. to get a job), others are motivated by integrative purposes (e.g., to become part of the second language community). These studies changed how educators thought about their students and how best to design second language curricula to take advantage of the power of integrative attitudes.

Lambert's brilliance as a research psychologist lay in his ability to identify important issues and design simple but elegant ways of exploring them. There is perhaps no better example of this than his creation of the "matched-guise" technique in which people are given short samples of people speaking different languages and are asked to give their impressions of the speakers. Unbeknownst to the subjects, they are listening to the same individuals. Lambert's seminal

studies using the matched-guise technique showed how people's impressions of one another can change radically depending on which language they hear one another using. For Montrealers, these studies provided a graphic example of the power of stereotypes and how language is often part of our stereotypes of one another.

Not content with studying educational and social aspects of bilingualism, Lambert also conducted seminar studies on neuro-cognitive aspects of bilinguals long before sophisticated neuro-imagine techniques, like fMRI, were even imagined. Lambert sought to understand how bilinguals represent their language in the brain – were they stored separately or in common memory systems; were they represented in the same or different parts of the brain; how did bilinguals avoid becoming confused as a result of having two languages in their brains; and what, if any, were the costs of switching between languages when speaking or reading. Studies of bilingual brains were fringe issues when Lambert carried out these studies with his graduate students and colleagues, but they have become commonplace and indeed they are critical as psychologists seek to understand language and the brain more generally.

Lambert's pioneering work, often carried out in colla-boration with students and colleagues, was not the stuff only of researchers and scientists, but had enormous influence on educational and social practices and policies more generally. Again, there is no better example than immersion education which has become part of the educational offerings of many school boards across Canada, in the U.S., and beyond. His seminar work on attitudes, motivations, and intergroup perception resulted in research methodologies and theories that have been used by policy makers around the world as they strengthen efforts to promote language in their community. Wally was in demand to speak with parent parents who wanted questions about the benefits (and costs, if any) of raising and educating their children in two languages.

Although his influence as a scientist is far-reaching, equally important is the strong personal impact "Wally"

had on his students and colleagues. His eccentricities were well-known and much loved and his intellectual curiosity and ever playful style endeared him to all who knew him. He never took himself seriously although everyone else around him did. The human element was never far from his drive to understand bilinguals and bilingualism. Indeed, his greatest contributions were in showing that bilingualism confers unique cognitive and social advantages for individuals; that one can circumvent barriers of language and culture by understanding the role of language in our everyday lives; that our attitudes toward other groups and one another affect and are in turn affected by our motivation to learn the language of that group; and that the consequences of learning a second language depend on the way the language is taught and on the cultural context in which teaching occurs. As globalization inexorably shapes the world, Montreal is seen by people around the world as a reassuring example of how bilingualism can enhance the lives of individuals and their communities. Wallace Lambert's work continues to reassure and guide us in our endeavor to live, learn, and work in two languages.

The articles in this special issue of Canadian Issues/ Thèmes Canadiens, reflect the diversity and creativity of Lambert's work on bilingualism throughout the many years he was at McGill. Lambert's widely known research on immersion and its influence on the development of bilingual/ immersion education in Canada, the U.S., and beyond is reflected in the articles by Swain and Lapkin, Christian, and Lyster; his pioneering work on intergroup relations and the social psychology of language and bilingualism are the focus of the articles by Gardner, Giles, Berry, and Taylor; bilingualism and cognition is the focus of the article by Paivio; his impact local and national language policies is reflected in the articles by Graham Fraser and Victor Goldbloom (current and past Commissioner of Official Languages); and the significance of his collective work on the lives of families in Canada is discussed by the organization, Canadian Parents for French. The articles in this volume give a glimpse of Lambert's brilliant research career.

IMMERSION SCHOOLS: WALLACE LAMBERT'S LEGACY

A well-known and respected journalist and author with close to 40 years of journalistic experience, **Graham Fraser** was educated at the University of Toronto, where he earned a Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts in History. Prior to his appointment as Commissioner of Official Languages, Mr. Fraser worked as a national affairs writer with *The Toronto Star*. Over the years, he has held positions of increasing responsibility with various newspapers and periodicals, including Montreal Bureau Chief with *Maclean's*; Quebec City Bureau Chief with the *Montreal Gazette* and then *The Globe and Mail*; and Parliamentary Correspondent, Ottawa Bureau Chief and later Washington Bureau Chief with *The Globe and Mail*. He was a weekly columnist for *Le Devoir* from 1995 to 2000 and for *The Toronto Star* from 2000 to 2005 and was a regular commentator on the TFO public affairs program *Panorama*.

During a long and distinguished career that has straddled the language divide, Mr. Fraser has reported in both official languages on issues affecting Canada and Canadians, including cultural and foreign policy; constitutional debates and negotiations; and provincial, national and international politics. He has been invited to speak on official languages issues to the minority-language organizations of Quebec, New Brunswick and Ontario, as well as minority-language organizations working at the national level, and has given lectures on language policy as an adjunct professor at Carleton University as well as at other universities.

Mr. Fraser has written five books, including *Fighting Back: Urban Renewal in Trefann Court* (1972), *Playing for Keeps: The Making of a Prime Minister* (1988) and *Vous m'intéressez: chroniques* (2001). His latest book, *Sorry, I Don't Speak French*, was published in March 2006 and helped stimulate renewed public discussion of language policy in Canada. Mr. Fraser is also the author of *PQ: René Lévesque and the Parti Québecois in Power*, which dealt with Quebec language policy and which was nominated for the Governor General's Literary Award for non-fiction in 1984. In 1979, he helped found the Centre for Investigative Journalism, the bilingual precursor of the Canadian Association of Journalists, and served on the Centre's board for two terms. He was the first recipient of the Public Policy Forum's Hyman Solomon Award for Excellence in Public Policy Journalism. In recognition of his achievements, he was awarded honourary doctorates by the Université Sainte-Anne (Political Science) and the University of Ottawa (Doctorate of the University) in 2008.

ABSTRACT

In the early 1960s, a dozen parents in the South Shore Montreal suburb of St. Lambert sought out academic specialists in cognition and language learning at McGill, psychologist Wallace Lambert and neurologist Wilder Penfield. The result was an experiment that began at Margaret Pendlebury Elementary School in St. Lambert in 1965. The highly successful experiment led to the widespread introduction of French Immersion in Canada, and around the world, but its success was based on a number of key elements: parental support, the political environment, and the fact that French was easily accessible as a public language outside the school. Despite the success of the program, myths have persisted to the effect that immersion makes it harder for students to learn English. New myths have emerged, suggesting wrongly that immersion is inappropriate for immigrants to Canada, and that immersion programs are exclusively for elite students, and that immersion is the only way to master French as a second language. Second language learning has also become a priority in Quebec, with the introduction of a semester of intensive English for Grade 6 students in French-language schools. This has proven to be controversial for some, but has strong majority support from parents, who think their children have a much better chance at succeeding in life if they are bilingual.

Ginette Munson looks back on her time at Margaret Pendlebury Elementary School with warmth and pride. It began in 1967, when she joined an experimental program that had begun in 1965, teaching Grade 4 to the very first class of French immersion students.

Originally from New Brunswick, Ms. Munson was living in Saint-Lambert, a suburb on the south shore of Montreal. Her husband, Jim Munson, was then a radio reporter, and her father-in-law was a minister in Saint-Lambert.

She was the first Canadian teacher hired to teach at the Saint-Lambert experiment; for the first two years, the teachers had been European. Even though she came late to the experiment, she knew right away that the project was succeeding.

"I had a great feeling of working for a successful project," she told me, recalling the parents' enthusiasm, the teachers' pride and the researchers' commitment. "The collaboration with McGill was extraordinary."

All of this was happening in a very particular context.

"It was a remarkable period in Montreal: Expo 67 was just across the river from Saint-Lambert, and optimism was in the air. The economy was good and parents had a sense of innovation – those were very positive conditions."[1]

Forty-five years later, one of her former pupils, Doug Mitchell, is a prominent lawyer in Montreal who practises in both languages.

He spent two and a half years in the experimental program, and then his parents moved.

"It's a testament to the program that when we moved to Chambly, I was able to attend a French school and make a go of it without missing much of a beat," he told me. Two and a half years in immersion and two years in French school were the sum of his education in French, but despite the fact that the rest of his schooling was in English, he found that his knowledge of French always returned.

"Whatever they did, they did right," he said.[2]

As further proof of the impact of the experiment, the Minister of Canadian Heritage, James Moore, is a product of immersion in British Columbia.

Minister Moore's family is an example of what it takes to keep an immersion system in operation. His mother fought to bring immersion to the British Columbia town where she was teaching. His sister is a French immersion teacher. And just over a year ago, I met his father, who proudly told me that he had participated in the exercise of staying up all night, with different members of the family taking shifts, so that his granddaughter could be enrolled in a French Immersion program.

I had conflicting emotions when I heard that story. On the one hand, the level of commitment – that a family would organize itself in shifts around the clock, waiting in line outside the school board office – was inspiring. On the other hand, the fact that this is still necessary, four decades after Wallace Lambert's wildly successful experiment, is cause for concern.

But let's go back to the beginning of the Saint-Lambert experiment.

As Fred Genesee has reminded us, the development of an immersion program occurred not because of some elitist theory that was tested on unsuspecting children. It happened because parents wanted it to happen. They knew that the traditional way of learning French had not worked for them, and they wanted something better for their children.

Twelve parents from the South Shore suburb began to meet, and formed the St. Lambert Bilingual School Study Group. They sought out Wallace Lambert, already an eminent psychologist and researcher at McGill University, and renowned neurologist Dr. Wilder Penfield of the Montreal Neurological Institute.

"The parents felt their children were being short-changed and should have the opportunity to become 'bilingual' within the school system, since it was so difficult to achieve this skill outside of school," recalled one of the parents, almost a decade later.[3]

As Dr. Genesee put it, "These parents felt that their lack of competence in French contributed to, and indeed was attributable in part to, the two solitudes which effectively prevented them from learning French informally from their French-speaking neighbours. Their inability to communicate in French, they felt, was also attributable to inadequate methods of second-language instruction in the English schools."[4]

Let's think back to what the mood was in Quebec in 1965. The Quiet Revolution was well underway. The FLQ had set off bombs three years earlier. Pierre Bourgault was attracting large crowds to meetings of the Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale. The English community was feeling uneasy and confused; the unwritten rules that had been in place for over a century – which meant that, to succeed in life, Anglophones did not have to learn French but Francophones had to learn English – were breaking down. Members of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism had been shouted down at heated meetings in Quebec City and Sherbrooke in 1964, and had produced a preliminary report in 1965 saying that Canada was passing through the greatest crisis in its history.

For a dozen parents in a South Shore suburb to seek out academic experts like Wallace Lambert and Wilder Penfield to figure out a way to make sure that their children would learn to speak French better than they could was an act of citizenship of the highest order. In its own way, it was a statement of their commitment to living in Quebec as a minority. It was their echo of what Frank Scott expressed at a public meeting of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in Sherbrooke in 1964 when he was told that the English community should pack up and leave, the sooner the better: "J'y suis, j'y reste."[5] These parents were

not going anywhere – this was their home and they were determined to make it a better place for their children.

It is well known how successful the experiment was and how widely it has been adopted elsewhere. But there are some key elements in the Saint-Lambert experiment that need to be highlighted. To begin with, it was a project driven by parents, rather than by academics, teachers or administrators.

Parental support has been critical to the success of immersion. In fact, without parental support – indeed, insistence – immersion programs would gradually erode. It is said that necessity is the mother of invention, and in this case, parents showed great inventivenessand perseverance. Parents have lobbied for immersion, sat up all night for it, recruited teachers for it and demonstrated for it. School boards and governments have resented it and resisted it. It took massive demonstrations by parents in New Brunswick to force the New Brunswick government to back down from its plan to undermine immersion.

Another aspect that must be remembered is that the students in Saint-Lambert were part of a minority, embarking on an experiment to learn the language of the majority. But while French was the language of Quebec, Doug Mitchell remembers that it was not the language of Saint-Lambert. "I don't remember ever, ever, ever speaking French in Saint-Lambert or hearing French," he told me. "The Mayor was our neighbour, and I don't think he spoke any French. Quebec hadn't changed by then. Quebec only began to change after the Parti Québécois was elected [in 1976], which makes the success [of the immersion experiment] even more dramatic."

Now, of course, it is much easier for students in French immersion schools in Quebec: hiring teachers whose mother tongue is French is easy; practising French by stopping in a store on the way home from school is natural; subscribing to a French daily newspaper is not a problem.

For immersion is much more than academic courses; it goes beyond school walls. It is a holistic experience, and the degree of immersion of the learner has an impact on its success; in other words, a student's success depends on his or her experience as a whole, in terms of both academic curriculum and cultural exposure. The parents of the students in Saint-Lambert knew that life in Quebec was lived in French, and they wanted their children to be able to understand that life and participate in it.

I say this because those conditions are not easily accessible in the rest of Canada. In the rest of Canada, it is difficult for students to hear French spoken outside the classroom. It is difficult to find teachers whose mother tongue is French. To many Canadians, French is *still* an obscure concept, and its value in their daily lives and activities has yet to be demonstrated – out of sight, out of mind. Efforts to justify the relevance of and explain the motivation

behind any initiative to introduce second-language French programs to unilingual Anglophone parents who are not touched – in any way, shape or form – by French Canadian realities result in a debate that unfolds again and again.

For a moment, I will now speak as a parent rather than as Commissioner. All of my older son's elementary education took place in French schools in Quebec City, and when we moved to Ottawa, he entered Grade 7 in an immersion program. After having spent six years in French schools, he was appalled at the quality of French spoken by his immersion classmates.

I could understand this: most of the French his classmates had heard was being spoken by their English-speaking friends. But I can't help noticing how many of those former classmates are now, two decades later, living in Montreal or Paris, or rising in the federal public service in bilingual-imperative positions.

It has now been 46 years since Wallace Lambert's experiment and, unfortunately, there are still myths regarding immersion that must be dispelled. It is clear – as demonstrated by study after study by the people at this conference – that immersion students do not lose their English. My own experience, and my personal observation as a parent and grandparent of immersion students, is that learning a second language makes you more attuned to the nuances in your own language.

New myths have emerged that also need to be challenged. Newcomers to this country should be encouraged to send their children to immersion, rather than discouraged from doing so. Dissuasion often comes from misinformed educators who perpetuate the myth that French immersion is too hard for allophones and will lead to linguistic confusion. Many allophone parents who enquired about French immersion programs were advised by teachers and principals to reconsider and choose the core English program.[6] The main reason given was to prevent the potential mixing up of languages. But allophone parents who have registered their children in immersion programs – despite educators' concerns – have said that not only do their children not mix up the languages, they end up being more proficient in their own language, and now speak two or even three languages without confusing them. Most parents who chose immersion for their children are satisfied with their decision and with the programs offered.

I recently met a law student from Toronto who told me that she is now studying in English for the first time. Her parents had come from Bosnia 20 years ago and, even though they spoke little English, placed her in French immersion. She proudly told me that she had gone all through elementary and high school in immersion, had majored in Spanish at Glendon College – York University's bilingual college – had taken some common law courses in French at the University of Ottawa, and is now at the University of Toronto's law

school. She speaks Serbo-Croat, English, French and Spanish and is learning the language of the law.

Another myth that needs to be dispelled is the belief that immersion programs are exclusively for the elite, the straight-A students or native English speakers. Children who have any kind of learning disorder are often excluded from immersion programs for fear of compounding the problem. Learning disabilities are not more easily overcome if a child is removed from an immersion program. For example, children with executive functioning disorder have difficulty expressing what they know, communicating details in an organized fashion, and telling a story in the right sequence. This has nothing to do with language in and of itself; yet, when a child is diagnosed with this disorder, the immediate response of the school is to remove him or her from immersion, as if second-language learning were the cause of the difficulties. The result has been that children with any kind of problem have been systematically weeded out of the immersion stream and placed in the English stream. Then the school or the school board or the Ministry of Education – or even the local newspaper – complains that immersion is elitist.

As Dr. Genesee points out in his review of research evidence,[7] students having trouble in immersion should be evaluated on a case-by-case basis – if a child is unhappy in immersion and experiencing difficulties in learning, then the potential success of that learning path may be uncertain. However, if a child is happy in immersion and making progress according to his or her own abilities, despite difficulty, immersion should not be blamed for learning difficulties that would have been there regardless of the immersion program. The well-being of the child should come first, and parents all agree – every child is different, learning in his or her own way, and at his or her own pace. Immersion or not, children who are happy and challenged make much better learners than those who are overwhelmed and unhappy.

Ensuring that immersion students have contact with French-language culture remains a significant challenge. I have been told that immersion teachers sometimes lack confidence in their own mastery of the language and are reluctant to reach out to French-language minority schools to propose joint activities. As well, some French-language minority schools are worried that any contact with immersion classes will result in everyone speaking English.

Immersion's success has also generated some unintended consequences.

In the eyes of some parents, teachers, and schools, immersion has undermined the value of core French. It has attracted many of the best teachers and it has created another myth: that it is impossible to learn French without being in an immersion program. This is simply not the case.

There is good news, however. The best immersion system in the country, outside Quebec, is in Edmonton. This is not just happenstance.

After seeing a decline in immersion enrolment about 10 years ago, the Edmonton Public School Board conducted an analysis of what was needed to provide quality second-language education. It identified 14 criteria, including support from parents, the principal and the school board; financial investment in the program; and competent, enthusiastic teachers who were given professional development support. The Board then took measures to ensure those criteria were met. The effect on teachers, the quality of the teaching, and the retention of students was almost immediate. It is a model for the country.

Today's English-speaking communities in Quebec find themselves in a position where uncertainty and insecurity are less present in their social fabric. Through the creation of French immersion programs, and through their support of and commitment to them, Quebec's English-speaking communities have shown not only their willingness but their determination to be an important and integral part of Quebec society, ready to participate in the language of the majority, while retaining pride in their own language, heritage and institutions.

Quebec has the highest proportion of bilingual people in Canada: in the 2006 census, more than one third of Francophones (36%) and two thirds of Anglophones (69%) in the province reported that they speak English and French. Among English-speaking Quebecers aged 18 to 34, this percentage reached nearly 80%. In the past 40 years, no other Canadian community has increased its ability to speak a second official language as much as Quebec's English-speaking communities.[8] Without a doubt, this is partially the result of Wallace Lambert's legacy.

As a consequence, young English-speaking Quebecers have become bilingual and biliterate. They want and are able to stay in Quebec and contribute to the development of Quebec society, while preserving their cultural heritage and identity.

But second-language learning should not be exclusive to English-speaking Canadians wanting to learn French. Just as Anglophones outside of Quebec often lack a French socio-cultural context to support their school immersion programs, Francophones in Quebec wanting to learn English as a second language lack the same level of classroom opportunity. English is taught as a normal part of the formal program, recently from Grade 1. Some schools offer English intensive programs. It has been argued that Quebec's geographical situation – bordered by English-speaking provinces and the United States, with exposure to predominantly English culture, television and music – gives French-speaking Canadians a degree of Anglophone contact equivalent to "English immersion." As more and more Francophones become bilingual without threatening their "full mastery of French," and more Anglophones become bilingual without denying their identity and cultural

heritage, we approach the ideal model of well-integrated linguistic duality in Canada.

Francophones value bilingualism and are well aware of its importance to be able to function successfully in this day and age. According to a recent *La Presse*-Angus Reid study, 84% of Quebecers believe it is important to master English. Quebec Premier Jean Charest has announced that his government will focus on improving French-speaking Quebecers' skills in Canada's other official language by proposing a semester of intensive English for Grade 6 students in French-language schools. Mr. Charest dismissed the myth before his detractors could even mention it, by stating that "full mastery of French does not preclude knowledge of a second or a third language."[9]

The proposed change is set to be phased in over five years, and would enlist the help of the province's English school system. This announcement from the Quebec government was welcomed by the majority, and I see this as a symbolic gesture of openness to second-language learning. Of course, it cannot be said that there is consensus on this sensitive issue. On one side, there are a few people, like researcher Christian Dufour, who think that this government measure is a threat to Quebecers' identity and "excessive and dangerous."[10] On the other side is sociologist and historian Gérard Bouchard, who claims that turning our backs on English would be "criminal."[11] The word is provocative, of course, but he certainly managed to get attention.

What Mr. Bouchard is saying is that Quebec is facing two unavoidable responsibilities: to promote French language AND encourage learning English as a second language. One does not preclude the other. In my view, his message is one of balance. But who is left in the middle? The parents – a large majority of them, according to polls – who think that their children have a much better chance at succeeding in life if they are bilingual.[12] Of course, success can be determined by many factors. Being able to earn a decent living is certainly one of them. According to a 2005 Université de Montréal study based on 2001 statistics, bilingual Francophones make up to 50% more money than their unilingual neighbours, depending on age and education.[13]

Having a better understanding of and openness to the world around us also plays a major role in what can be defined as success in life. No wonder Quebec parents want their children to be bilingual – it provides better opportunities, better understanding, and better quality of life, without challenging their linguistic identity. Canadians of both linguistic backgrounds are well aware that knowledge of the other official language is a tool, not a threat. Knowledge should never be seen as a threat. *Scientia potentia est.* Knowledge is power. This Latin maxim definitely applies to the knowledge of languages. Saint-Lambert parents knew that; James Moore's family knows that; immigrant allophone parents know that; and Canadians across the

country know that. Wallace Lambert's legacy is certainly one of thirst for knowledge, interwoven in the fabric of our Canadian linguistic duality.

Obviously, immersion is not perfect. It is not a magic wand. But it has been extraordinarily successful. In a few years we will be discussing issues and successes with regard to the intensive English program in Quebec French-language schools, and I suspect that it will be praised by immersion's biggest supporters: parents who are at the front lines when it comes to fighting for what is best for their children's futures.

Four decades after Wallace Lambert's experiment, immersion is still going strong, and continues to challenge how Canadian families define their linguistic identities.

Without Wallace Lambert's pioneering work, we would not be where we are today. But we still have lessons to learn from his critical experiment. And we still have a lot of work to do.

Graham Fraser is Commissioner of Official Languages.

NOTES

1 Conversation with Ginette Munson on March 11, 2011.

2 Conversation with Doug Mitchell on March 11, 2011.

3 O. Melikoff, "Parents as change agents in education. The St. Lambert experiment," in E.E. Lambert and G.R. Tucker, eds., *Bilingual Education of Children: The St. Lambert Experiment* (Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1972): 220.

4 Fred Genesee, *Learning Through Two Languages: Studies of Immersion and Bilingual Education* (Cambridge, MA: Newbury House Publishers, 1987): 9.

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THE WORK OF WALLACE LAMBERT: A PARENT PERSPECTIVE

Canadian Parents for French is the national network of volunteers which values French as an integral part of Canada and which is dedicated to the promotion and creation of French-second-language learning opportunities for young Canadians.

ABSTRACT

This article explores the impact of Wallace Lambert's seminal research on second-language acquisition from a parent–led community stakeholder perspective. It explores Wallace's contributions to successful collaboration between parents, researchers and educational decision-makers, to more effective second-language pedagogy, and to inclusion and diversity in second-language classrooms.

INTRODUCTION

The work of Wallace Lambert provided an early example of the role and influence of parents and the wider stakeholder community in defining and meeting the educational needs of their children. It is also an example of successful collaboration between scientific researchers and the wider community to meet the community's information needs.

Wallace Lambert's work also spoke to equitable access to, and inclusion in, the second-language classroom, by demonstrating that academically challenged students are not differentially handicapped in immersion programs; by respecting the language and culture of aboriginal and new Canadians; and by recognizing the positive role of prior language experience when learning second and subsequent languages. The influence of these studies is reflected in current research and practice to encourage and accommodate diversity in second-language education.

COLLABORATION BETWEEN SECOND LANGUAGE RESEARCHERS AND COMMUNITY STAKEHOLDERS.

When parents in St. Lambert began to advocate for more effective French-second-language education, Wallace Lambert and researchers from McGill University responded by developing a model for immersion education. Researchers also assessed the first- and second-language proficiency outcomes when the model was implemented in the classroom. This commitment to evaluating outcomes was an important aspect of the French immersion initiative and one that has made the Canadian French immersion model one of the most extensively-studied educational programs in existence. These evaluations were particularly welcomed by parents and other French-second-language advocates, since first- and second-language proficiency outcomes are counter-intuitive, especially for a non-expert audience.

Indeed, advocates for effective French-second-language programs still need strong, credible research findings to promote the programs and to counter concerns about negative effects of second language instruction on first-language acquisition – often addressed one parent or one educator at a time.

This early collaboration between researchers, parents, and community continues to be reflected in the field of second- and subsequent- language acquisition. Canadian Parents for French, formed in March 1977 with the support of the Commissioner for Official Languages, Keith Spicer, continues to voice the views of parents who support linguistic duality and to advocate on behalf of parents who want their children to have access to publicly-funded opportunities to learn both of Canada's official languages.

The Government of Canada recognizes the need for collaboration. In 2004, the Department of Canadian Heritage and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council recognized the need for a two-way flow of information between university research and the community. *The Official Languages Research and Dissemination Program (2004-2005 to 2006-2007)*, a joint project of SSHRC and Canadian Heritage, was designed to "promote research in areas of critical importance to official language policy and practice; and to provide support to ensure that relevant research results are effectively communicated and appropriately applied" (Canadian Heritage, 2004).

In January 2008, the Department of Canadian Heritage organized a Symposium on Official Languages Research that attracted 150 participants from the research, government, and stakeholder communities, at which researchers informed stakeholders of relevant research conducted or contemplated, while stakeholders communicated the second-language research information

required for effective advocacy. The benefits of maintaining this early relationship between the research community and the wider community (in particular, with the parent community), cannot be over-estimated. Parental engagement is crucial to maintaining effective, accessible French-second-language opportunities for young people in Canada, and to respond to emerging issues in second-language education. As Joseph Dicks noted: researchers have an important but limited role in political decision-making. To maximize the influence of research, it is essential that it be… accessible to parents. In this way, parents concerned about bilingual education programs will be able to exert considerable political pressure, armed with sound research to support their arguments. (Dicks, 2009)

Over the years, Canadian Parents for French has maintained productive working relationships with the second-language research community – disseminating research findings and conducting or commissioning research to inform advocacy positions on issues such as the following: capping enrolment in French immersion, French-second-language teacher supply and qualifications, alternate core French models, and accountability for the use of Official Languages in Education funds.

INCLUSIVE EDUCATION

The influence of Lambert's inclusionary vision is apparent today, as government, educators, and community stakeholders struggle to meet the needs of an increasingly diverse student population. Lambert's work with immigrant populations and academically-challenged students is particularly relevant. For example, researchers like Genesee, Wise, and Arnett continue to address misconceptions about the suitability of immersion programs for academically-challenged students and to develop pedagogical strategies for diverse learner needs (Genesee, 2007; Wise & Chen, 2009; Arnett, 2007). Canadian Parents for French and other stakeholders use these findings to advocate for equitable access to second-language education and for the provision of appropriate academic support for these students. Similarly, Cummins, Mady, and Dagenais have studied the experiences, attitudes and performance of Allophone students in core French and French immersion, as well as the importance of students' first and subsequent languages in acquiring additional languages (Cummins, 2001; Mady, 2010; Dagenais, 2007). Their findings are used by parent and other community stakeholders to advocate for the implementation of ministerial policies to ensure the inclusion of Allophone students in French immersion and other French-second-language programs. Findings are also used to promote the benefits of knowing both of Canada's official languages to new Canadian parents and students.

CONCLUSION

Lambert's seminal work with Anglophone and Allophone parents led to the development of effective French immersion pedagogy, to recognition of the positive role of every language learned prior to the target language, and lastly, to an increasingly inclusionary model of second language education.

These developments have contributed, as well, to Canada's national unity. In 1977, the creation of Canadian Parents for French and its support for effective, accessible French immersion education supported national unity by presenting "an English-speaking organization able to speak sensibly, perhaps even generously, about the French language" (Spicer, 2004). Today we continue to support national unity by encouraging educators to ensure that Allophone students have opportunities to learn both of Canada's official languages in order to qualify for employment with the Government of Canada and to play a real part in Canada's social and political development.

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WALLY LAMBERT'S CONTRIBUTION TO UNDERSTANDING SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

John W. Berry is Professor Emeritus of Psychology at Queen's University, Canada. He received his undergraduate degree from Sir George Williams University and his PhD from the University of Edinburgh. In 2001, he was awarded Honorary Doctorates from the University of Athens and the Université de Genève. He has published over 30 books in the areas of cross-cultural, social and cognitive psychology with various colleagues. These include a textbook (Cross-Cultural Psychology: Research and Applications, 3rd ed. 2011; Handbook of Acculturation Psychology, 2006; and Immigrant Youth in Cultural Transition, 2006). He is a Fellow of the Canadian Psychological Association, the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study, the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology, and the International Academy for Intercultural Research, from which he received a Lifetime Contribution Award. His main research interests are in the areas of acculturation and intercultural relations, with an emphasis on applications to immigration, educational and health policy.

ABSTRACT

Wally is best known for his work on second language learning, and for his great success in applying these ideas and findings in the community and in the classroom. Less well-known are his contributions to understanding social behaviour in Canada and internationally. This short tribute is intended to serve as a reminder that Wally made substantial contributions to this broad field.

In the early 1970s there was a growing concern for understanding social behaviour in broader social and cultural contexts than were the usual basis (which were typically artificial laboratory settings). A clarion call was issued for a new approach to examining social behaviour in more natural and larger contexts by Israel and Tajfel (1972). At the same time, in Canada, a similar approach was being advocated (Berry & Wilde, 1972). In the Canadian case, the question being asked by some psychologists was whether for Canadians (as a people occupying a unique territory, and managing a society with a unique set of institutions) there are particular social behaviours that accompany these unique social and cultural features. At the forefront of this discussion, Wally presented his views in an article with the title **"**What are they like, these Canadians? A social-psychological analysis" (Lambert, 1970). In this overview paper, Wally sought to take stock of some core features of Canadian society, and some social behaviours that are related to them.

These issues were followed by an edited textbook (Berry & Wilde, 1972) with the title "Social psychology: The Canadian context". This volume bought together the writings of historians, essayists, poets, and political scientists, as well as research by social psychologists. The Foreword was provided by the historian Arthur Lower, who outlined some of the historical features of Canadian society that should be examined for their psychological import.

These included: early colonisation (mainly from Europe), subsequent immigration, and the vast territory that came to be incorporated into the country. He concluded that the role of such an approach to social behaviour is"… to illuminate the nature of our own humanity, to make ourselves comprehensible to ourselves, to cast light on the mysterious course by which a given collection of human beings takes on form, shape, character, and secures a local habitation and name".

The 1972 textbook included a paper by Anisfeld and Lambert (1972) which used the 'matched guise' technique that was introduced to social psychology a few years earlier by Wally. This technique involves asking people to listen to the recorded speech of bilingual speakers reading a passage in English and in French. Then participants were asked to rate the speakers on a variety of psychological characteristics (such as tall, good looking, amusing, intelligent etc). The speakers were the same persons speaking, but in both language 'guises'; furthermore, there were no visual or other cues about the speakers. This allowed Wally to argue that the ratings (both the terms used, and their evaluations) could provide evidence about the stereotypes and attitudes held by the participants toward English- and French-speaking Canadians.

Wally attended a conference in Istanbul in 1971 (where we met for the first time), presenting a seminal paper on the French- language immersion project (Lambert

& Tucker, 1971). The conference attendees were amazed at the findings that he reported; other psychologists and educators internationally soon attended to this approach and set of empirical findings. As noted by other contributors to this volume, the world of second language teaching and learning took a whole new course.

In addition to studies of language and social attitudes, Wally carried out a parallel programme of research with children. This included an international study of the views of children about foreign peoples (Lambert & Klineberg, 1967) and another international study of child-rearing values (Lambert, Hamers, & Frasure-Smith, 1979). Wally also contributed much to the understanding of the development of children's personal and ethnic identity (Lambert, 1981) and to intercultural relations (Lambert & Taylor, 1996).

Beyond these focused projects and reports, Wally was concerned with providing broader overviews of the field of social psychology and of his own contribution to it. Early on, he wrote a general textbook in social psychology with his brother Bill (Lambert & Lambert, 1953; revised in 1973). He also sought to draw together the various stands of his numerous contributions in more general volumes (Lambert, 1972; Reynolds & Lambert, 1991). These latter volumes are very helpful for us to grasp his broader vision of the complex relationships among culture, society, language and social behaviour.

We owe an enormous debt to Wally, not only for his core contribution to understanding the teaching and learning of second languages through his development of language immersion programmes, but also for his substantial contributions to understanding social behaviour in context, both in Canada and internationally.

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THE LAMBERT IMMERSION LEGACY: RESEARCH AND MENTORSHIP

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Sharon Lapkin is Professor Emeritus in the Second Language Education program of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto. Her research projects center on French second language education in Canada and range from program evaluations of core French and immersion to qualitative studies of language learning in progress through detailed analysis of transcribed learner dialogues. From 1995 to 2004 she was co-Editor of the *Canadian Modern Language Review* and from 2004 to 2006 she was co-President of the Canadian Association of Applied Linguistics. Sharon is currently a member of the Board of Directors of the Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers (CASLT).

ABSTRACT

The St. Lambert immersion program and Professor Wallace Lambert have been connected more closely than in name alone. Those involved in the initiation of the St. Lambert immersion program in the 1960s asked Dr. Lambert to evaluate its outcomes. The research questions guiding the evaluation and the research design Dr. Lambert devised became a blueprint for others researching immersion programs in later years. Furthermore, Dr. Lambert provided support and encouragement to those involved in research concerning the acquisition of bilingualism and its social and cognitive impact.

THE LAMBERT 'BLUEPRINT'

At the request of parents in the St. Lambert school district of Montreal (Melikoff, 1972), Wally Lambert and his colleagues (John McNamara and Dick Tucker) designed a systematic series of program evaluations that established a blueprint for assessing immersion programs throughout Canada and beyond. In this brief essay we discuss ways in which the original research questions were addressed, and describe several ways in which researchers refined them to probe more deeply into the effects of the immersion program on academic outcomes.

At the time when the first French immersion program was initiated in St Lambert, parents, administrators and educators expressed serious reservations. The initial fears are captured in this quote from the Association of Catholic Principals of Montreal: "While we favour bilingualism and the effective teaching of the French language from kindergarten to grade XI, we reject the so-called bilingual school which attempts to give equal or nearly equal importance to two languages as media of instruction. We are of the opinion that the average child cannot cope with two languages of instruction and to try to do so leads to insecurity, language interference, and academic retardation..." (cited in Lambert & Tucker, 1972, p. 5).

In the face of such attitudes, the Lambert team developed a model for program evaluation designed to address key issues of concern: first and second language development, academic achievement and cognitive development. For the first pilot Kindergarten class, comparison classes of the regular English program and Francophones (first language) were selected based on the similarity of parental backgrounds and therefore socioeconomic status. In addition, an intelligence measure (non-verbal IQ) was administered to check on comparability of the groups and to establish a baseline for future comparisons. The regular English program class was used to check on the progress of the immersion children in their first language, English, and the Francophone comparison class to check on their progress in learning the second language, French. By the time *Bilingual education of children* was published in 1972, Lambert and Tucker had followed two cohorts of students, the first for 5 years until they were in grade 4, and the second for 4 years, until they were in grade 3.

The positive findings from the Lambert team's carefully designed research were responsible for calls from other provinces and territories for immersion programs of their own. For example, by 1969, only four years after the St. Lambert experiment began, immersion had come to the National Capital Region. Each of the four school boards there established their own programs. With federal funding, different research teams undertook their own evaluations, based on the Lambert evaluation blueprint.

Of the five main research questions addressed by Lambert and Tucker and subsequent immersion program evaluations across Canada, we explore three, related to the academic outcomes of immersion education:

1. What effect does French immersion have on the students' first language (English) skills?
2. How well do French immersion students perform in school subjects such as mathematics?
3. How well do French immersion students develop second language (French) skills?

Over time it became clear that the pattern of results that characterized the St. Lambert findings generalized to other Canadian settings. These positive results went a long way to allaying the initial fears of parents, administrators and educators. We briefly consider answers to these questions, noting where they have been adapted as Canadian researchers uncovered more evidence about the academic outcomes of French immersion education. We end with a brief story as evidence of Wally Lambert's wonderful characteristics as a human being.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE SKILLS

Overall the Lambert program evaluation found that at the end of grade 4, having been exposed to instruction in English from grades 2 to 4 for one hour a day, the French immersion students were performing as well as the regular English program students on tests of English word knowledge, word discrimination and language usage. Both classes were well above average (above the 80th percentile) in terms of national norms. They performed similarly on tests of reading ability, listening comprehension and knowledge of concepts in English (p. 203). Their expressive skills were also comparable on tasks like story retelling where the stories were equally complex and rich in vocabulary.

Subsequent program evaluations in other jurisdictions also relied on standardized English achievement tests such as the Canadian Tests of Basic Skills to establish the fact that, aside from a temporary lag in achievement recorded before French immersion students had had any exposure to English language arts in the curriculum, immersion students were holding their own and even outperforming regular English program students in areas such as vocabulary, spelling and usage (e.g., Swain & Lapkin, 1982).

There was notable consistency in these findings, regardless of where the immersion program was located.

Variation was introduced when the design of the early total French immersion program differed from that of the St. Lambert program: thus, for example, students in programs where only half the instructional day was devoted to French performed as well as but not better than comparison students in the regular English program on English achievement tests. It became clear that a certain level of second language proficiency was necessary for bilingualism to exert a positive influence on English language achievement.

Few large-scale studies of the English language skills of French immersion students have been conducted since the program evaluations of the 70s and 80s. One notable exception is a study sponsored by the Ontario Ministry of Education a decade ago. The Education Quality and Accountability Office (EQAO) is an independent provincial agency funded by the Government of Ontario. EQAO conducts province-wide testing in English and mathematics at grades 3, 6 and 9. Unlike the standardized measures that have already been described, EQAO tests are tied to the Ontario curriculum in English language arts and math, and include a wider variety of test types than typical standardized achievement tests. Researchers at OISE were asked to conduct a re-analysis of data collected in the late 90s, examining results of French immersion students in English in relation to those of the population as a whole (Turnbull, Hart, & Lapkin, 2000). About 60,000 students were involved at grade 3, and over 113,000 at grade 6; of these six to eight percent were immersion students.

The English language tests in the EQAO battery involve literacy skills, reading and writing; there are four levels of achievement with Level 3 representing a high level of achievement and constituting the provincial standard, that is, the level the province would like all students to attain; at Level 4 students exceed the provincial standard. Here is what the grade 6 data show: seventy-one percent of immersion students achieve Levels 3 or 4 on the provincial tests of reading, while 51 percent of regular English program students do so (this excludes gifted students, who perform somewhat better than the immersion students). In writing, two-thirds of immersion students achieve Levels 3 or 4, compared to about half of the regular program students.

Let us revisit the original research question, "What effect does French immersion have on students' first language skills?" In light of the consistent positive findings, the question evolved to: What is the nature of the benefits that accrue to immersion students in the area of first language (English) skills? It is assumed that early immersion students reach a "threshold" level of proficiency in French (Cummins, 1979) that triggers a positive impact on their first language skills. This is consistent with Lambert's

(1975) notion of 'additive' bilingualism and the "linguistic detective capacity" that Lambert and Tucker (1972, p. 43) postulated in the 70s.

ACHIEVEMENT IN SCHOOL SUBJECTS SUCH AS MATH

In the original St. Lambert project, aside from English and French skills, achievement in mathematics was monitored every year. Testing of the lead cohorts in grades 3 and 4 showed that immersion students were performing as well as their respective comparison groups in math. This held true for tests administered in the language of instruction, that is French, and in the home language, that is English. The latter finding confirms that transfer of knowledge was taking place for early immersion students from the target language to the dominant language (English).

Once again, these findings were replicated in the large-scale program evaluations conducted outside the province of Quebec (e.g., Swain & Lapkin, 1982; Bournot-Trites & Reeder, 2001). In the face of repeated positive results, researchers began to attribute the strong performance of immersion students to their advanced second language proficiency. As Cummins (1979) explained: "as [immersion students] develop high levels of L2 skills, their fluent access to two languages can give rise to enhancement both of L2 skills and other aspects of cognitive functioning" (p. 31).

Enhanced cognitive skills may account for the math results from the EQAO testing in Ontario mentioned earlier. At grade 3, immersion and non-immersion students performed similarly on these curriculum-based tests; at grade 6, French immersion students achieved better overall results than the regular English program comparison group.

FRENCH LANGUAGE SKILLS

The main measure of French language skills used by the Lambert team was a French achievement test standardized on a population from the Catholic School Commission of Montreal. Speaking ability was assessed by means of a story retelling task evaluated for overall expressive ability, and aspects of grammar and pronunciation. There was also a French listening comprehension test. We focus on the lead cohort (at grade 4). The French immersion students' performance in listening comprehension was comparable to that of Francophone peers; their achievement scores placed them at or above the scores of half of the Francophone comparison class, and their French vocabulary knowledge was somewhat below (but not significantly below) that of their Francophone peers. Immersion students' French speaking ability were not as advanced as that of the Francophone comparison students, as evidenced for example, in the immersion students' avoidance of complex grammatical structures in speaking French.

It was difficult to find appropriate tests for secondary school students that were standardized on Canadian French populations for French achievement, but one Ontario-based study (Lawrence, 1996) involved a grade 9 class of French immersion students taking the grade 9 test designed by the Ontario Ministry of Education for Franco-Ontarian French-speaking students. Unexpectedly, French immersion students outperformed French first-language students in Ontario on reading. However they did not perform as well as Francophone peers in writing. Still, about 73 percent of the immersion students performed at or above grade level expectations in writing (for the Francophones, this percentage was 87).

Because exposure to French is limited to the school context, researchers have used benchmarks to measure the French proficiency of immersion students, and in particular, immersion graduates. Thus, for example, with funding from the Public Service Commission of Canada, Lazaruk (2007) conducted a study in 2004-05, in which the Commission's proficiency tests were administered to a sample of grade 12 French immersion students in Alberta. The test places candidates at levels A, B or C (with C being the most advanced) in reading, writing and oral interaction. The researchers found that three quarters of the immersion students tested achieved level B, a level required for bilingual positions in the federal public service (Lazaruk, 2007, p. 608). One-fifth of the students reached the highest level (level C). This is an impressive finding!

CONCLUDING COMMENT

Wally Lambert's contribution to French immersion education is inestimable. The program would not have continued to exist and expanded globally, if it were not for the research he initiated with his evaluation blueprint. The questions his team identified in 1965 endured and were refined as subsequent teams of researchers tackled evaluations in their own jurisdictions. Wally's legacy consists in part of the hundreds of research projects focusing on immersion education over the last 40 or so years.

Wally's legacy also consists in part of the people he inspired. The first author of this essay, Merrill Swain, was one of those people, and was unable to close this essay without providing a brief testimony to Wally Lambert's mentoring, support and inspiration.

Wally provided me (Merrill) with so many opportunities to become part of the community interested in bilingualism and bilingual education. This anecdote will indicate what an extraordinary man he was, and how he engaged me completely. The story is set in the late 1960s when I was a graduate student at the University of California (at Irvine). In those days (and even now), Canada was a distant foreign country and Toronto and Montreal were undifferentiated cities. Knowing that my interests were focused on the acquisition of 'bilingualism as a first

language' and that Professor Lambert was *the* person who was studying bilingualism in Canada, my thesis supervisor suggested that when I went home for the Christmas holidays, I should give Dr. Lambert a call and tell him about my interests.

Even in 1968, it seemed inappropriate for me to call an unknown professor, out of the blue, at his home, during the holidays. But my supervisor had insisted, and so I called him, long distance, from Toronto. Wally himself answered the phone. Timidly, I explained my Ph.D. research interests and from that moment on, he became my hero. He supported my research in so many ways. Wally had just become a member of the Board of Directors of the newly formed International Research Centre on Bilingualism (CIRB), and told me he would use that position to make sure I was well greeted and treated should I decide to do my research in Quebec City. True to his word, Wally made sure I was, as a grad student, offered office space in the CIRB, plus two – imagine that as a graduate student, I was offered two research assistants to help me collect and transcribe data. Wally told me that he believed that I was "heaven sent to the CIRB because the Centre, although doing research on bilingualism, was not doing anything related to Canada!" Until then, I had never met Wally personally. Then, one day, he was at my desk in the Centre, chuckling his famous chuckle, asking me how I was doing, and would I come to visit with the team at McGill, talk to his classes, meet Dick Tucker and John McNamara. Later, as immersion researchers, Wally and I attended many of the same conferences, where we often laughed till tears fell, over Wally's mischievous behaviour and stories. He mentored me into and through a career associated with bilingualism. Wally was the sort of person whom every academic should have as a guide, a supporter and friend. Wally was all of that for me, and I miss him dearly.

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BILINGUAL COGNITION: THE WALLACE LAMBERT CONNECTION

Allan Paivio was born in Thunder Bay, Ontario to Finnish Canadian parents and is married with five children, with many grandchildren and great grandchildren as further progeny.

Following 22 months of wartime service in the Canadian Navy, Allan earned three degrees—B.Sc., M.Sc., and Ph. D. (1959)—from McGill University. During and after his Ph. D. program in psychology, he held the following University positions: Sessional Psychology Lecturer, Summer School, 1957, Sir George Williams College; Research Psychologist, Cornell University, May 1958-September 1959; Assistant Professor, Psychology, University of New Brunswick, 1959-1962; Psychology Department Faculty member at the University of Western Ontario since 1962 (Full Professor, 1967; Professor Emeritus from1992 to the present).

During his teaching career he has taught various psychology undergraduate and graduate courses, and supervised many graduate students, including 30 Ph. D. students who went on to productive academic and other professional careers.

His own research and scholarly work was supported for more than thirty years by grants from several granting agencies, most continuously from the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada. The support is reflected in publications of five books (most recently "Mind and its evolution: A dual coding theoretical approach," Erlbaum, 2007) and approximately 200 journal articles and book chapters.

Allan has also been honoured in the following ways: President, Canadian Psychological Association, 1974-1975; Honorary President, 1992-1993; Queen Elizabeth's Silver Jubilee Medal, 1977; Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, 1978; CPA representative to the International Union of Psychological Science (IUPS) 1980-1996; the CPA Award (later re-named the Hebb Award) for Distinguished Contributions to Psychology as a Science, 1982; Killam Research Fellowship, 1990, 1991; Honourary Doctorate, University of Western Ontario, 1993.

ABSTRACT

A course I took from Wallace Lambert in 1954 at McGill required a novel experiment. Lambert encouraged me to investigate language learning implications of a French-English difference in grammatical habits whereby, in English, descriptive adjectives typically precede the nouns they modify whereas the reverse order is typical in French. A language habits hypothesis thus suggests that unfamiliar phrases would be easiest to remember in their language-typical grammatical order. A mnemonic technique with which I was familiar uses concrete nouns as memory pegs (reminders) for associated information, suggesting that, by analogy, the noun-adjective order would be favored in language memory regardless of language habits. An experiment I devised clearly supported the prediction from the memory–peg hypothesis. Later, tests of that hypothesis and other variants led to the development of a general dual coding theory (DCT) of cognition that entails the cooperative interplay of verbal and nonverbal mental processes in memory, language, and thought. In the extended program, Lambert and I collaborated on experiments involving bilingual memory and cognition that supported DCT and its extension to bilingualism.

BACKGROUND

My research connection to Wallace Lambert began early in my attempts to develop a general scientific theory of mind aimed at explaining such intellectual abilities as memory, problem solving, language, and thinking. The connection began in 1954 when Lambert joined the Psychology faculty at McGill University. I then had a McGill undergraduate degree and wanted to get into their psychology graduate program. To qualify I had to take make-up undergraduate courses, one of which was an honour's level course on human experimental psychology taught by Lambert. Part of the course required each student to devise and conduct an independent experiment under his supervision.

Among other possibilities, Lambert and I considered untested implications of a grammatical word-order difference between English and French. In English, descriptive adjectives generally precede nouns (e.g., the red, white, and blue flag) whereas in French such adjectives typically follow nouns (e.g., le drapeau bleu, blanc, rouge). The research question was whether English and French speakers would differ in how easily they could learn and remember novel phrases presented in an adjective-noun (A-N) or a noun-adjective (N-A) grammatical order. Lambert reasoned from a language habits perspective that Anglophones should do better with phrases presented in the typical English A-N order whereas Francophones should do better with the N-A order. I argued instead that the N-A order would be easier for both linguistic groups, and that the counter-intuitive part of the prediction could be initially tested using only English language phrases and speakers.

My expectation was based on an analogical extension of a mnemonic technique I had learned in one session of a commercial public speaking course I took in 1950. The instructor asked us to name 20 objects in the meeting room, with a brief pause between each. A student recorded the words and their numerical order. We then called out the numbers from one to twenty in random order and the instructor promptly recalled the associated words. We were mightily impressed. The instructor assured us that the memory feat was easy and taught us how to do likewise.

We first memorized a list of rhyming number-word pairs: one-bun, two-shoe, three-tree, four-door, five-hive, six-sticks, and so on, up to 20-horn of plenty We then used the rhyme to remember a list of items by combining mental images of a bun, shoe, tree, etc. with images suggested by the memory targets. For example, take pencil, chair, and lamp as the first three words in a list of words to be remembered and visualize a pencil as, say, a filler inside a hamburger bun, a chair with a leg stuck in a shoe, and a lamp as a decoration on a Christmas tree. Now, start with the numbers one, two, three in any order and you will find that they quickly prompt you to remember the rhyming peg-words bun,

shoe, tree, which in turn will remind you of the images of the associated object pairs from which you can retrieve the target word.

In the extension of the rhyme mnemonic to the phrase learning experiment, I viewed the first words of a series of phrases as memory pegs (reminders) for the remaining words, with nouns in the N-A order being more effective pegs than adjectives in the A-N order because the nouns could more readily evoke images that include the adjectival properties than vice versa. In support of the hypothesis, native English speakers learned lists of N-A phrases in fewer trials than lists of A-N phrases.

In the published report (Lambert & Paivio, 1956), we referred to the nouns as *conceptual pegs* for storing and subsequently retrieving the adjectival modifiers. This would turn out to be a felicitous and productive rephrasing of the memory-peg metaphor in subsequent experiments in which the conceptual-peg hypothesis became part of the increasingly complex structure of dual coding theory (DCT) of cognition—a structure that was to include the verbal associative mechanisms that happened not to be supported in our adjective-noun learning experiment but were supported later in other DCT experiments. I review key points in that DCT history and also identify the general relevance of the conceptual peg hypothesis for everyday memory and more esoteric topics such as the evolution of language.

DUAL CODING THEORY

The basic assumption of DCT is that human memory and cognition entail the interplay of an evolutionarily-ancient nonverbal system that can perceive, remember, and think directly about the "real world," and a recently evolved verbal system that uses a linguistic code to indirectly represent (symbolize) and communicate about the nonverbal world (as well as language itself). The conceptual peg task is a condensed example of dual coding activity in that it requires the user to (a) understand verbal instructions, names of objects and their attributes, (b) translate these into nonverbal images in which the entities interact in some way, (c) store the images and their names in memory, and finally (d) reinstate the images into words during recall. To do all that, the two systems must be functionally independent but flexibly interconnected so that one or other system, or both systems, can be activated and used to deal with such tasks.

The adjective-noun conceptual peg experiment was modified in ways that led directly to DCT. The learning task was first simplified (Paivio. 1963) by using word pairs (e.g., *deep-valley* versus *valley-deep*). In addition the pairs included noun members that were either concrete (e.g., valley) or abstract (e.g., place) on the theoretical rationale that the classic rhyme mnemonic technique calls for the use of nouns that readily evoke images that

can mediate verbal recall. The task was changed to paired associate learning in which study of the pairs was followed by tests in which the participants were presented only the first word of each pair and tried to recall its absent associate. The results confirmed the conceptual peg hypothesis in that subjects of different ages remembered more responses from N-A than A-N pairs. Furthermore, in keeping with the idea that concreteness and imageability are important properties of peg words (e.g., bun), recall was better when the nouns were concrete rather than abstract.

Further research (Paivio, 1965) tested additional implications of the conceptual peg hypothesis using noun-noun pairs in which the words were either concrete (C) or abstract (A), in all possible combinations, so that equal numbers of pairs were CC (e.g., coffee-shoe), CA (e.g., flower-theory), AC (e.g., fate-chair), and AA (e.g., event-duty). Following study of the pairs, subjects tried to recall the appropriate responses when presented only the stimulus nouns. The reasoning from the conceptual-peg hypothesis was that concreteness of both stimulus and response nouns would benefit recall because memorizers could generate compound images that connect pairs during study, but concreteness of the stimulus words would be especially important for later recall because concrete nouns could reintegrate (reinstate) the compound mnemonic images formed during study, which would help remind them of the missing verbal responses. Thus recall from highest to lowest for the different pair types should be CC>CA>AC>AA. This was precisely the pattern of results, with recall differences between all pair types being large and statistically significant.

Related experiments confirmed the component processes assumed to be effective in the conceptual peg hypothesis. Thus, it was consistently found that the positive effect of concreteness was due to the image-evoking value of concrete words rather than some other correlated language attribute. Even the imagery value of adjectives benefited associative recall independent of the effect of noun imageability, especially when they served as stimulus reminders for response words (e.g., Yuille. Paivio, & Lambert, 1969). Moreover, associative memory was even better when imagery was made directly available using object pictures rather than words as stimuli for verbal recall of either pictorial or noun associates.

The imagery-based conceptual peg hypothesis is relevant to a wide range of memory phenomena observed in "real life" as well as in laboratory experiments. The following examples illustrate this range. (1) A famous literary example of stimulus-evoked imaginal memories occurs in Marcel Proust's monumental novel, *A la recherche du temps perdu*. Proust's main character describes how the taste of a piece of madeleine sponge cake dipped in tea reminded him of the first time he had that taste experience. This was followed immediately by a flood of memories of his childhood home, garden, street, village, people, the pleasures experienced, all activated by a cup of tea. This is analogous to the evocation of memory images by object pictures in the DCT conceptual peg experiments. Imagining such experiences when reading about them in Proust is analogous to the redintegrative effect of concrete stimulus words in our experiments. (2) Similarly interpretable are so-called flash bulb memories elicited by cues associated with particularly salient events. For example, "nine eleven" promptly reminds us of where we were and what we were doing when we first learned of that tragic event. (3) A continuous interplay of verbally-evoked imagery and verbal thinking processes is involved in mentally solving the following problem: Think of a cube with red surfaces. Imagine cutting it into 27 smaller cubes by making two parallel cuts on each surface. How many of the small cubes have two red faces? How many have 3? How many one? How many none? The answers come most easily using interactive dual coding. (4) Many animal species use vocal signals to communicate the presence of predators or food sources. Such *referential signaling* has been much studied in vervet monkeys. An observer monkey emits different warning sounds when it has seen a leopard, eagle, or snake. Listeners that have not seen the predators respond by taking appropriate evasive action. Zuberbuhler, Cheney, and Seyfarth (1999) found evidence that such referential responding in another monkey species was mediated by the activity of "mental representations not unlike those linked to the human linguistic concepts *leopard* and *eagle*" (p. 41), an interpretation obviously analogous to the imagery-based conceptual peg hypothesis.

As a final example, a DCT evolutionary hypothesis asserts that language originated as a mnemonic device (Paivio, 2007, pp. 281-282; Paivio & Begg, 1981, p. 171). If everything our distant ancestors learned to talk about were always present, there would have been no need for a language. Pointing to significant objects or events would have been sufficient. Spoken language is especially useful for prompting listeners to remember past events that are currently relevant. This is a functional theory of language origins that emphasizes why language began rather than how it began (e.g., from gestures, imitation of natural sounds, and so on, as summarized in Paivio, 2007, chapter 12).

THE CODING INDEPENDENCE/ADDITIVITY MEMORY HYPOTHESIS

We turn now to a DCT explanation of memory effects that do not involve explicit retrieval cues (reminders). Free verbal recall is a prototypical example in which the DCT analysis led to further bilingual memory experiments with Lambert. In free recall, participants are presented a list of words or nameable objects and then verbally recall as many as they can in any order, either orally or in writing.

The pertinent result here is that correct recall increases from abstract words, to concrete words, to objects or their pictures. These results are counterintuitive. First, names are more directly available to printed words than to nonverbal pictures, so why should verbal recall be easier for pictures than words? Second, concrete and abstract words matched on familiarity are equally easy to recognize and name, so why should concrete words have the memory advantage? The DCT explanation, first proposed and tested beginning more than 40 years ago (summarized, e.g., in Paivio.1986) is that (a) the probability that items will be stored in memory both verbally and nonverbally during list presentation increases from abstract words, to concrete words, to pictures; (b) the two codes are stored independently in memory so that one or the other, or both codes, might be reactivated during recall; and (c) the nonverbal (image) code is mnemonically "stronger" (i.e., is more memorable) than the verbal code. If correct, these assumptions taken together would explain the pattern of free recall results for the three types of items.

The code additivity hypothesis was tested and supported by a series of experiments (e.g., Paivio & Csapo, 1973) in which recall was compared for items presented or coded both verbally and nonverbally (e.g., by presenting pictures and their labels, or having subjects generate images to words) and items presented or coded only verbally or only nonverbally, either once or twice. Consistent with DCT, dual verbal-nonverbal coding had additive effects on recall relative to various control conditions. Moreover, the contribution of pictures or mental images to the additive effect of dual coding was twice that of the verbal code, justifying an empirically based image-superiority addendum to the DCT hypothesis.

VERBAL-NONVERBAL AND BILINGUAL VERBAL-VERBAL LANGUAGE INDEPENDENCE

The above can now be put in the context of Lambert connections to the DCT research program. Even before the experimental tests of the dual-coding independence/additivity hypothesis, I had wondered about the relative memory value of the verbal and nonverbal codes. Are they of equal value as memory codes or is one code worth more than the other? I thought that the question could be answered by comparing verbal-nonverbal dual coding with bilingual verbal-verbal dual coding if it can be assumed that the bilingual's two language codes are mnemonically independent rather than interdependent, a contentious general issue in bilingualism research at that time (e.g., see Paivio, 1991; Paivio & Desrochers, 1980}.

The language independence hypothesis specifically implies that translation equivalents such as *horse* and *cheval* would have an additive memory effect for French–English

bilinguals. Moreover, each word should contribute equally to their additive effect as compared to a greater contribution of the image code, as in the verbal-nonverbal dual coding studies described above. The prediction was tested (Paivio & Lambert, 1981) using French–English bilinguals who were (a) shown pictures, French words, and English words one at a time and were required to write the English name of each picture, translate each French word into English, or simply copy each English word; or (b) shown only English words accompanied by cues that prompted them to image to one third of the words, translate one third into French, and copy the remainder. Participants in both conditions were then given an unexpected memory test in which they were required to recall the English words they either had written down or were presented.

The results of both experiments clearly showed that recall was highest for items in the verbal–nonverbal dual coding conditions, intermediate for translated items, and lowest for copied items. Especially relevant here is the fact that the bilingually coded items were recalled twice as well as the monolingually coded (copied) items, supporting the hypothesis that the two language codes were independent and additive in their joint effect on recall. The equally large further increase with verbal–nonverbal dual coding buttresses the image-superiority addendum to the additivity hypothesis; that is, pictures or images contributed more to recall than did an additional verbal code. (The critical results were replicated by Jyotsna Vaid,1988, thus adding to the Lambert connection in that she, too, was Lambert's student). A subsequent experiment (Paivio, Clark, & Lambert, 1988) completed the case for memory independence of bilingual verbal codes in that abstract translation equivalents (e.g., *truth-veracité*) also showed additive effects, but overall recall was lower than for concrete translation equivalents, presumably because the latter were more likely also to evoke nonverbal mental images.

An extension of DCT to bilingualism (Paivio & Desrochers, 1980) explains numerous other aspects of bilingual cognition that indirectly implicate a Lambert connection. Rather than review those, I conclude with a speculative extension of the preceding analysis to Lambert's direct contribution to the understanding of bilingual intelligence. Peal and Lambert (1962) were the first to show that bilingual education was associated with advantages in tests of general intelligence. This has been further supported by subsequent research, including studies of brain function (e.g., Bialystok, Craik, & Freedman, 2007). The Paivio and Lambert DCT research suggests that the general bilingual intelligence advantage might be due in part to additive memory for information processed in two languages in educational settings and in everyday life. Experiments could be devised to test this hypothesis.

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THE SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL MODEL OF SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

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ABSTRACT

This article presents an overview of the socio-educational model of second language acquisition, indicating how it can be traced back to theoretical perspectives originating with W.E. Lambert. The model distinguishes between the cultural and educational contexts of formal language instruction and proposes measures of individual differences related to each. A major construct of the model is integrative motivation and it is proposed that it plays a major role in many facets of second language acquisition, from the development of achievement in the language to participation in extracurricular activities that will promote language learning. Much of the research was conducted in Canada with English speaking students learning French in regular school programs but more recently it has been extended to learning English as a foreign language. Results from 12 large samples in six countries indicate substantial relationships between a measure of integrative motivation and indices of achievement in English.

Recently, I published "Motivation and Second Language Acquisition: The Socio-Educational Model" (Gardner, 2010) in which I reviewed 50 years of research that a number of us conducted on the role of individual differences in second language learning. This is the second book that I've written on the subject; the first one was by Gardner (1985). Moreover, there was a previous book written by Gardner and Lambert (1972) that summarized a research project that we had conducted in 1960. A comparison of the three books will reveal that the first was largely a series of studies that investigated a number of measures of attitudes, motivation, language aptitude and achievement in French as a second language conducted in Canada and the United States. The second was written after a ten year research project in which P.C. Smythe and I conducted a number of studies in Canada designed to develop a formal theoretical model of the various roles that affective variables play in learning a second language. This research was concerned primarily with students learning French in Canada, mostly in core French courses at the elementary and secondary school level.

All of the research has as its foundation my MA and Ph.D. theses conducted at McGill University under Wally Lambert's supervision, as well as on theoretical notions he had about the process and implications of second language acquisition at that time and subsequently. From my perspective (cf., Gardner, 1985, p. 133), Wally's view of second language acquisition was that individuals' attitudes and orientation to language study influence their motivation to learn the language and that these variables along with language aptitude account for individual differences in second language proficiency. He proposed further that developing proficiency in the language had implications for one's self-identity which could eventuate in additive or subtractive bilingualism, depending on whether the affective and/or cognitive consequences were positive or negative. He hypothesized too that subtractive bilingualism was more likely characteristic of individuals from a minority group learning the majority language while additive bilingualism was probably more characteristic of members of the majority group learning a minority language. The socio-educational model of second language

acquisition does not link additive and negative bilingualism directly with group membership but it does propose that second language acquisition can have positive or negative affective consequences for individuals as competence in the language progresses because of the issue of identification with the second language community.

The socio-educational model of second language acquisition developed from an attempt to formulate a theoretical model that was based on empirical data, that considered various aspects of second language learning, and that eventuated in hypotheses that could be tested empirically. It too assumes that language aptitude forms a cognitive basis for language development but most attention is devoted to the influence of the affective variables. The focus was not on bilingual immersion programs but rather on core French programs, and oriented primarily towards children who were fluent in only one (the majority) language. The variables identified in the model are assessed by the Attitude Motivation Test Battery (AMTB), which has taken different forms over the years (see Gardner (1985; 2010) for two versions).

In its most recent form (e.g., Gardner, 2010), the socio-educational model of second language acquisition distinguishes between a Cultural and an Educational context, both of which it is argued must be considered, and focuses attention on four complex (i.e., aggregate) variables. Two of the variables reflect the distinction between the two contexts. The first, Integrativeness, assesses variables associated with the cultural context involving characteristics of the individual that makes him or her open to cultural input. In the AMTB it is assessed by three measures: integrative orientation, attitudes toward the target language community, and an interest in foreign languages. The second, Attitudes toward the Learning Situation, is focused on the educational component and involves affective reactions to any aspect of the learning environment. In the AMTB it is assessed by two variables: evaluation of the teacher and evaluation of the course. It is assumed that Integrativeness and Attitudes toward the Learning Situation will be positively correlated with one another, primarily because the reactions toward the classroom environment will be influenced in part by the perception of the environment that will be influenced by the individual's level of integrativeness.

In the model, it is hypothesized that the affective variables associated with each context influence the individual's motivation to learn the language, the third variable in the model. In the AMTB, motivation is assessed in terms of motivational intensity (effort), desire to learn the language, and attitudes toward learning the language. The fourth variable is language anxiety, assessed in the AMTB by language classroom anxiety and language use anxiety. It is assumed that individual differences in language anxiety develop as a consequence of experiences with the language,

and that high levels of language anxiety will have a negative influence on the development of skill in the language. Two other variables are also often included in the AMTB; these are single measures of instrumental orientation and parental encouragement, which are sometimes found to be useful correlates of the other measures.

The model views language learning in the classroom context as a dynamic process in which the affective variables representing the educational and cultural contexts serve as the foundation for motivation and that motivation and language aptitude are the two major individual difference variables influencing relative achievement. It recognizes two language acquisition contexts, formal language training (e.g., the language classroom) and informal language experiences (various other contexts in which the language can be learned), proposing that motivation will play a bigger role than aptitude in the informal context largely because it will determine whether or not individuals will even avail themselves of the experience. It is proposed further that experiences in both contexts will have linguistic and non-linguistic outcomes. Linguistic outcomes include knowledge, fluency, etc., in the language, while non-linguistic outcomes include a host of variables including the various AMTB variables – interest, willingness to communicate, etc. Hence, it is not a simple matter that aptitude and motivation are fixed characteristics that determine achievement in the language. The process is in fact fluid and dynamic.

A major concept associated with the socio-educational model of second language is that of integrative motivation. It is argued that learning a second language in a school context is unlike learning other school subjects because it involves making features of another cultural community part of one's own self, and it is this difference that implicates the cultural context and thus integrativeness. It is proposed that the successful acquisition of a second language is facilitated by an integrative motive, and that features of integrative motivation are measured by the variables assessed in the AMTB.

The socio-educational model of second language acquisition was the basis of much of our research and we investigated its implications in a number of different ways. These studies were published in a number of articles but they are also reviewed in the 1985 and 2010 books. Initially, our focus was on the relationship of the AMTB variables to achievement in the second language because this is the clearest way to determine whether these variables are important in language learning. In essence, we reasoned that in classes where students had similar language learning environments, it was important to know potential correlates of achievement in the language because they would be indicative of variables influencing the learning process. Once we had identified what appeared to be the major motivational attributes implicated in language learning,

we turned our attention to other aspects of the learning environment. We demonstrated that experience in the program, and taking our tests on more than one occasion, can result in decreases in scores on Attitudes toward the Language Learning Situation, Motivation, and a to a lesser extent, Integrativeness, but that these losses might be moderated by the nature of the program. We found too that these variables accounted for individual differences in the tendency to drop out or continue with language study once it was no longer required. Also, we showed that these variables were influential in accounting for the amount of language attrition after language study ended primarily because they related to actual or attempted use of the language in the interim. And, we demonstrated that they were related to participation in excursion trips to the other cultural community and attempts to use the language while there; moreover, such participation had predictable effects on these variables. All of these results indicate that motivation has a more general effect than just accounting for differences in achievement.

Other studies have investigated the proposed structure of the socio-educational model of second language acquisition by employing structural equation modeling techniques (i.e., causal modeling). These findings have been replicated a number of times, supporting the generalizations referred to above, and have served to frame the general nature of the socio-educational model (see Gardner, 2010). In addition, we investigated teacher and student perceptions of strategy use as well as their relationship to student motivation and language achievement. The findings were informative in that they demonstrated relatively little relationship between the teachers' and students' perceptions of strategy use. Moreover, there was little correlation between teachers' perceptions and student motivation and achievement, but significant relationships between students' perceptions and motivation and achievement. Finally, we have conducted laboratory based studies to investigate specific hypotheses concerning motivation and aspects of vocabulary learning (i.e., rate of learning, study time, state levels of motivation and anxiety, etc...). Taken together, the results of all of this research confirm the validity of the socio-educational model of second language acquisition.

Most of our initial studies were concerned with the learning of French as a second language in the regular French programs in elementary, secondary, and later in university levels; some studies investigated the learning of English by francophone students. Because of our focus on the Canadian context, other researchers often commented that such results were applicable to Canada because it is a bilingual country, but that they wouldn't apply to other contexts. For example, it has been stated that since English is a global language, our research wouldn't apply to learning it as a foreign language in many countries.

As a consequence, in 2002 I obtained a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council to conduct studies on the role of integrative motivation in learning English as a foreign language in six countries: Croatia, Poland, Romania, Spain, Brazil and Japan. In order to conduct this research we developed the International Attitude Motivation Test Battery (AMTB) for English as a Foreign Language, had colleagues in these countries translate it into their languages (and back translated) and then administer it to two samples varying in age and years studying English. In the European countries, two of the young samples were 12 years old while the other two were 13; the older samples were 14 in one country, 15 in two countries and 16 in the other. In Brazil, the two samples were 15 and 17 years old, while in Japan the students were at the university level and were 18 and 20 years of age respectively. The twelve samples varied in size from 132 to 232, with a mean of 177.

Our major interest in these studies was to investigate the factor structure of the battery in each sample, to compare the structures across the age levels and the countries, to assess the reliability of the various scales, and to assess the relation of the measures to English achievement. As presented by Gardner (2010) the factor analyses demonstrated a very high degree of consistency for all 12 samples, yielding three orthogonal factors. In each sample they were identified as Integrativeness plus Motivation, Attitudes toward the Learning Situation plus Motivation, and Language Anxiety confirming the basic structure of the socio-educational model. The factor composition was very similar in the European samples, but showed slightly less similarity in the other two countries, which could be due to cultural and/or age differences. The internal consistency reliability of the measures were comparable in all 12 samples and were generally quite high, however, indicating that the measures themselves were equivalent. The most reliable measures were Attitudes toward Learning English and Evaluation of the English Teacher, while the least reliable were Integrative and Instrumental Orientation. The median reliability of all the measures over all samples was .83.

In our earlier research we often investigated the correlation of measures of achievement with each of the AMTB measures, anticipating that some correlations would be higher than others. In more recent research we have directed our attention more to the correlation of achievement with a single measure of integrative motivation. We have proposed that individuals who are integratively motivated to learn a second language will evidence the ability or willingness to incorporate features of other cultural communities as part of their self-identity, will find the classroom experience favorable, will exhibit high levels of motivation, and will experience low levels of language anxiety. As a consequence, we have computed an

Integrative Motivation score as Integrativeness + Attitudes toward the Learning Situation + Motivation - Language Anxiety, and then computed the correlation of this score with measures of language achievement.

The results obtained with the international form of the AMTB were generally very clear. In those studies, we considered two criteria. One was the final grade obtained by the students at the end of the school year; these data were available for all samples except those from Japan. The correlations ranged from .21 to .50 for the young samples and .40 to .48 for the older ones yielding a median correlation of .45. The other criterion was self-ratings of proficiency in English made at the time the AMTB was administered. These correlations ranged from .47 to .67, with a median of .57. In his analysis of power in statistical analysis, Cohen (1988) defines a correlation of .50 as a strong degree of association, characterizing it as the practical upper limit of predictive effectiveness. These results suggest, therefore, that the construct of integrative motivation is clearly associated with achievement in English as a foreign language.

Much of the material discussed here is described in more detail in the 1985 and 2010 books, both of which reflect Wally's theoretical contributions, and his legacy is honored in the dedication to the 2010 publication. It reads "To: W. E. Lambert who led me to the research area, P. C. Smythe who urged that we formalize and investigate the model, and the students whose participation in our studies truly made this book possible".

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LANGUAGE ATTITUDES: THE ROLE OF MOTIVATED INFORMATION MANAGEMENT

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ABSTRACT

Wallace Lambert was a pioneer of language attitudes in terms of method, empiricism, and theory. In this paper, his original paradigm and the more recent work and theory it has spawned is discussed and elaborated. Drawing upon the motivated theory of information management, a new model of language attitudes is introduced.

(USA) INGROUPER: *"Where you from, then?"*
(Apparent) OUTGROUPER [confidently smiling]: *"Santa Barbara, California"*
INGROUPER: [indicating somewhat perplexed]: *"No, I meant where you really from?"*
OUTGROUPER [indicating despair]: *"Yeh, I'm really from Santa Barbara!"*
INGROUPER: [somewhat agitated] *"No, you have an accent, where did you originally come from?"*
OUTGROUPER [somewhat reluctantly]: *"OK, Wales, but I have been in the States for over 22 years"*
INGROUPER: [somewhat surprised and confused]: *"Oh?!"*
OUTGROUPER [somewhat assertive]: *"Actually, it's you who have the accent, buddy!"*
INGROUPER [somewhat indignant]: *"What? I don't have an accent!"*
OUTGROUPER [somewhat arrogantly]: *"I'm a professor of Communication, believe me, I study this kind of thing and you, like everyone else, does have an accent!"*

The legacy of Wallace E. Lambert spans many diverse fields from the neurological to the social and linguistic - and his impact in each of them has, of course, been profound (see Reynolds, 1991; Vaid, Paivio, Gardner, & Genesee, 2010). It is upon one of these fields – language attitudes – that this contribution focuses (see Lambert, 1967). In a recent tribute, Taylor (in press) noted that Lambert "introduced the ingenious matched-guise technique to investigate evaluative reactions to speech style. This led to an appreciation for how language and accent, like physical appearance, are an important basis for prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination (Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, & Fillenbaum, 1960)". For these reasons, Lambert is regarded as one of the foremost cross-disciplinary pioneers in the study of language attitudes and the father of the social psychology of language more generally. After an introduction to the original, seminal matched-guise technique (MGT) study, and the more recent research and theory that was triggered by it, a new perspective on information regulation and sense-making is proposed that stems from Lambert's legacy. During the unfolding of this essay, the prefaced scenario will be drawn upon for theoretical effect.

BACKGROUND: VOICE, ACCENT, AND THE MATCHED-GUISE TECHNIQUE

The way people talk conveys a great deal about who they are, including their age, sex, ethnicity, and physical size (e.g., Lass, Hughes, Bowyer, Waters, & Bourne, 1976). As McGlone and Giles (in press) commented in their review of language attitudes research, "speakers' identities are encoded in their voices. Listeners hearing their speech can, without training, do a remarkable job of decoding this identifying information. For example, Ellis (1967) asked undergraduates to judge speakers' socioeconomic status (SES) after listening to recordings of a standard passage being read. The correlation between judged and actual SES (as measured by the Index of Status Characteristics) was +0.80. Hence, many texts make the point that the Latin origins of the word *personality* refers to *sounding through*. In this sense, another's voice can be a prime window (or echo) for interpreting their psychological state. Nonetheless, there

is also a longstanding literature showing that others' voices are potent cues for listeners to apply social stereotypes (e.g., Ko, Judd, & Stapel, 2009; Scherer, 1979) that have little to do with their actual social characteristics.

Pre-dating most of this work, Lambert et al.'s (1960) devising of the MGT was built on the following theoretical premise: perceived language features → social categorization → trait attributions. Indeed, when it comes to speakers' speech styles, there has been a longstanding consensus that such features provide listeners with an intergroup frame for interpreting the situation (Giles, Reid, & Harwood, 2010); that is, voice tells us more of speakers' social identities than their personal identities (see Giles & Ryan, 1982; Ryan, Hewstone, & Giles, 1984). Studies employing the MGT present listeners with audio-recordings of purportedly neutral passages of prose (see Giles & Coupland, 1991) read by bilingual or bidialectal individuals who can authentically adopt various guises of the language varieties under study. By using the same speakers to render these guises, other extraneous vocal variables (e.g., speech rate) that naturally vary between speakers are controlled, and researchers are, thereby, able to attribute response differences primarily to the guises being contrasted.

In their initial study, Lambert et al. (1960) compared the evaluative reactions of undergraduates in Montreal to English and French versions of a short passage read by four bilingual speakers. Each listener heard all eight recordings, but was not told that they would hear each voice twice; in addition, the recordings were presented in an order that maximized the interval between successive presentations of the English and French guises of each speaker. Under these circumstances, listeners believed they were hearing eight different speakers. The listeners rated each of the recordings on scales reflecting a variety of speaker personality and physical traits, namely, the evaluative factors of competence and social attractiveness (see also, Mulac, 1975; Zahn & Hopper, 1985). Results indicated that the listeners, who themselves were bilingual, assigned higher ratings overall to speakers' English guises than their French guises, regardless of whether their own primary language was English or French, and particularly on traits relating to socioeconomic success, such as intelligence and ambition (see Tajfel, 1959). That the native French listeners accorded even more negative attributions to French than English guises suggested a sense of "linguistic insecurity" among this group (see Genesee & Holobrow, 1989). Lambert et al. attributed the English speakers' advantage to the higher representation of speakers of that language in positions of social and economic power in Montreal.

In lauding the broad impact of this as well as follow-up investigations by Lambert elsewhere, Giles and Coupland (1991) noted that "the original study spawned an enormous number of studies world-wide… and assisted in laying down the foundations for a distinctive Canadian social

psychology" (p. 23). Indeed, work in this tradition flourished in the 1970s and 1980s, was rendered relatively silent in the 1990s through the early 2000s, yet quite recently has had a resurgence in interest (e.g., Grondelaers, van Hout, & Steegs, 2010, Gluzek & Dovidio, 2010a; Heaton & Nygaard, in press). Of all the vocal cues investigated in the MGT genre (e.g., pitch and lexical diversity), accents have since received the most empirical attention. That people have, or rather are attributed as having, a so-called "accent" (see opening scenario) has been a social issue and concern in everyday parlance, popular culture, and in many professional contexts for a very long time. A recent web-search (02/25/2011) on "reactions to people's accents," for instance, triggered well over three million hits. The international diversity of these websites is itself intriguing, ranging from how accents can "hold you back" and are unsuitable for classroom teaching, to those offering programs to eliminate them, to those on YouTube with video-clips of comedians taking others to task for "having accents" and other speech styles. Put another way, how one speaks and its social meanings, together with the reactions and decisions they garner, is an incontestable *communicative* issue, and one to be developed in what follows below.

MGT's listener-judges readily form and access their language attitudes after minimal exposure to the accents being compared, suggesting that these attitudes derive from schemas about relationships among language, dialect, ethnicity, and social class acquired very early in life (Bradac & Giles, 1991; Floccia, Bulter, Giard, & Goslin, 2009). Indeed, Nazzi, Juscyk, and Johnson (2000) observed that children as young as five months old are already sensitive to dialectical variations and, by the age of five, accents can be as potent in children's social appraisals as sex and skin color (e.g., Kinzler, Shutts, DeJesus, & Spelke, 2009). Relatedly, and referring to their own empirical work with adults, Rakić, Steffens, and Mummendey (2011) found that "it was rather irrelevant for participants what targets looked like; it mainly mattered whether they were speaking with an accent or not. In this case it was almost as if participants became blind to the visual category information in the presence of more meaningful auditory category information" (p. 24; see also, Freeman & Ambady, 2011).

A considerable portion of the experimental work on social evaluations of accents has been devoted to speakers who occupy positions along a standard-nonstandardness continuum (see Ryan, Giles, & Sebastian, 1982). Examples of standard varieties would be British Received Pronunciation (R.P., commonly referred to as "the Queen's or BBC English"), Parisian French, and Castilian Spanish, whereas nonstandard speakers would be those identified from lower socioeconomic strata who spoke more regional or nonnative varieties of these languages (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a); for a discussion of the complexity of such distinctions, see Edwards and Jacobsen (1987) and Kristiansen (2001).

Generally, standard language varieties grant people access to political, economic, and educational forums and opportunities, while nonstandard language varieties impart stigma upon speakers of them (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010b).

Research using the MGT (as well as other elicitation procedures, see Ryan, Giles, and Hewstone, 1988) has found that speakers of *non*standard language varieties – and especially those with broader accents (Gluszek, Newheiser, & Dovidio, 2011) – are perceived to be at a social disadvantage vis-a-vis their standard counterparts on a number of levels (for overviews, see Giles & Billings, 2004; Giles & Marlow, 2011; Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010b); for example, they are downgraded on:

- competence (e.g., intelligence, ambition, and confidence) as well as dynamism (e.g., lively, enthusiastic, and talkative) traits;
- their suitability for employment in high status jobs;
- effectiveness as teachers;
- declared guilty when under suspicion of committing a crime;
- the perceived quality of the message content and its level of comprehensibility being downgraded as well. Indeed, Lev-Ari and Keysar (2010) argue, and for some rather provocatively, that non-native speakers are downgraded not so much because of social prejudice but, rather, due to the cognitive load expended in making their messages comprehensible and credible.

Although there is some evidence that status-related contexts (e.g., classroom settings) accentuate these findings, the profile of negative evaluations seems to accrue across differing social contexts studied, and nonstandard speakers have also been shown to induce less behavioral cooperation from others.

On the other hand, nonstandard speakers have been upgraded, albeit not always consistently, on traits of social attractiveness and benevolence, such as friendliness (e.g., Luhman, 1991). Moreover, male nonstandard speakers have been perceived as more masculine and considered more skilled at manual labor tasks (Giles, Henwood, Coupland, Harriman, & Coupland, 1992). In this sense, nonstandard accents can have covert prestige for some of its speakers when in-group identity and loyalty are salient (Ryan, 1979; Marlow & Giles, 2008). When this effect has emerged, it could be aligned with Cuddy, Fiske, and Glick's (2008) content stereotype model that contends that stigmatized groups' (e.g., elderly, obese, physically challenged) lack of attributed competence can be compensated for by elevated attributions of warmth; work in this tradition has, to date, focused on ratings of the conceptual labels of different social groups (e.g., Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). However, in a meta-analysis of language attitude studies where the necessary statistical information was reported in the published reports, Fuertes, Gottdiener, Martin, Gilbert, & Giles (under review) found that, in general, standard speakers – and more so in the USA than Britain – are upgraded on all traits of competence, dynamism, *and* even social attractiveness. Perhaps future research will explore the notion that when actual voices or videotaped features of stigmatized groups are portrayed, the warmth dimension fades away and, at best, is "compensated for" by certain types of raters with pity and or sympathy.

PRIOR THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENTS

In their 1991 chapter, Giles and Coupland noted that, in the 1980s, there was a concern about a proliferation of MGT studies that were merely descriptive. Perhaps as a reaction to this a-theoretical stance, models emerged at that time that were concerned about specifying the underlying socio-structural conditions and prevailing intergroup dynamics that shaped language attitudes in different culture settings (e.g., Ryan, et al., 1982, 1984). In addition, a concern for *process* was becoming evident. For example, attention was directed at how language attitudes were invoked by listeners to reduce interpersonal uncertainty about speakers and, thereby, guided their subsequent impression management strategies (Berger & Bradac, 1982; Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey, 1990). More interactively then, language attitudes were considered as effectively mediating self-presentational and accommodative practices towards speakers (Street & Hopper, 1982; Giles & Street, 1985), but they could also be maladaptive as in contributing to misattributions and miscommunication outcomes (Hewstone & Giles, 1986). Subsequently, models were developed that explored language attitudes as being integral to the processing of information in real life encounters, with a consideration of the roles of such variables as the perceived interpersonal history existing between speaker and listener (Cargile & Bradac, 2001; Cargile, Giles, Ryan, & Bradac, 1994; Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010b).

Giles and Coupland (1991) presented their own model of the MGT, pointing to the fact that forming language attitudes can be a constructive, interpretive process. In expanding and elaborating on this position as well as building upon the communication ecology model (see Giles, Katz, & Myers, 2006), Giles and Marlow (2011), they argued for a dynamic model of language attitudes that was:

> … *much more than [about] anonymous reports on questionnaires, produced on demand about unknown speakers in socially sterile, task-oriented settings. Rather, they can also … feature more creatively as cogent elements within stories told, arguments rendered, and personas performed. In any case, language attitudes typically fulfill vital personal, rhetorical, and social needs whose origins are borne out of past, yet evolving, community. (pp. 182-183)*

Space precludes a detailed exposition of this complex model of interlocking processes, however, one central element of it - sense-making - is that people endeavor "to create order and make retrospective sense of what occurs" (Weick, 1993, p. 635). In other words, it appeals to the ways in which people try and make sense of their interactions, relationships, and the communicative styles of others based on expectations and pre-conceived notions (Burgoon & Hale, 1984; Dillard, Solomon, & Palmer, 1999); a process that can have positive relational outcomes, particularly in times of stress (e.g., Trees & Koenig Kellas, 2009).
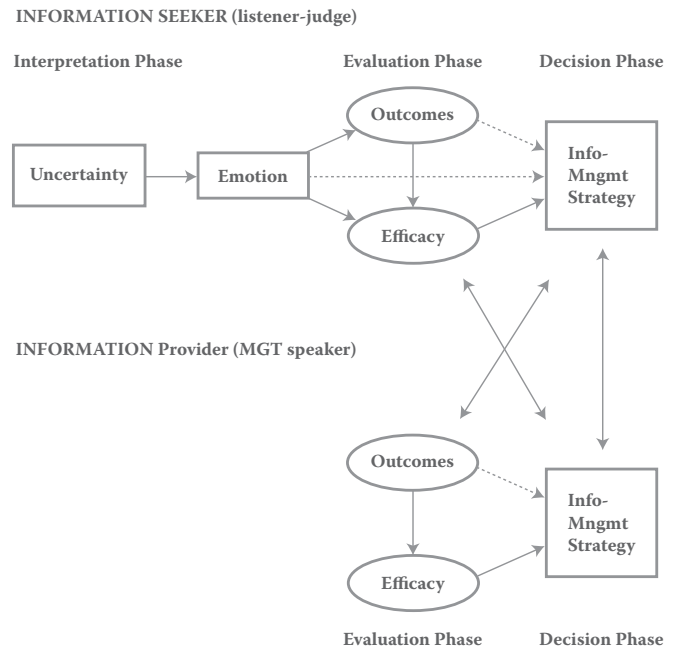
TOWARDS A MODEL OF UNCERTAINTY MANAGEMENT AND THAT OF SENSE-MAKING IN LANGUAGE ATTITUDES SITUATIONS

The opening dialogue prefacing this paper conveyed a ubiquitous conversational event routinely endured by this author – the outgrouper – and doubtless by countless others. It has a number of constituent features that go beyond the traditional MGT paradigm of assessing language attitudes.

First, language attitudes can be a discursive ongoing event in social life and not merely a reactive pencil-and-paper task under controlled conditions. The ingrouper here positions themselves as linguistically dissimilar from the outgrouper who happens to be a naturalized citizen of long-standing. Second, such a linguistic conundrum can be open to prolonged negotiation, overt comment, and sometimes interrogation: at the outset, the outgrouper does not feel the need to explain themselves as anything but "American" and, later, the ingrouper contends they (erroneously) do not have "an accent." Third, the ingrouper (as indicated by the nonverbal signals) is expressively and emotively involved in sense-making: how can this person be a real American? Moreover, and in the language of The Theory of Motivated Information Management (TMIM, Afifi, 2009; Afifif & Morse, 2009) - a framework for exploring information regulation – the ingrouper has an "uncertainty gap." In other words, the ingrouper perhaps ponders why this outgrouper has not converged towards sounding like a "proper American", and/or may wonder why this outgrouper has held on his heritage pronunciations seemingly so tenaciously? Is it because the latter does not identify with American values, and even brings them implicitly into question?! Fourth, the ingrouper feels, by being confronted and questioned about the integrity of their parlance, that the outgrouper is inherently criticizing them – a recipient process that is not infrequently experienced by nonstandard speakers (Marlow, 2010; Marlow & Giles, 2010).

Developing these ideas further in ways that might theoretically enhance future studies, we call now more directly on the TMIM as a useful heuristic for exploring language attitudes enacted in situations where uncertainty gaps are evident and that require information management and sense-making. TMIM describes information management as a process that unfolds over three stages: interpretation, evaluation, and decision-making (see Figure 1, after Afifi & Weiner, 2004, p. 172; Fowler & Afifi, in press). In the interpretation phase, people become aware of a difference between thelevel of uncertainty they have about a topic, or in our case, the relationship between accent usage and social origins, and the level of uncertainty they would like to have; our ingrouper certainly experiences something like this, as indicated above (perhaps, in addition, quickly musing about accent diversity and national identity). This uncertainty discrepancy is linearly associated with anxiety (or other emotions alluded to in the dialogue) which is a partial mediator of the relationship between the uncertainty, discrepancy and the information-management process (see Fowler & Afifi, in press). Perhaps surprisingly, the role of *affect* in language attitudes studies and theories has not always been a prominent ingredient, yet certainly should feature more systematically (see Cargile et al., 1994).

Figure 1 : The revised theory of motivated information management in language attitudes context (after Afifi & Weiner, 2004; Fowler & Afifi, in press).

Once in the evaluation phase, people assess a range of options open to them by considering the outcomes that a search for information – or, alternatively, a deliberate avoidance of it – may yield (outcome assessments), and their ability or self-efficacy to gain the information they seek or not. Clearly, our outgrouper exuded self-efficacy by unexpectedly trumping the ingrouper's initial feelings of being in command of the conversation by alleging his professional expertise. TMIM predicts a positive relationship between efficacy judgments and outcome assessments, with the strength of the relationship determined by the valence of the outcome expectancies. The ultimate meta-communicative decision as to whether or not to exchange views about each other's accent usages, and if so, how, would then follow. The position being advanced here – as is apparent from Figure 1 – is that the language attitudes paradigm can involve parallel processing by both speaker and listener-judge who can reciprocally assume each of these roles. (To date, empirical research on TMIM has focused, unilaterally, on one side of the equation, namely the information-seeker.)

Obviously, further theoretical refinements and elaborations are in order for this current position, as well as its integration with extant models (e.g., Giles & Marlow, 2011), to flourish as a more robust theoretical frame for language attitudes. However, this motivated information management model of language attitudes implicates new variables and processes that can fruitfully be applied in future empirical research.

CONCLUSIONS

In the foregoing, a necessarily selective overview of language attitudes research and theory has been provided. Gratifyingly, work in this tradition is now back in vogue (even in premier social psychological forums) and is receiving a new lease of life with many new innovations being proferred (e.g., Kinzler, Corriveau, & Harris, 2011; Rakić, Steffens, and Mummendey, under review; Reid et al., under review). In closing, some features of the TMIM-inspired proposals espoused herein, which positions language attitudes in a more communicative frame, include the following:

- Language attitudes can be ecologically-richer than that caricatured in the original, albeit, seminal MGT study.
- Our stance reaffirms the importance of emotions in language attitudes by alluding to the mediating roles of disrespect, shame, disgust, anger, and so forth.
- It affords communicative self-efficacy (as well as the different kinds of it, see Fowler & Afifi, in press) a central role in the language attitudes process.
- Emphasis has been given to language attitudes situations being oftentimes negotiative ones involving interpretive,

sense-making processes. This can lead to decisions about establishing a dialogue about same, criticizing (or praising) the others' communicative practices, or withholding or avoiding such discourse, and so forth.

In all due time, discrimination against certain kinds of accents and other speech styles in the work place, classroom, and other institutions of our social life will, justifiably, be legally outlawed and decried more globally and accent tolerance commonplace (see http://humanaccents.com/feedback.php). The crafting of the MGT and Lambert's follow-up investigations will likely be recognized as the historical stimulus for such actions. Whether he would agree with all the theoretical nuances being proposed over the years, or even all of the directions and critiques (e.g., Grondelaers, van Hout, & Steegs, 2010) the study of language attitudes has undertaken, we will never really know. Nonetheless, and assuredly, he would resonate to the vibrant, creative panoply of work he has propelled.

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IMMERSION EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES: EXPANSION AND EXTENSION

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ABSTRACT

The work of Wallace Lambert and his colleagues on bilingualism and biculturalism had a significant impact on education and society in the United States and around the world. This paper reviews the spread of immersion education to the U.S. and the ways in which it expanded and was extended (heritage language immersion and two-way immersion) to fit the diverse contexts and purposes that existed there.

INTRODUCTION

As it both reflected and stimulated the quiet evolution of language and cultural relations in Canada, Wallace Lambert's work on bilingualism and biculturalism also had a significant impact on education and society in the United States, both directly (through his activities in the U.S.) and indirectly (through the influence of his research and writing around the world). My colleagues on this panel have given an insightful overview of his contributions to the rise of French immersion in Canada, from community involvement to careful research documentation (Lambert & Tucker, 1972). In this paper, I will review the advance of immersion approaches to language education as they expanded to the U.S. and then were extended to fit the diverse contexts and purposes that existed there.

EXPANSION OF IMMERSION EDUCATION

At the time the St. Lambert immersion program got underway in 1965, some policy makers and educators in the U.S. were concerned about the lack of capacity in languages other than English in the country and were looking for new ideas. These concerns had emerged after experiences in World War II and the launch of Sputnik by the Soviet Union underscored the security, diplomatic, and economic disadvantages of not having sufficient language resources to call on. In particular, elementary and secondary schools were not producing individuals with language competency for the pipeline into postsecondary education and careers that involved using languages other than English.

Dr. Russell Campbell (1927-2003), a professor of applied linguistics at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), was one of those individuals who felt that the investment of time and energy in language education, especially in elementary and secondary education, was not yielding results that met the societal need. He paid a visit to Professor Lambert and the St. Lambert program to find out more about this novel approach, and

> … *on returning from a visit to the St. Lambert French immersion program and after extended consultation with students, parents, teachers, school officials, and McGill University participants in that program, [I] approached Culver City, CA Unified School District authorities to suggest the possible replication, with only minor modifications, of the St. Lambert program in an American setting. (Campbell, 1984, p. 115-116)*

Campbell's argument, based on the evidence he brought back from St. Lambert, was very persuasive, and the school district agreed to implement the model, with the help of researchers from UCLA (Culver City is located in Los Angeles County, CA).

In Culver City, the language of the immersion program was Spanish rather than French, reflecting the geographical

and demographic characteristics of Southern California. At the start, one elementary school was involved, and the program was implemented as a strand within the school, with one classroom at each grade level. Most of the students were monolingual speakers of English, and the goals of immersion bilingualism, biliteracy, and academic proficiency were set for them. The St. Lambert model for language distribution was adopted, with kindergarten and first grade classrooms using Spanish 100% of the time, English language arts introduced in grade 2, and an increase in the use of English so that in grades 4 through 6, instruction was 50% in Spanish and 50% in English.

A close collaboration between the school and a university was another area of similarity with the St. Lambert program. UCLA faculty and graduate students collaborated with district teachers and administrators to document, monitor, and evaluate the experimental program. As immersion gained attention in other districts, research results also began to appear that demonstrated the effectiveness of the approach in the U.S. as well as in Canada. For example, an early comparison of immersion with traditional elementary school foreign language programs (with 20-30 minutes per day of language instruction), showed that "immersion students scored significantly higher across the board in all the skill areas tested" (Campbell, Gray, Rhodes, & Snow, 1985). Further, after 11 years of implementation, academic results for students in Culver City immersion were also very positive, including English vocabulary (Campbell, 1984). The expanding research base reassured schools considering the innovative language education model, and the number of programs grew. The Center for Applied Linguistics compiled a directory of immersion programs (through voluntary participation and therefore not comprehensive), which was later accessible and searchable on their website. The number of programs in the directory by year illustrates the growth trajectory (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2011):

1971 – 3 programs
1979 – 13 programs
1989 – 92 programs
1999 – 278 programs
2006 – 263 programs

With the expansion of immersion came offerings in languages other than Spanish, including French, Japanese, Mandarin, German, and a variety of others, and variations on the basic model were developed in the U.S. as well as in Canada. In particular, a variation that became popular in the U.S. is a version where the immersion language and English are both used about 50% of the instructional time from the beginning grades, often called the "50/50" model. A recent national survey showed an overall decline in U.S. schools offering foreign language study at the elementary school level (Rhodes & Pufahl, 2009), but it is not yet known how immersion programs will be affected. As will be discussed shortly, the increase in other forms of immersion may account for some of the decline in the classical form of foreign language immersion.

The Culver City schools recently celebrated the 40th anniversary of immersion. This intensive form of language education is now featured at two elementary schools in the district, with continuation courses at the secondary level, and is offered in both Spanish and Japanese. As in many districts, there are more applicants than spaces in the immersion programs, a sign of their popularity with families. These schools join several hundred others in the United States in the immersion enterprise, benefiting from the work of Wallace Lambert as they educate their children bilingually.

EXTENSIONS OF IMMERSION EDUCATION

Wallace Lambert also saw the potential for immersion to address the loss of languages and wrote about "counteracting language neglect" (Lambert, 1984, p. 21) as he studied attitudes toward home language maintenance in immigrant populations, including Polish-Americans, Arab-Americans, and Albanian-Americans in Detroit, Michigan. For language minorities, he noted that "the best way I can see to release the linguistic and cultural potential of ethnolinguistic minority groups is by transforming their subtractive experiences with bilingualism and biculturalism into additive ones" (Lambert, 1984, p. 22). Following this line of thought, the immersion model has been extended to heritage language contexts, where an ethnolinguistic minority community language has been, or is being, lost among the younger generation, and an immersion language program seeks to reestablish the language among school-aged children.

One of the oldest heritage language immersion programs is found in Hawaii, the only U.S. state to designate an indigenous native language as one of the official languages. The language was dying out, however, and in response to parents and community leaders, the Hawaiian Language Immersion Program, *Ka Papahana Kaiapuni Hawai'i*, was established in 1987, at two sites. Since then, it has grown to 19 sites and 1,500 students on five islands. Through grade 5, instruction is through Hawaiian only; at that point, English is introduced and continues through grade 12. The first class educated solely through the immersion program graduated from high school in 1999. This program is seen as a major component of Hawaiian language maintenance, and "the students understand that they will be responsible for the perpetuation of the native Hawaiian language and be the stewards of the cultural heritage of the indigenous people of Hawaii" (Hawai'i State Department of Education, 2011).

Other indigenous communities have adopted immersion to revitalize or maintain the heritage language. Reyhner (2010) mentions programs for Apache, Ojibwe, Diné (Navajo), and Blackfeet, emphasizing the importance of culture-based education along with language immersion for these groups. The Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma established an immersion program in 2001, which now serves children in preschool through grade 5, hoping to change a trend reflected in the finding of a 2002 survey that "no one under 40 years of age was conversational in the language" (Cherokee Nation, 2011).

Another extension of the immersion model in the U.S. brought together students from two different language backgrounds, and Wallace Lambert's imprint was again in evidence. A U.S.-government-sponsored research center based at UCLA (the Center for Language Education and Research) was funded to examine, among other things, the ways in which bilingual education for language minority students could be integrated with foreign language education for language majorities. The Center's leaders included Amado Padilla, Russell Campbell and G. Richard Tucker, and the advisory board counted Wallace Lambert and Merrill Swain among its members. In the innovative model that was developed with collaborating schools, students from two language backgrounds are taught together in the same classroom (in balanced numbers), being immersed part of the time in each of those languages for instruction. As in heritage immersion programs, the model supports the language of the heritage community from which the ethnolinguistic minority students come, and, like foreign language immersion programs, it offers majority language students an opportunity to learn an additional language. The goals are bilingualism and biliteracy for all students. In Lambert's terminology, it provides an additive bilingual experience for all students. The approach was called "two-way" because of the reciprocal nature of the language learning, with two groups learning each other's language, to distinguish it from "one-way" immersion where all students were learning the same new language. With the support of the Center's researchers, several new two-way programs were established and studied (Christian, Montone, Lindholm-Leary, and Carranza, 1997).

One of the early adopters of the approach was the Amigos School in Cambridge, MA. By the mid-1990s, the two-way program at Amigos extended from kindergarten through 8th grade, drawing students from diverse ethnic, cultural, and socio-economic backgrounds. Instruction was 50% in Spanish and 50% in English for a student body made up of native speakers of both languages. Working with Mary Cazabon of the Cambridge Public Schools, Lambert carried out studies of student attitudes, addressing his ongoing interest in attitudinal factors at play in bilingual development. They documented students' growing confidence in their bilingualism, as well as their attitudes toward the language and culture of their fellow students (Lambert & Cazabon, 1994; Cazabon, Nicoladis, & Lambert, 1998). His contributions helped to build the research base about the effects of the model as well as expanding our understanding of bilingualism in general.

Like other immersion programs, the number of two-way immersion programs grew, especially during the 1990s when the U.S. government provided funding for some programs. As experience was gained with the model and research pointed to its promise, it became more widely known as a high quality educational alternative (with long waiting lists for entry). A particular focus of interest was the possibility of improving academic performance of Hispanic students who had a proportionately higher dropout rate and incidence of academic difficulty. The beneficial effects of learning through the native language for minority students, while also developing high levels of proficiency in English, made two-way immersion schools well-suited to meet their needs. Thus, support for two-way immersion has come from those who seek more language education for all students as well as those who are concerned about the success of language minority students. While most programs continued to involve Spanish and English, the languages of instruction diversified somewhat (limited by demographic factors, since native speakers of the language are needed in sufficient numbers to populate half of the classrooms), to include Mandarin, Korean, French, Japanese, and others.

CONCLUSION

The teaching and leadership of Wallace Lambert played a very important role in the spread of immersion education to the U.S. His direct involvement in advising educators and policy makers, as well as his research in the U.S. and elsewhere, helped to shape the directions that immersion education took, including its extensions to heritage language communities and two-way immersion contexts. As Reynolds (1991) observed, Wallace Lambert's vision was of "a just world where people are not restricted by barriers of culture and language" (p. xix). His work on immersion as a means to that end has spread his vision beyond his home country to the U.S. and around the world, to the great benefit of us all.

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CAPITAL LANGUAGES: DIFFERENCES IN KNOWLEDGE AND USE OF ENGLISH AND FRENCH IN OTTAWA AND GATINEAU

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ABSTRACT

The essay examines the differences in bilingualism between residents of Gatineau, Quebec and Ottawa, Ontario with a view to offering insights into the respective experience of learning a second official language in school and that of interaction in the other language. The data suggest that knowledge of English and French is better amongst francophones in Gatineau than it is amongst anglophones in Ottawa despite greater opportunities for the latter to learn the other language in early schooling. It reveals that while Gatineau francophones report acquisition of the second official language somewhat later than do Ottawa anglophones the rate of second language retention on the part of the former group is considerably higher. The essay underscores the significance of having opportunities to use a second language and the risk of "using it or losing it" when it comes to the acquisition confined to the school setting. It concludes that the relationship language learning at school and opportunity for interaction needs much more attention on the part of researchers.

It's no coincidence that Canada's first French immersion class emerged during the 1960's in the province of Quebec. During that period, Quebec was undergoing economic and social change where there was an increasing desire that all Quebecers regard French as the province's dominant language. The timing for French immersion couldn't be better, as by the mid-1960's it was becoming increasingly evident that there would be pressure to learn French on those students for whom it was not a first language. Hence the immersion program targeted a population that understood the need for it and that expected that their children would make use of the French language when they became part of the workforce.

Since the 1960's, French immersion has become available in all provinces and two territories. But it is not surprising that it's most popular in the English-speaking sector of the province of Quebec, where French is both the official and majority language. The use of French as a second language is more likely to occur where there is a critical mass of English and French speakers living in relatively close proximity. Presumably, it will be more attractive to English-speakers in New Brunswick and in parts of Ontario since that is where the language is most likely to be put to use. However, enrollment trends in French immersion on a provincial basis might suggest otherwise. Outside of Quebec, it is the provinces of Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick with the highest percentages reporting enrollment in French immersion, with some one in five students enrolled in the program. Nova Scotia, Manitoba and Newfoundland, The percentage in Ontario is relatively low compared with the aforementioned provinces. But the provincial figures can be misleading in terms of the extent to which proximity to French-speaking communities influences the interest and desire for second language

TABLE 1: Number and percentage of mother tongue English, French and Non-official Languages in Ottawa, Ontario and Gatineau, Quebec, 2001 and 2006

MOTHER TONGUE	OTTAWA - GATINEAU		OTTAWA		GATINEAU	
	2006	2001	2006	2001	2006	2001
Total	1,117,120	1,054,865	835,470	795,250	281,650	259,610
English	550,260	530,870	514,680	49,7250	35,580	33,615
	49.3%	50.3%	61.6%	62.5%	12.6%	13.0%
French	360,175	341,180	139,205	133,830	220,970	207,345
	32.2%	32.3%	16.7%	16.8%	78.5%	79.6%
Non-official languages	185,875	162,415	165,360	148,285	20,520	14,135
	16.6%	15.4%	19.8%	18.7%	7.3%	5.4%

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 2001 and 2006

acquisition. In fact, in Canada's capital which borders on the province of Quebec, some 60% of children are enrolled in immersion and the demand is high.

Geographic proximity between English and French-speakers is more likely to create an environment where there is more opportunity for use of the acquired second-language. Proximity may not dictate the interest and demand for second language instruction but it does potentially provide the opportunities for interaction in the second language that can be essential in support of school-based language learning. Indeed, beyond the school years the ability to put what was learned into practice can make a crucial difference in the retention of the second language.

The part of the country where such proximity is most prevalent has been described as the bilingual belt. Richard Joy has described that belt as an "area 1,000 miles long, bounded on the West by a line drawn from Sault Ste. Marie through Ottawa to Cornwall and on the East by a line from Edmonston to Moncton….[O]ver 90% of all Canadians who claimed to have a knowledge of the French language were found within the Soo-Moncton limits. Outside this area, not one person in twenty could speak French, and not one in forty would use it as the language of the home".

Within the belt, however, the relative concentration of English and French-speakers is uneven, and rare are those areas with an equal percentage of the two language groups. Hence it is expected that one language will be dominant in a given area. As rates of bilingualism are higher within the "belt" there is more opportunity for language contact; it is within the 'belt" that the respective impact of learning French or English as a second language within school and its use in economic and/or social contexts can be mutually beneficial. The old adage "use it or lose it" applies to many facets of learning, and language is by no means an exception. When it comes to second language acquisition, to retain what

is acquired at school is dependent on the ability to put it into practice. That which follows will examine the rates of official language bilingualism in the country's national capital region which indeed falls within the "bilingual belt". It is also an area where there is a strong incentive to acquire the second official language as more than 40% of the country's federal civil service is concentrated there. Ottawa is unique. As one observer noted with respect to Ottawa, "It's a political town like no other, a city of affluent, highly-educated people, many of whom work, or aspire to work, in the civil service. To do that, you need to speak French and parents face huge pressure to enroll their children in French Immersion programmes."

While much attention is directed at the challenges associated with early/school based second language acquisition, considerably less research has been conducted around the retention of second languages beyond schooling. The prevailing theory holds that a language learned during early childhood is forgotten when contact to that language is severed. A key element is the degree to which contact is maintained – however minimal – with the early-acquired language. Studies that tend to report little or no evidence of preserved language knowledge usually involve participants that are completely isolated from a childhood language. Accordingly, they contend that some contact with the early language throughout life helps guard against language loss. By contrast, Jeffrey S. Bowers et al. (2009) found "traces of early language exposure in individuals in their adult years, despite a complete absence of explicit memory for the language." Researchers identified age as an important factor in the ability to relearn a language, with persons under age 40 demonstrating some ability while those over 40 failed to show any relearning." Their results indicated that, even when exposure to the childhood language is completely blocked, implicit knowledge can still be preserved.

There is ongoing discussion as to the factors that help determine the variability in the level of language retention among individual learners. Some stress the neuropsychological make-up or external circumstances/environment of one speaker that ultimately enable them to attain/maintain language skills or cause erosion. Summarizing the principal contributing factors, Schmid and Dusseldorp point to language aptitude (Hyltenstam, 2007), emotional and attitudinal factors (Schumann, 1994; 1998; Schmid,2002), ethnic affiliation and identification (Giles et al., 1977; Ya gˇmur, 1997), and the amount of exposure to and use of the language in question (Paradis, 2004; 2007). Researchers increasingly view these factors as interdependent or intertwined (e.g. de Bot et al., 2007).

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION

An area of the country where there is significant opportunity for interaction between English and French speakers is in the country's National Capital Region. Also referred to as Canada's Capital Region, it includes Gatineau, Quebec, the Canadian capital of Ottawa, Ontario and surrounding urban and rural communities. The National Capital Region (hereafter NCR) straddles the Ottawa River, which serves as the boundary between the provinces of Ontarioand Quebec.

Between 2001 and 2006, the share of anglophones in the NCR slipped below fifty percent owing to the rise in the number of persons whose first language was neither English nor French. For the entire region, English is the mother tongue of one in two persons, French nearly one in three and the others approximately one in six. Not surprisingly, English-speakers are more concentrated on the Ontario side of the NCR and francophones on the Quebec side. But there is divergence in the respective share of anglophones and francophones; in Gatineau, mother tongue francophones represented 78% of the population in 2006, while anglophones represented some 62% of the population of Ottawa.

KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH AND FRENCH

In 2001 some 44.3% of the population of the National Capital Region reported an ability to speak both the English and French languages versus 44.4% in 2006 (in 1991 it was 42.8 and in 1996 44.0%). In effect, over that five-year period there was virtually no change in the level of bilingualism, despite a fairly strong push on the part of the federal government to increase rather sharply the share of youth (in particular non-francophones outside of Quebec) able to speak both English and French. In the National Capital Region some 29.1% of anglophones reported knowledge of both English and French in 2001 and 30.5% in 2006, versus 75.3% and 73.3% in the share of NCR Francophones in 2001 and 2006 respectively. One in four allophones in the NCR reported knowledge of both English and French.

TABLE 2: Percentage with Knowledge of English and French by Mother Tongue English, French and Other in percentage, Gatineau, Quebec, 2006

2006	GATINEAU POPULATION BY MOTHER TONGUE		
KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH AND FRENCH	ENGLISH	FRENCH	OTHER
Total	60.6%	63.2%	52.2%
Under 5 years	32.2%	11.8%	20.1%
5 to 9 years	55.3%	14.9%	45.1%
10 to 14 years	63.0%	29.4%	51.1%
15 to 19 years	75.9%	60.3%	74.9%
20 to 24 years	77.7%	76.2%	76.3%
25 to 29 years	66.4%	76.9%	67.4%
30 to 34 years	68.0%	79.8%	57.1%
35 to 39 years	66.1%	77.1%	58.0%
40 to 44 years	68.0%	76.9%	58.3%
45 to 49 years	59.3%	74.8%	56.5%
50 to 54 years	57.4%	75.4%	50.8%
55 to 59 years	59.2%	73.1%	41.6%
60 to 64 years	52.1%	71.2%	39.7%
65 to 69 years	44.2%	69.6%	28.9%
70 to 74 years	47.6%	68.0%	19.8%
75 years and over	34.8%	60.1%	20.3%

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 2006

GATINEAU

Gatineau is the province of Quebec's most bilingual region with some 64% of the population reporting knowledge of both English and French. On the basis of age cohort, one observes that Gatineau's anglophones acquire knowledge of French early and by the age of 15 some three-quarters report knowledge of English and French. In the case of francophones, it is in the late teens as they enter the workplace that their degree of bilingualism jumps considerably and remains at a similar level across the life-cycle. For their part, the level of reported bilingualism is lower amongst Gatineau anglophones in the upper age cohorts. That does not imply that it is in decline and may indeed reflect a generational shift in the degree to which anglophones are learning the French language. When it comes to allophones, they fall somewhere in between the two official language groups in terms of the level of bilingualism in the earlier age cohorts. The rate of reported bilingualism is similar for Gatineau's anglophones and allophones that

are between the ages of 15-19. Those allophones over the age of 30 have lower rates of reported bilingualism. That is possibly attributable to the same generational shift in their acquisition of the two official languages.

OTTAWA

Some 38.3% of the Ottawa population reported knowledge of English and French in 2006 compared to 37.8% in 2001 (it was 38.2% in 1996 and 37.2% in 1991). There was a slight increase in the percentage of anglophones in Ottawa that were bilingual over the period 2001-2006, rising from 27.1 to 28.4%. In Ottawa the pattern of bilingualism amongst anglophones and allophones is quite similar with just over one quarter obtaining knowledge of both languages by the age of 10 and nearly 40% attaining such status by the age of 15. By the age of 10 the vast majority of Ottawa's francophone population reports knowledge of English and French and by their late teens nearly all francophones achieve such status and sustain it over the course of their lives.

TABLE 3: Percentage with Knowledge of English and French by Mother Tongue English, French and Other in percentage, Ottawa, Ontario, 2006

OTTAWA 2006	MOTHER TONGUE		
KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH AND FRENCH	ENGLISH	FRENCH	OTHER
Total	28.5%	89.5%	23.4%
Under 5 years	6.3%	44.0%	8.2%
5 to 9 years	26.2%	70.8%	28.2%
10 to 14 years	38.2%	88.5%	38.3%
15 to 19 years	38.9%	92.1%	34.5%
20 to 24 years	38.1%	94.0%	29.3%
25 to 29 years	38.8%	94.4%	28.5%
30 to 34 years	36.5%	93.7%	25.9%
35 to 39 years	33.6%	94.6%	22.8%
40 to 44 years	27.3%	95.7%	22.5%
45 to 49 years	25.4%	94.0%	22.8%
50 to 54 years	26.8%	94.3%	24.3%
55 to 59 years	26.7%	93.5%	23.2%
60 to 64 years	21.7%	92.2%	19.5%
65 to 69 years	17.8%	90.6%	15.8%
70 to 74 years	15.3%	88.3%	11.4%
75 years and over	11.5%	82.6%	12.7%

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 2006

ALLOPHONES, SECOND AND THIRD LANGUAGE ACQUISITION IN THE NCR

In the table below, we examine the three largest allophone groups in the region and focus on those in their late teens and early twenties. By the early teens, the mother tongue Portuguese and Arabic report considerably greater knowledge of English and French in Gatineau than in Ottawa. In the case of the Spanish mother tongue populations of Ottawa and Gatineau, they report similar degrees of knowledge of the two official languages in the late teens but a substantial gap in favor of the latter region emerges in the early twenties. That gap is explained in part by the effects of the workforce on language use.

TABLE 4: Selected Non-Official Mother Tongue and Knowledge of English and French by percentage for 15-19 and 25-29 in Gatineau, Quebec and Ottawa, Ontario, 2006

2006	15-19		25-29	
	GATINEAU	OTTAWA	GATINEAU	OTTAWA
Portuguese	78%	82%	80%	55%
Spanish	39%	37%	66%	29%
Arabic	90%	35%	84.%	35%

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 2006

LANGUAGE USED AT WORK IN THE NCR

The public service of Canada is a major employer in the National Capital region. In the NCR the public service aims at having a bilingual labour force and in pursuit of that objective invests considerably in language training. As individuals from across Canada and elsewhere in the world are employed by the public service in Ottawa, it cannot be expected that all would have received some French language instruction. But even amongst many Ottawa civil servants that did learn some French in the school system, many are in need of French second language training. A report issued by the Canadian Centre for Management Development (currently the Canada School of the Public Service) claims that: "the effective use in organizations of the official languages may or may not be closely linked to capability, which is more a yardstick of potential use rather than actual practice. Use is affected by conditions in the organizational environment and individual attitudes, perceptions and behaviour (e.g. the nature of the work performed by the organization, organizational culture)…". The authors of the report add that: "Interaction between capability and use is complex. Ideally, we should strive for a virtuous cycle of mutual reinforcement. Efforts to bolster and maintain linguistic capability should normally engender enhanced use of the official languages in the workplace. However, failure to support capability will undermine it (Bosivert and Leblanc, 2003)".

TABLE 5: Language Used Most Often at Work in percentage by age cohort for mother tongue allophones in Gatineau, Quebec and Ottawa, Ontario, 2006

2006	LANGUAGE USED MOST OFTEN AT WORK							
ALLOPHONES	ENGLISH		FRENCH		ENGLISH AND FRENCH EQUALLY		OTHER	
REGION	GATINEAU	OTTAWA	GATINEAU	OTTAWA	GATINEAU	OTTAWA	GATINEAU	OTTAWA
Total	45.2%	90.0%	39.0%	2.8%	10.9%	2.6%	2.4%	3.0%
15 to 24 years	27.6%	92.0%	54.0%	2.0%	14.7%	3.7%	0.9%	0.9%
25 to 54 years	49.0%	90.4%	35.8%	3.0%	10.5%	2.6%	2.4%	2.6%
25 to 34 years	52.9%	90.8%	30.7%	3.0%	11.9%	3.1%	2.2%	2.0%
35 to 44 years	49.5%	90.8%	35.3%	2.7%	10.8%	2.0%	2.5%	2.7%
45 to 54 years	44.3%	89.6%	41.3%	3.2%	8.7%	2.8%	2.6%	2.9%
55 to 64 years	40.2%	88.9%	44.6%	2.6%	9.2%	2.1%	3.6%	4.5%

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 2006

Attitudes toward both official languages in the Public Service of Canada reflect an imbalance as a larger proportion of French-speakers claim to know English (85%) than English-speakers claim to know French (32%). It goes on to point out that bilingual English-speakers who work in bilingual regions spend 14% of their time speaking French; bilingual French-speakers working in bilingual regions spend 43% of their time speaking English.

Beyond the public service, the linguistic imbalance is much wider when looking at the use of English and French in the workplace in its entirety in Ottawa and Gatineau respectively. In Ottawa, in 2006, some 98% of anglophones report using English most often at work. For their part, nearly two-thirds of francophones report using English a majority of time in their workplace, another one in five report using both English and French, and approximately one in six use French most often at work. As to allophones, nine in ten report using English most often at work on the Ontario side of the region's border. On the Quebec side of the NCR in Gatineau, the pattern of language use in the workplace is quite different. Seven in ten francophones use French most often in the workplace in Gatineau, some one in four use English and the rest report use of both languages. For their part, some eight in ten anglophones use English most often at the workplace in Gatineau, 13% use French and 5% report use of both languages. In Gatineau, the allophones used English more often than they did French at work. The data cited here does not imply that the other official language is not used at all and so it may be used to varying degrees as the criteria here is only whether it is used most often. Yet when it comes to use of both languages equally, anglophones in Ottawa are least likely to do so.

CONCLUSION

Looking at knowledge and use of Canada's two official languages in Ottawa, Ontario and Gatineau, Quebec offers potentially important insights into the challenges associated with teaching second languages in varying contexts. It provides opportunity to make observations over the relationship between learning a second language in school and/or acquiring it through economic and social interaction. Ideally, the experience of acquiring a language at school would be accompanied by the opportunity to use it in later years. Such opportunity may vary considerably and even within areas with relatively important concentrations of persons identifying with the first and second languages, the much needed contact that affords putting the other language to use may be inadequate to support its retention. Paradoxically, knowledge of French and English is higher in Gatineau than in Ottawa even though the former is situated within a province that declares itself officially unilingual and offers more limited second language instruction in school to its majority language population. More research is needed in the NCR to better understand the transition between school and workplace when it comes to second language acquisition, otherwise it is likely that too many individuals will continue to lose a language that don't use sufficiently.

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BILINGUAL COMMUNICATION IN MONTREAL: SOME MATCHED-GUISE STUDIES[1]

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ABSTRACT

This article provides an overview of dialogue and face-to-face matched-guise studies designed to explore French/English language switching in Montreal since the adoption of pro-French laws such as Bill 101 in 1977. Results showed that Bill 101 may have had a 'carry-over effect' which increased French use by Anglophones in their encounters with Francophones on the streets of Montreal over the decades. By 1997, field studies showed that both Anglophones and Francophones overwhelmingly converged to each other's linguistic needs. Results are discussed using the concept of Diglossia and Communication Accommodation Theory.

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

DIGLOSSIA AND LANGUAGE NORMS IN QUEBEC

Before the adoption of Quebec language laws in the 1970s, English traditionally enjoyed higher status than French, thereby reflecting the elite position of the dominant Anglophone minority (Corbeil, 2007). While English was the public language of work and upward mobility, French was deemed more appropriate for private, informal or familiar exchanges, given the subordinate position of the Francophone majority in the province (Québec, 1972). It is in this intergroup setting that Wallace Lambert undertook his classic matched-guise studies which showed that Anglophone and Francophone undergraduates in Montreal rated the English speaking guise more favourably than the French guise on status and solidarity traits (Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner & Fillenbaum, 1960; see Giles, this issue). That Francophone listeners rated the French speaking guise even more negatively than did Anglophone raters suggested that Francophones suffered from 'linguistic insecurity' reflecting their endorsement of the negative views Anglophones had of the French majority in Quebec (Genesee & Holobow, 1989).

As in most other diglossic settings of the world, lower status Francophones in contact with Anglophones shouldered the effort of bilingualism and were likely to switch to English when communicating with Anglophones in formal and private cross-cultural encounters. In contrast, few members of the Anglophone community needed to learn French or bother switching to French when conversing with Francophone majority speakers (Taylor, Simard & Papineau, 1978).

However, the adoption of Bill 101 in 1977, which sought to improve the status and use of French relative to English reflected the changing power relationship between Quebec's two solitudes (d'Anglejan, 1984; Bouchard & Bourhis, 2002; Bourhis, 1984a; Caldwell, 1994). With the rise of the Québécois nationalist movement, Bill 101 was designed to foster greater use of French as the language of public

communication in business, commerce, education and the public administration (Corbeil, 2007). In a sociolinguistic survey conducted five years after the adoption of Bill 101, results showed that Montreal Francophone undergraduates stated they were more willing to maintain French in a conversation with an Anglophone interlocutor than they had been before the promulgation of the law (Bourhis, 1983). Such reports were concordant with those of Anglophone undergraduates, who in the same survey declared that Francophones converged less to English with them than had been the case before the adoption of Bill 101. Furthermore, Anglophone undergraduates reported that their own language switching to French with Francophone interlocutors had increased since Bill 101.

Bill 101 formally specified that all consumers of goods and services have the right to be informed and served in French when dealing with store clerks and public employees. In order to evaluate the effectiveness of this component of Bill 101, two experimental studies were conducted, one in Montreal and the other in Quebec City (Genesee & Bourhis, 1982, 1988). Using a dialogue version of the matched guise technique, over 1200 Francophone and Anglophone high school students were asked to listen to recorded conversations between a client and a clerk. In these content-controlled matched guise dialogues, the client and the clerk actors used different combinations of French and English language switches across four speaker turns. Students rated their impressions of the relationship between the client and the clerk across speaker turns and also rated the personality traits of the client and the clerk based on their language switching strategies and their background as Francophone and Anglophone speakers. Though complex in other ways, results showed that Francophone and Anglophone high school students systematically rated the clerk more favourably when he converged to the linguistic needs of the client than when he maintained his own language, this being particularly so when the clerk was portrayed as an Anglophone who converged to French with a client portrayed as a Francophone. Overall, the client/clerk encounter was also perceived as more harmonious when the clerk converged to the language choice of the client rather than when the clerk did not converge, and this whether the clerk converged to French or to English and whether students were tested in Quebec City or in Montreal. The more favourable rating of the clerk converging to French with the Francophone client was in line with the Bill 101 regulation stipulating that Francophones have a right to be served in French by store clerks. However, favourable ratings of the Francophone clerk converging to English as a way of accommodating to the linguistic needs of the Anglophone client were not in line with Bill 101 regulations. But such results did attest to the strength of the sociolinguistic norm favouring the linguistic choice of clients who, because of their buying power, impose accommodating language choices on clerks, especially in a setting where the offer of goods and services exceeds demand.

COMMUNICATION ACCOMMODATION THEORY (CAT)

Sociolinguistic and Social Psychological processes are important mediators of multilingual communication (Sachdev & Bourhis, 2001, 2005). Communication accommodation theory (CAT) is the social psychological framework most pertinent to the understanding of language switching behaviour in cross-cultural encounters (Bourhis, Giles & Lambert, 1975; Giles, Bourhis & Taylor, 1977). The CAT framework seeks to account for language-switching behaviour not only on the basis of sociolinguistic norms, but also depending on interlocutors' motives, attitudes, perceptions, and group loyalties (Giles, Mulac, Bradac & Johnson, 1987).

According to CAT, three basic speech strategies can be used in bilingual encounters: language convergence, language maintenance and language divergence (Giles & Coupland, 1991). Convergence is a language strategy in which speakers choose to switch to the language of their interlocutor. Convergence can be used to improve communication effectiveness, reduce interpersonal uncertainty, or signal interpersonal liking. It may also be used as an ingratiating strategy or as a way of being perceived more favourably by one's interlocutor, especially if the code-switching is towards the accent or language of higher prestige in a given sociolinguistic setting.

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

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

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

Language convergence can also be accounted for by speakers' motivation to maximize "rewards" and minimize "costs" (Van den Berg, 1986). Other interpersonal determinants of language convergence include the need to foster intelligibility, predictability and interpersonal involvement (Berger & Bradac, 1982). Using attribution theory, a study of language switching in Montreal showed that individuals were perceived more favourably when their language convergence was attributed to their personal dispositions and good will than when it could be accounted for by external pressures such as situational norms (Simard, Taylor & Giles, 1976).

In multilingual settings, language and accent not only situate speakers on the social map but often emerge as a key dimension of social identification and of inter-group differentiation between ingroup and outgroup speakers (Giles & Johnson, 1981; Tabouret-Keller, 1997; Sachdev & Bourhis, 1990). At the inter-group level, social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and ethnolinguistic identity theory (ELIT; Giles & Johnson, 1987) help account for language switching behaviour during inter-group encounters. In brief, SIT proposes that individuals are motivated to maintain or achieve a positive social identity, whereas ELIT is concerned with the search for psycholinguistic distinctiveness through favourable comparisons with outgroups on language and speech dimensions. Thus, SIT and ELIT are complementary in accounting for language maintenance and language divergence in terms of speakers' desire for achieving a positive social identity while establishing social differentiation from outgroup interlocutors. When language becomes the most salient dimension of group identity, linguistic divergence can be used to assert ingroup identification, contribute to positive social identity and accentuate boundaries between ingroup and outgroup speakers (Bourhis, El-Geledi & Sachdev, 2007).

Experimental studies have shown that ingroup identification can be related to the positive evaluation of language maintenance and language divergence voiced by ingroup members during conversations with rival outgroup speakers (Bourhis et al., 1975; Genesee & Bourhis, 1988; Tong, Hong, Lee & Chiu, 1999). Actual accent and language divergence was also documented in empirical studies of language behaviour. In Wales, adults learning Welsh in a language laboratory for cultural identity reasons used accent divergence by emphasizing their Welsh accent in English when responding to an outgroup English speaker who had voiced a culturally threatening message using the standard RP British accent (Bourhis & Giles, 1977). The strategy of language divergence was documented experimentally in a study conducted in Belgium with trilingual Flemish undergraduates (Bourhis, Giles, Leyens & Tajfel, 1979). Flemish undergraduates studying English in a language laboratory responded to a series of neutral or threatening questions voiced in French or English by a French Brussels confederate speaker. Flemish students converged to English when giving their answer to a content-neutral question voiced in English by the confederate. In contrast, when the question was content-threatening and voiced in French, Flemish students diverged by switching to Flemish, disagreeing with the disparaging statements about the Flemish language, and using insulting epithets to describe the French confederate. The Welsh and Flemish studies showed that threatening messages to the linguistic identity of group members can trigger dissociative language strategies such as accent, language and content divergence. Language divergence can also occur under less threatening circumstances. Taken together, these empirical studies of language convergence and divergence provide support for basic premises of CAT in multilingual settings.

BILINGUAL COMMUNICATION IN MONTREAL: 1977 TO 1997

Officially at least, Bill 101 was not designed to regulate French/English language use in private situations such as conversations between individuals in the home, with friends, or in anonymous encounters on the streets. However, the architects of Bill 101 posited that vigorous legislation in favour of French in public settings would trigger a *'carry-over effect'* in favour of French use in private settings such as the home, with friends, and on the street between strangers (Corbeil, 2007).

Four field experiments conducted on the streets of Montreal from 1977 to 1997 were designed to test the *'carry-over effect'* in favour of French use not only as the language of public discourse but also as the language of

private communication between anonymous individuals on the street. The first study was conducted on the streets of Montreal in 1977, two months after the adoption of Bill 101. The second street study took place two years later, in 1979, not only in the streets of downtown Montreal but also on the Anglophone campus of McGill University and on the Francophone campus of Université de Montréal (Bourhis, 1984b). The 1991 study was conducted both on the streets of downtown Montreal and on the Francophone and Anglophone university campuses, and included both a White and Black confederate (Moïse & Bourhis, 1994). The final study was conducted in 1997 using the same experimental design as the 1991 Montreal study (Bourhis, Montaruli & Amiot, 2007).

In the four studies, Francophone and Anglophone pedestrians were randomly accosted by a discreetly attractive 20-25 year old female confederate who voiced a plea for directions in either fluent French or fluent English. Male and female pedestrians in the 20 to 60 year old range were accosted randomly during rush hours on weekdays in underground shopping malls of East downtown Montreal for Francophone respondents and in West downtown Montreal for Anglophone participants. The content-controlled 30-second plea was a query for the location of the nearest metro station. Undergraduate students at Université de Montréal and at McGill University were accosted randomly on crowded sectors of the campuses during daytime class hours and were asked the location of the university bookstore. In the 1977 and 1979 experiments, there was only a White confederate asking for directions. However, the 1991 and 1997 studies included both a White and a Black female confederate for the downtown and university campus experiments. Numerous studies have shown that visible minorities are more likely to be the victim of prejudice and discrimination than other minorities in both Quebec and Canada (Berry, 2006; Bourhis, 1994; Bourhis, Montreuil, Helly & Jantzen, 2007). It was expected that White pedestrians may be less likely to converge to the linguistic needs of a Black confederate than to those of a White confederate.

Pedestrians who, from their accent and their responses to a brief post experimental questionnaire, were not native speakers of either Montreal French or Montreal English were dropped from the analyses. Results obtained in the four field studies showed that all pedestrians did provide accurate information to the confederates. However, the language used by the pedestrians to provide directions to the confederate served as the main dependent variable. When responding to the confederate's plea, total or partial use of the pedestrian's second language was considered a convergent response. The use of a single word such as "bonjour" for an Anglophone or "good-bye" for a Francophone was coded as a convergent response,

on the assumption that the pedestrian made an effort to accommodate psychologically to the linguistic need of the confederate (Giles et al., 1973). This lenient criterion for coding convergence was also designed to minimize lack of second language competence as an alternative explanation for respondents who used language maintenance while providing directions to the confederate. Montreal is the most bilingual city in Canada and all its citizens have had a chance to learn a few words of greeting and leave-taking in both French and English. For those participants who were accosted in their mother tongue, the dependent variable was also the language in which they provided directions. In all cases, pedestrians accosted in their first language responded in their first language attesting to the fluency of the confederates in portraying themselves as native French or English speakers

The procedure used in all four experiments is a novel face-to-face elaboration of the classic matched-guise technique. Accordingly, the confederates in each year of the study were chosen for their ability to speak both English and French fluently. The use of the same person to formulate the same message in both French and English had the advantage of controlling for paralinguistic voice cues, physical attractiveness, age, and dress style which was neatly casual in all experimental conditions across the four studies. The White and the Black confederates involved in each of the 1991 and 1997 studies were also carefully matched as regards physical attractiveness, age, as well as paralinguistic and speech style cues. All confederates involved across the four studies were carefully trained to voice the 30-second content-controlled message in a clear and neutral speech style.
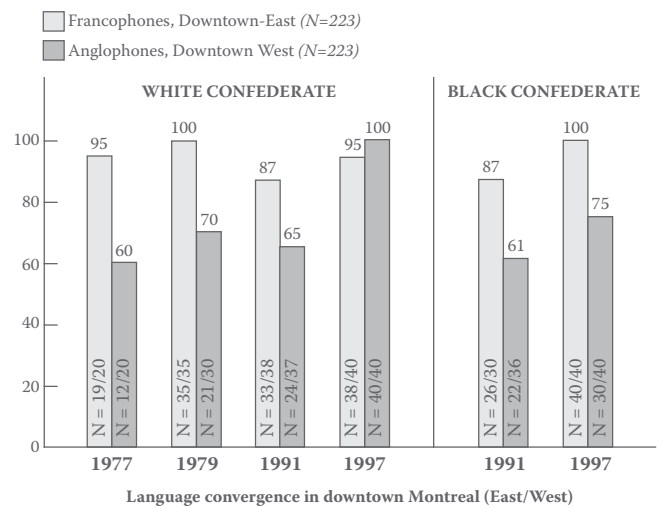
A basic goal of Bill 101 was to foster a pro-French climate that could make the use of French normal and spontaneous, especially amongst Quebec Francophones in bilingual Montreal. Could a *'carry-over effect'* of Bill 101 foster French language maintenance amongst Francophones even when responding to an individual plea for directions voiced in English? As can be seen from **Figure 1**, the 1977 to 1991 studies revealed that downtown Francophone pedestrians overwhelmingly converged to English (95%-100%) when accosted in English by the White confederate. At Université de Montreal, where pro-French nationalist activism was evident in the mid 1970s, results of the 1979 and 1991 studies showed that Francophone undergraduates accosted in English were only slightly less keen to converge to English (80%-84%; **Figure 2**) than their older counterparts in downtown Montreal (95%-100%). Taken together, these results suggest that Bill 101 had little obvious impact on the private language choices of Francophones in their encounters with English speakers. Francophone respondents seemed mainly concerned with accommodating the personal needs of their English

interlocutors, thus accounting for the overwhelming use of English convergence.
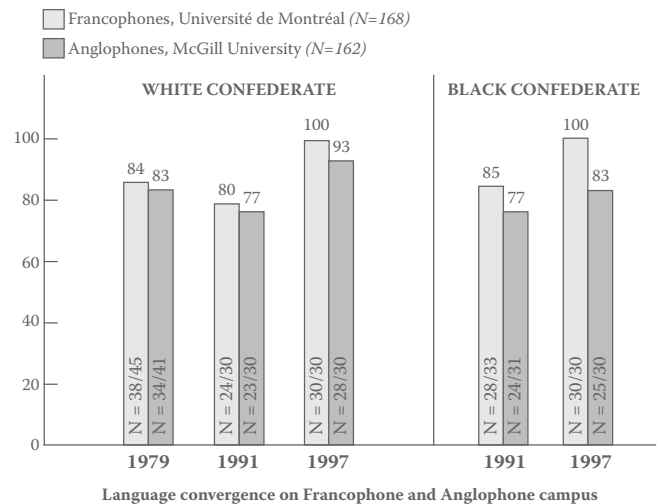
Over fifteen years after the adoption of Bill 101, political events such as the 1995 Quebec referendum and the 1996-97 Quebec partition debate further polarized French-English political relations in the province. Thus, from the 1991 to 1997 studies it was expected that Francophones might be less likely to converge to the linguistic needs of the English-speaking confederate, especially when she was portrayed as being doubly different by virtue of her first language and Black visible minority status. As it turns out, the 1997 results showed that the proportion of Francophones converging to English did not differ as a function of the ethnicity of the confederate: 87%-100% converged to English with the Black confederate in downtown Montreal (**Figure 1**) and 85% to 100% of the Francophone undergraduates converged to her in English at the Université de Montréal (**Figure 2**). Thus, more than twenty years after the adoption of Bill 101, the majority of Francophones were consistent in converging linguistically with the English-speaking confederates and this, whether the confederate was White or Black or whether she addressed her plea for directions in Francophone downtown Montreal or at the Université de Montreal.

The proportion of Anglophones converging to the needs of the French-speaking confederates was quite stable both immediately and ten years after the promulgation of Bill 101. From 1977 to 1991, the proportion of Anglophones converging to French with the White confederates in downtown Montreal was quite stable: 60% in 1977, 70% in 1979 and 65% in 1991 (**Figure 1**). Furthermore, as seen in **Figure 2**, no significant differences were observed in the proportion of Anglophone undergraduates converging to French with the White confederate on the McGill University campus from 1979 (83%) to 1991 (77%). The ethnicity of the confederate did not have an impact on the proportion of Anglophones converging to French in downtown Montreal: in 1991, 61% converged to French with the Black confederate and 65% converged to French with the White confederate. Likewise on the McGill campus, Anglophone undergraduates were as likely to converge to French with the Black confederate (77%) as with the White confederate (77%). However it remains remarkable that despite a decade of language planning in favour of French, as many as 30% to 40% of Montreal Anglophones maintained English when responding to a Black or White confederate requesting a plea for directions in French. Such results were obtained even with the charitable criteria of counting a greeting or leave-taking word spoken in French as a convergent response by Anglophone pedestrians. That more than a third of Anglophone respondents in downtown Montreal maintained English when accosted in French reflects the enduring position of Anglophones as high status group

Figure 1 : Language convergence of Anglophone and Francophone pedestrians in downtown Montreal.

Figure 2 : Language convergence of Anglophone and Francophone undergraduates at McGill University and Université de Montréal

members whose personal language choices need not be constrained by the linguistic needs of the Francophone majority. Indeed, it was in 1991 that the president of the pro-English Alliance Quebec, Reed Scowen, urged Quebec Anglophones to adopt English-language maintenance as a collective ethnic affirmation strategy during private encounters with Quebec Francophones across the province (Scowen, 1991).

However, by 1997, results in both downtown Montreal and at McGill University showed that the overwhelming majority of Anglophones converged to French (100% and 93%) with the White Francophone interlocutor (**Figures 1 & 2**). Were Anglophones less likely to converge to French

with the Black than the White confederate? Results of the 1997 downtown Montreal study showed that fewer Anglophones converged to French with the Black confederate (75%) than with the White confederate (100%). On the McGill campus, Anglophone undergraduates were also less likely to converge to French with the black (83%) than with the white (93%) confederate.

Overall results obtained in these four studies suggest that Quebec language policies favouring French at the institutional level may have had a *'carry-over effect'* on private language behaviours, particularly on the ones adopted by Anglophones with White Francophones. Despite the political polarization which emerged during and after the referendum debate on Quebec separation in 1995, Anglophone pedestrians converged more to French in 1997 than they did in the field experiments conducted in 1977, 1979, and 1991. Thus the cumulative effect of Bill 101 did succeed in increasing their use of French, not only as the language of public discourse but also for private language use between anonymous individuals on the streets and on campuses of Montreal.

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

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

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

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

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

CONCLUDING NOTES

The mutual language convergence results obtained in Montreal especially in 1997 show that both Francophones and Anglophones are quite keen with accommodating to each other's communicative needs, at least in their private cross-cultural encounters. Furthermore, in Montreal neighbourhoods where Francophone and Anglophone bilingual speakers are in daily contact, new patterns of language switching patterns are emerging as French/English code-mixing. These patterns of rapid French/English language switching within the same speech acts may be stabilising as hybrid bilingual communicative strategies and are also being incorporated within Montreal hip-

hop independent lyrics (Sarkar, 2008). The frequency and acceptability of these code-mixing strategies seem to be on the rise reflecting an emerging hybrid Anglo-French cultural identity in Montreal. Well controlled matched-guise studies would be useful to explore evaluative reactions to such language-mixing strategies with unilingual and bilingual Francophone and Anglophone listeners in Montreal.

Interestingly, fluent French-English bilingual French Canadians living in Saskatchewan have also been documented to use code-mixing in their owngroup private conversations, reflecting their double cultural identities (Clément, Shulman & Rubenfeld, 2010). Similarly, bilingual Hispanophones in New York City schools have also been observed in stable and systemic Spanish-English code-mixing amongst each other, known as 'translanguaging', revealing the emergence of hybrid Anglo-Hispanic cultural identities (Garcia, 2009). Overall, linguistic minority speakers are more likely than dominant majority ones to develop hybrid linguistic code-mixing strategies and cultural identities, thus suggesting that it is lower status minorities who are more likely to be transformed by their intercultural contacts with dominant group speakers.

The diglossia literature suggests that dominant language groups rarely converge to the linguistic needs of their subordinated minorities or majorities. The Quebec case shows that language policies such as Bill 101 can create the institutional and normative pressures needed to reverse a diglossic situation which traditionally favoured English in the province. Language laws and various provincial government measures contributed to the exodus of many Anglophones to the rest of Canada thus eroding the vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec on the demographic, institutional support and status fronts (Bourhis, 2008; Caldwell, 1994; Stevenson, 1999; Jedwab, 2004; Johnson & Doucet, 2006). As shown in Canadian census results, it is noteworthy that a substantial proportion of Quebec Anglophones who stayed in the Province have become English-French bilinguals over the decades, from only 37% before the adoption of Bill 101 in 1971, to 61.7% in 1996 and to 69% in 2006. Conversely, whereas only 26% of Quebec Francophones reported being French-English bilinguals in the 1971 census, this proportion increased to 34% in 1996, while remaining stable at 36% in 2006. Census results also show that more than 50% of the Quebec population can still afford to stay unilingual French: 58% in 1991 and 54% in 2006. However the proportion of the Quebec population who could afford to remain unilingual English in Quebec dropped from 5.5% in 1991 to only 4.5% in 2006. The greatest success of Bill 101 has been its role in ensuring that the vast majority of the provincial population knows French: a majority of 93.6% in 1991 and 94.5% according to the 2006 census.

Though the Francophone majority succeeded in consolidating its institutional and demographic ascendancy over the English minority of Quebec (Bourhis, 2001), Québécois Francophone nationalists nurture feelings of linguistic threat by highlighting that Francophones are a language minority of 23% within Canada and a minority of less than 2% within North America. However, within the Quebec territory, will the francophone dominant majority have the linguistic and cultural security to one day endorse the responsibility of protecting and enhancing the institutional vitality of its largest historical minority in the Province: the English-speaking Communities of Quebec?

NOTES

[1] This article is based on a chapter by Richard Bourhis entitled: The English-speaking communities of Quebec: Vitality, multiple identities and linguicism. In R,Y. Bourhis (Ed).*The Vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec: From Community decline to Revival.* (pp.123-160). Montréal, QC: CEETUM, Université de Montréal. www.ceetum.umontreal.ca.

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INAUGURAL CONFERENCE ON CANADIAN IDENTITY OF THE INSTITUTE FOR CANADIAN IDENTITIES

CHECKING OUR CONSTITUTION@30: THE INFLUENCE OF THE CANADIAN CONSTITUTION AND THE CHARTER OF RIGHTS ON OUR LEGISLATION, IDENTITY AND VALUES, APRIL 17-18, 2012, OTTAWA, QUEBEC

April 17th, 2012 will mark the 30th anniversary of the patriation of the Canadian Constitution and the creation of a Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The Constitution and Charter have had a profound impact on our law and public policy. Many Canadians view the Constitution and the Charter of Rights as shaping important aspects of our collective identity and defining a set of shared values. For the most part, Canadians hold a favorable opinion of the Constitution and Charter. Yet many see these defining documents as divisive. To mark this important anniversary the new Institute for Canadian Identities will hold a major conference entitled, "Checking Our Constitution@30: The Influence of the Canadian Constitution and the Charter of Rights on Our Legislation, Identity and Values" to take place on April 17-18th, 2012 at the Museum of Civilization in Ottawa, Quebec.

Some critics believe that elected officials too easily cede leadership to the judiciary on controversial matters. Others point out that Quebec's refusal to "sign on" to the Constitution reflects continuing divisions at the heart of the Canadian nation. And yet, its is surprising how a document that is only 30 years old, has become for many a defining aspect of Canadian identity, shared values and principles while also acting as a benchmark for enumerating fundamental freedoms. The Constitution and the Charter are a product of political compromises over three decades, and represent an ongoing debate over the conflicting role of the state and diverse societal interests.

How have the debates over the Constitution shaped our identities? Is it time to begin amending the Constitution? Have the Constitution and Charter of Rights strengthened or weakened Canadian democracy? What have the Constitution and Charter meant for women, aboriginals, and language minorities, ethnic and visible minorities, religious groups and new Canadians. What role have the Courts played in the interpretation of the Constitution, and how has the Charter transformed the judiciary in Canada? Are judges become legislators? Has the distinction between Law and Politics become blurred over the past thirty years? How does the Canadian experience compare with other countries? Are the courts becoming more or less accessible to the public? Are there benefits to an unwritten constitution? How has the Constitution affected the balance of powers in Canada, and the dynamics of federalism?

We invite policy-makers, academics, researchers, activists, scholars, lawyers, judges and professionals from all disciplines to participate and submit 250-500 words abstracts, either for individual papers or proposals for fully formed panels no later than January 31, 2012 to: James Ondrick at the Association for Canadian Studies, e-mail: james.ondrick@acs-aec.ca, Tel (514) 925-3097, Fax: (514) 925-3095, web: www.acs-aec.ca

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CONGRÈS INAUGURAL SUR L'IDENTITÉ CANADIENNE ORGANISÉ PAR L'INSTITUT D'IDENTITÉS CANADIENNES

UN REGARD SUR NOTRE CONSTITUTION 30 ANS PLUS TARD : L'INFLUENCE DE LA CONSTITUTION CANADIENNE ET DE LA CHARTE DES DROITS SUR NOS LÉGISLATIONS, IDENTITÉS ET VALEURS, LES 17-18, 2012, OTTAWA, QUÉBEC.

Le 17 avril 2012 marquera le 30e anniversaire du rapatriement de la Constitution canadienne et la création de la Charte des droits et libertés. La Constitution et la Charte ont eu un impact considérable sur nos lois et politiques publiques. Grand nombre de Canadiens considèrent que la Constitution et la Charte des droits ont façonné des aspects déterminants de notre identité collective et ont défini nos valeurs partagées. En général, les Canadiens ont une opinion favorable de la Constitution et de la Charte. Mais encore, plusieurs d'entre eux croient que ces documents influents sont aussi conflictuels. Pour souligner cet événement important, le nouvel Institut d'identités canadiennes organisera un congrès intitulé « Un regard sur notre constitution 30 ans après : L'influence de la Constitution canadienne et de la Charte des droits sur nos législations, identités et valeurs» qui aura lieu les 17 et 18 avril 2012, au Musée de la civilisation à Ottawa, Québec.

Certaines critiques affirment que les élus cèdent trop facilement le pouvoir au système judiciaire lorsqu'il s'agit de sujets controversés. D'autres font remarquer que le refus du Québec d'adhérer à la Constitution reflète les écarts continus qui existent au cœur de la nation canadienne. Il est toutefois étonnant qu'un document qui n'a que trente ans soit devenu pour un grand nombre de personnes un symbole qui définit l'identité canadienne ainsi que les valeurs et principes partagés tout en étant un exemple de liberté fondamentale. La Constitution et la Charte sont un résultat des compromis politiques des trois dernières décennies et représentent

une discussion continue sur les rôles conflictuels de l'État et de divers intérêts de la société.

Comment ces discussions sur la Constitution ont-elles façonné nos identités ? Devons-nous commencer à modifier la Constitution ? Est-ce que la Constitution et la Charte des droits ont renforcé ou affaibli la démocratie canadienne ? Quelle est leur signification pour les femmes, les autochtones, les groupes de langue minoritaires, les minorités visibles et ethniques, les groupes religieux et les nouveaux arrivants ? Quel rôle ont joué les tribunaux en interprétant la Constitution et comment la Charte a-t-elle transformé le système judiciaire canadien ? Les juges sont-ils devenus législateurs ? La ligne entre la loi et la politique s'est-elle brouillée au cours des 30 dernières années ? Comment se compare l'expérience canadienne à celle des autres pays ? Est-ce que les tribunaux deviennent plus ou moins accessibles au grand public ? Quels sont les avantages d'une constitution non écrite? Comment la Constitution a-t-elle affecté l'équilibre des pouvoirs au Canada et les dynamiques du fédéralisme ?

Nous invitons cordialement les décideurs, universitaires, chercheurs, activistes, érudits, avocats, juges et professionnels de toutes disciplines à participer en nous faisant parvenir un résumé de 250 à 500 mots pour des textes individuels ou des propositions pour des séances avant le 31 janvier 2012 à : james.ondrick@acs-aec.ca, Tel (514) 925-3097, fax (514) 925-3095, Web : www.acs-aec.ca

REVITALIZATION OF REGIONAL LANGUAGES IN FRANCE THROUGH IMMERSION

James Costa is a researcher at the Institut français de l'éducation, École Normale Supérieure de Lyon, France. He has recently completed a Ph.D. thesis on language revitalisation in Provence and Scotland from a critical sociolinguistic perspective, and is currently looking at how language is semiotised by social movements based on language in Western Europe.

Roy Lyster is Professor of Second Language Education in the Department of Integrated Studies Education at McGill University. His research focuses primarily on content-based second language instruction and the effects of instructional interventions designed to counterbalance form-focused and content-based approaches. He is author of *Learning and Teaching Languages Through Content: A Counterbalanced Approach*, published by Benjamins in 2007.

ABSTRACT

To pay tribute to the contributions made by Wallace Lambert in the field of immersion education at an international level, this article highlights initiatives undertaken to revitalize regional languages through immersion education in France. Based on the immersion model, school-based programs have been implemented in France to teach regional languages such as Occitan, Basque, and Catalan in the south, Corsican on the island of Corsica, Breton in the northwest, and German in the eastern regions of Alsace and Moselle. This article points out many differences across these regional contexts, but concludes by emphasizing common issues that need to be addressed across the different regions with respect to pedagogical practices and professional development.

INTRODUCTION

School-based language immersion programs aim for additive bilingualism by providing a significant portion (usually at least 50% during elementary school years) of students' subject-matter instructionthrough the medium of an additional language.The term 'immersion' was first used in this way by Lambert and Tucker (1972) to describe their study of an "experiment" in bilingual education that began in 1965 in St. Lambert, Quebec, where English-speaking parents were concerned that traditional second language teaching methods would not enable their children to develop sufficient levels of proficiency in French to compete for jobs in a province where French was soon to be adopted as the sole official language.

Lambert and Tucker's (1972) seminal study of this early immersion initiative examined two groups of English-speaking children who were taught exclusively through the medium of French in kindergarten and Grade 1 and then mainly in French (except for two half-hour daily periods of English language arts) in Grades 2, 3, and 4. The widely disseminated results were positive with respect to the children's language development in both English

and French, as well as their academic achievement and affective development. Other immersion programs spread quickly in the Montreal area, then across Canada, and were modified in some contexts to include alternative entry points and varying proportions of first and second language instruction. Immersion programs have since been developed to teach various languages in a wide range of contexts around the world (Johnson & Swain, 1997).

Many immersion programs have been designed to promote the learning of a second official language, as in the case of French immersion in Canada, Swedish immersion in Finland, Catalan and Basque immersion in Spain, Irish immersion in Ireland, and Gaelic immersion in Scotland. Other programs have been designed to promote the learning of indigenous languages such as Maori in New Zealand and Hawaiian in the US. In France, programs based on the immersion model have been implemented to teach regional languages such as Occitan, Basque, and Catalan in the south, Corsican on the island of Corsica (southeast of the French mainland), Breton in the northwest, and German in the eastern regionsof Alsace and Moselle. Because relatively little has been published in English about educational

initiatives to revitalize regional languages in France, we believe that a focus on these initiatives is befitting of an edited volume published in honour of Wallace Lambert.

BILINGUAL EDUCATION SUPPORTING REGIONAL LANGUAGES IN FRANCE

From the point of view of language planning in education, France has been and still remains reticent towards any type of system that might undermine the status of French as the sole language of education (see Costa & Lambert, 2009). However, changes in favour of bilingual education to support regional languages are apparent in the establishment of total immersion programs in the private sector and partial immersion programs in the public sector.

Public education that was both free and non-religious came into being in France under the Third Republic (1870-1940), bringing with it the teaching of French as the only national language at the expense of all regional languages or "provincial" languages as they were called in the 19th century. It was only in 1951 that the loi Deixonne allowed some regional languages – namely Basque, Breton, Catalan, and Occitan – to be taught, under certain conditions, outside normal school hours. Alsatian and Corsican, because they were considered dialects of German and Italian, respectively, were excluded; Corsican was only integrated later in the 1970s. In Alsace, the education system provides facilities for standard German only.
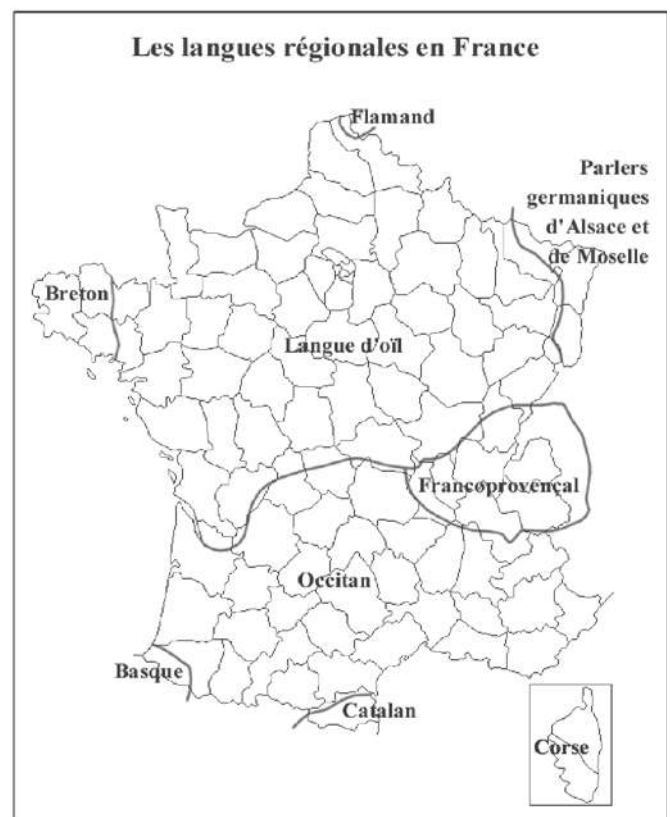
In the 1970s, when the post-war generations who had been active in promoting languages such as Basque, Breton, and Occitan throughout the 1960s reached the age of parenting, they were keen to develop their own bilingual education system. The first Basque Ikastola was founded in the French part of the Basque Country as early as 1969, and served as a model for other initiatives across France. It was followed by the first Bressola school in the French part of Catalonia, which was founded in 1976. The first Breton Diwan primary school was established in 1977. In the Occitan-speaking regions in the south of France, the first Calandreta school was established in 1979. Interestingly, parents in neither Corsica nor Alsace successfully sought to follow this model, and no parent-run private immersion schools exist there now.

These private yet secular schools operate according to similar principles. For example, the Diwan schools give "much greater prominence to Breton than to French in the classroom during the early primary years, so as to ensure effective acquisition of Breton" (Rogers & McLeod, 2006, p. 355). Similarly, in the Calandreta schools, pre-primary education is solely in Occitan, and pupils learn to read and write in that language. French is introduced at the age of 7, once the pupils can read, and occupies 45 minutes a day (see Costa, 2010). The French language portion is done by a separate teacher and often in a separate room. Schools function largely on the preconception that bilingual edu-

cation amounts to a double monolingual education, thus pupils are required not to mix languages). However, it must be said that as far as the Calandreta model is concerned, pupils do frequently mix languages in their everyday interactions, and that teachers of French are also speakers of Occitan, thus enabling the creation of links between both languages. In the Calandreta system, a strong emphasis is also put on other Romance languages, such as Catalan or Italian. Additionally, the Calandreta system follows the Freinet model of education, which is possibly a stronger attraction for parents than bilingualism itself. (on the motivations of parents, see also Moal, 2007, for a study in Brittany).

In 1982, public education through the medium of regional languages was officially authorized for the first time in France, leading to the creation of bilingual streams or sections (*classesbilingues*) in otherwise monolingual French schools. Such schools now exist across the country in Corsica, the Occitan-speaking regions of southern France, Catalonia, the Basque Country, Brittany, and in Alsace and Moselle (in standard German).These regions are identified on the map of France in Figure 1. Although Flemish, Langue d'oïl, and *Franco-provençal* are also identified on this map, there is no official provision of bilingual education for these languages in France.

Figure 1 : Regional languages in France (from Bert, 2001)

Initially, the proportion of teaching time devoted to each language in public schools was to be determined at the school level but, since 1995, *paritéscolaire*' has been mandated so that both French and the target regional language share equal time (50/50) in the school curriculum. Some schools have entire days devoted to one language, while in others,one language is used in the morning and the other in the afternoon; This latter option often results in 'minor' subjects (such as art) being taught in the regional language, while more 'serious' subjects are taught through French. Other schools, where a single teacher teaches both languages, have chosen to alternate regularly so that all subjects can be taught through both languages (see Cortier & Di Meglio, 2008a,b). More recently, bilingual streams can be offered at secondary level, although they mostly consist of increased hours of language classes and only one subject (often history-geography) taught through the regional language.

Despite the resemblances in the organisational patterns outlined above, each context should be seen as very specific. For example, whereas the Catalan and Basque languages are backed by substantial populations of speakers in Spain, and also by television and radio channels, this is not the case for Occitan, Corsican, or Breton. Some languages (e.g., Basque and Corsican) still witness a fair rate of intergenerational transmission, while others (such as Occitan and Breton) do not (Héran, Filhon & Deprez, 2002). In the case of Breton, for example, while there were 1,158,000 speakers in 1928, only 304,000 people declared they could speak Breton in 1997 (Rogers & McLeod, 2006; see also Le Nevez, 2006). In the post World War II period, intergenerational transmission of Breton collapsed so dramatically that almost no children entering primary schools in recent decades have been mother-tongue Breton speakers (Broudic, 2000). Occitan followed a similar pattern (see Sibille, 2002), but over a much wider territory and comprising several regional authorities, making the enactment of a unified language policy much more difficult. These elements contribute to creating very different social conditions in which bilingual education is enacted. Thus, while a Basque-speaking speech community can be found outside the school, such communities do not exist in the case of Occitan and Breton, which remain largely seen as the language of schooling by the pupils involved in these programs. Major differences also exist in terms of the proportion of speakers of a given regional language relative to the size of the actual region. Thus, while Occitan is often said to be the second language in France, with possibly between 600,000 and 3 million speakers (Sibille, 2002), they are unevenly spread out across a huge territory comprising about one third of the whole Metropolitan French territory. Conversely, Alsatian's possibly 500,000 speakers live in a small area in eastern France along the German border, while Basque is concentrated in only the southwestern part

of the French department of the Pyrénées-Atlantiques and Catalan is concentrated in the department of the Pyrénées-Orientales. The teaching of Breton is dispersed across several departments but concentrated mainly in western Brittany.

According to the website of the Fédération pour les langues régionales dans l'enseignement publique (FLAREP: http://www.flarep.com/crbst_9.html), the enrolment figures across various regions of France in both public and private schools (elementary and secondary) in 2010-11 are distributed as follows **(see Figure 2).** Of a total of 66,520 students registered in bilingual programs in which a regional language is the target language, the regional language is German for 35.3% of these students (n = 23,493), Breton for 20.1% (n = 13,391), Basque for 17.3% (n = 11,532), Occitan for 10.3% (n = 6,875), Corsican for 10.6% (n = 7,058), and Catalan for 4.6% (n = 3,053).

CONCLUSION

Although France remains generally reticent towards any type of system that might undermine the status of French as the sole language of education (Costa & Lambert, 2009), in this chapter we have documented some changes in this regard that support regional languages through immersion programs. We have pointed out many differences across regional contexts, but would like to conclude by emphasizing that there are also common issues that need to be addressed across the different regions with respectto pedagogical practices and professional development. As Delahousse and Hamez (2010, p. 9) recently remarked in their special issue of *Les LanguesModernes* devoted to the topic of teaching regional languages, bilingual education initiatives across diverse contexts share a common energy that is necessary for designing innovative models and pedagogies.

In their recent special issue of *Language Teaching Research* devoted to content-based language teaching, Lyster and Ballinger (2011) brought together studies conducted across a broad spectrum of instructional settings in order to highlight the diversity of contexts in which additional languages are taught through curricular content. Their aim was to identify convergent issues that could serve as possible avenues for educators and researchers to further explore, with the ultimate goal of improving program effectiveness. A common thread running through the studies was the important role played by professional development in the continued success of immersion and content-based instruction. The call for increased professional development is urgent because the odds are such that most teachers have been trained to teach *either a* language *or* a non-language subject area, but not both, even though for years there has been a growing consensus in the research literature thatimmersion and content-based instruction need to be language-rich and discourse-rich (Dalton-Puffer, 2007; Snow, Met, & Genesee, 1989; Lyster, 2007). Challenges in

developing, implementing, and sustaining an integrated language-and-contentcurriculum are apt to arise in contexts where pedagogical issues might not be addressed sufficiently to ensure quality instruction because so much energy needs to be devoted to larger socio-political concerns for securing and defending rights to implement educational innovations to revitalize and maintain regional languages. Delahousse and Hamez (2010) noted, however, that the teaching of regional languages through early immersion programs in France is leading the way in that country toward innovative language instructional practices: "Une didactique novatrice s'invente et s'affine avec le bilinguisme précoce dont les langues régionales sont en France le principal vecteur" (p. 10).

The teaching of English as a foreign or international language has been given much emphasis in Europe through the rapid spread of content and language integrated learning (CLIL) programs (see Coyle, 2007; Mehisto, Marsh, &Frigols, 2008). In some respects, CLIL and immersion programs are similar insofar as both aim to integrate content and language instruction. Throughout Europe, however, while immersion programs target a range ofsecond and/or regional languages, the focus of CLIL is on foreign languages, which in most programs is English (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2010). Equal or even greater support for the teaching of regional languages in France and elsewhere through bilingual education programs such as immersion would be most fitting as a means to maintain the linguistic diversity that Crystal (2000) and other linguists consider to be more apt to contribute to human development than convergence towards a common lingua franca.

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REASONABLE ACCOMMODATION IN QUEBEC: LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE USA

Donald M. Taylor is professor of Psychology at McGill University, Montreal. He has conducted research in a variety of cultural settings including South Africa, Indonesia, Philippines, India and with Wallace Lambert in innercity Detroit and Miami. By far his longest term commitment has been with Aboriginal peoples with a special focus on the Inuit of Arctic Quebec (Nunavik). His most recent book is entitled "The Quest for Identity" and is published by Praeger.

ABSTRACT

Wally Lambert had an intellectual and social curiosity that never ceased. After making seminal contributions to bilingual education, he began focusing on the intergroup, community context that formed the back-drop for school-based language programs. This led him to multicultural innercity urban centres in the United States where we sought to assess the debate between the Canadian mosaic and the American melting pot. To our surprise every cultural group we studied had a multicultural vision, and a shared understanding that while the heritage culture might be appropriate for the home and in the ethnic community, mainstream American culture and English needed to dominate the wider public environment. These surprising findings may be instructive for the current debate in Quebec over "reasonable accommodation."

Twenty-five years before "reasonable accommodation" reared its controversial head in Quebec, Wally Lambert was contemplating the same issue in the United States. In the nineteen eighties, Wally was renowned for his seminal research on bilingual education, and his expertise was sought around the world. Inner city Detroit, a multilingual, multiethnic, very poor, academically underachieving, urban environment posed a special bilingual challenge for Wally. He quickly realized that any bilingual program in Detroit would have to be launched in the context of academic disengagement and intergroup conflict.

Wally ambled into my office, and as the intergroup "guy," approached me to join him on this linguistic mission, which he described as an intergroup context that focused on the very definition of "America." We travelled, lived in, worked with, studied, and ultimately implemented bilingual programs in inner-city Detroit, followed by inner-city Miami. But what the project brought was the opportunity to share Wally's profound intellect and creativity as we wrestled with the multicultural issues that he saw as the context for language.

We began with a naïve assumption. Canada was in the process of growing into its multiculturalism policy, a "mosaic" where cultural groups were encouraged to retain their heritage culture. The social psychological rationale was that only if a group is secure and confident in its own cultural identity, can it be open and welcoming of other cultural groups. The United States, by contrast was characterized as a "melting pot," a nation where people from every conceivable culture were required to jump in the pot, where the heat was turned up, and with vigorous stirring, heritage cultures would melt away, and everyone would leave the melting pot being an "American."

It made sense. Canada seemed to be a tolerant nation with little ethnic tension, whereas the United States seemed to be characterized by racial and cultural strife. On the other hand, Lambert wondered about this simple dichotomous stereotype, because he had noticed that the United States was very interested in bilingual education involving teaching in languages other than English. How did that fit with the "melting away" of cultural differences?

LESSONS FROM DETROIT

We were working in a poor community in Detroit that was defined by ethnic diversity, with established Black and Polish (White) groups, newer Latino groups, and very recently arrived Arabic groups and Albanians. For each group, we sampled 40 parents of children in the local school, and all the students participated in the "free lunch" program because of economic hardships in the home. Our initial focus was not language diversity per se, nor was it students' views in the school context, but rather how the

different cultural communities thought about the diversity that defined their wider community. Wally was particularly interested in what it meant to be "Un-American," and we began with the pivotal question about the extent to which members of the different groups endorsed a "mosaic" or "melting pot" philosophy for defining America.

The results are presented in the Figure below and were surprising to say the least. Across the board, regardless of ethnic background or recency of arrival in the United States, our parents endorsed a multicultural (Mosaic) view of America, and denounced an assimilationist (melting pot) ideology.

Figure 1 : Language convergence of Anglophone and Francophone pedestrians in downtown Montreal

(adapted from Lambert and Taylor, 1990

MULTICULTURALISM IN MIAMI

The Detroit experience led to an invitation to extend our work into Miami, specifically in Liberty City, the cite of the Miami race riots of 1980. Miami was a city where ethnic tensions were in a heightened state. Whites, Blacks and Cubans competed for political and economic resources, and to this mix came the influx of large numbers of Nicaraguans and Haitians.
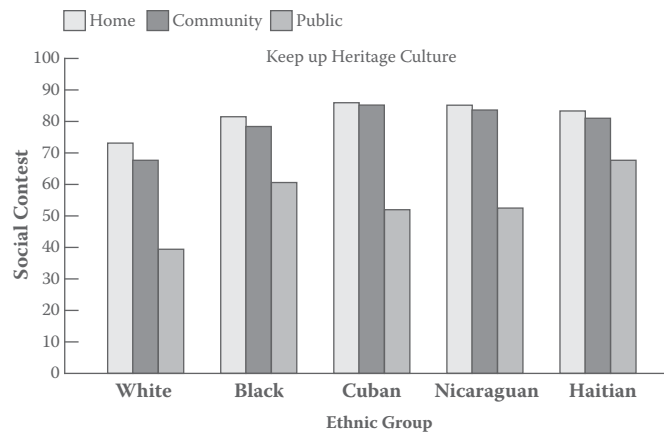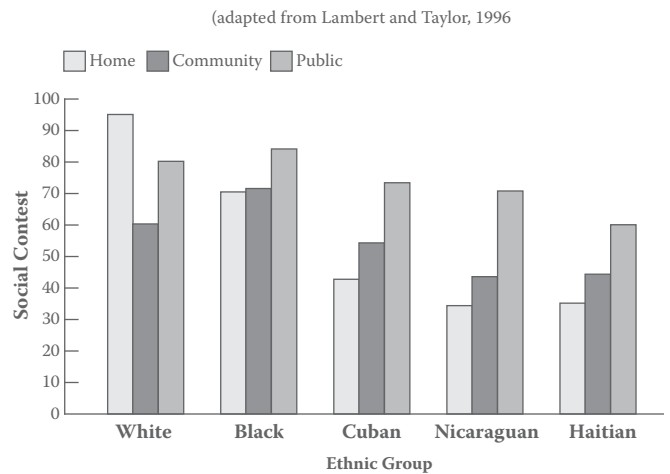
Our plan was to focus on a representative sample from each of these five groups in this very poor urban area and further pursue the theme of cultural diversity. Wally Lambert was visibly moved by what confronted us, especially in terms of the economic hardships confronting the Black community. Wally had attended graduate school in North Carolina where he had championed racial equality, and all these years later he was frustrated that conditions had not seemed to improve. In fact, our formal interviews were conducted in homes where the rate of absent fathers was so high that it was impossible to achieve a representative sample.

We anticipated that our results would mirror those of Detroit, so we extended our focus to the followup question:

If every cultural group retains it's cultural identity, how do they work together, what form would "reasonable accommodation" take?

There were three clear social domains of operation for people, regardless of their cultural identity. There was the privacy of people's homes where interactions focused on family and friends. There were also clearly defined ethnic neighbourhoods where places of worship, ethnic restaurants, shops and small places of business were culturally and linguistically unique. Finally, there were public domains including places of work, public schools and government organizations. We, therefore, asked our respondents about where they stood on the debate about the extent to which cultural groups should keep their own language and ways of life as opposed to taking on the American way of life; they answered the above question for each of the three domains: home, ethnic neighbourhood, public domains.

Figure 2 : The Cultural Debate in Each of Three Social Classes for Whites, Blacks, Cubans, Nicaraguans, and Haitians

(adapted from Lambert and Taylor, 1996

The results are presented in the Figure below, where a surprising degree of consensus arose. For all five groups there was a consensus that in the home, and to some extent in ethnic neighbourhoods, the heritage culture and language should predominate. Conversely, all five groups agreed that in public domains American culture and the English language should be the norm.

That the newly arrived groups such as Nicaraguans and Haitians would espouse such a view is perhaps not surprising. But their views are shared completely by members of the long-standing Cuban community, and indeed by the established White and Black American groups. These results are compelling because they seem to suggest the key elements for defining "reasonable accommodation". Every group seems respectful of other cultures and languages if they manifest themselves in the home environment and in culturally specific neighbourhoods and institutions. However, all groups are equally demanding that mainstream culture and language needs to be the norm in the public domain.

CONCLUSIONS

Wally Lambert's intellectual curiosity and quest for justice never ceased. So, its not surprising that even when he had established the benefits of bilingual education, he did not stop there. His desire to focus on the intergroup context that formed the back-drop for bilingual education led him to issues of reasonable accommodation. It is what made him refine his ideas and make distinctions between additive and subtractive bilingualism. There is no doubt his experiences in Detroit and Miami would have informed his forward thinking views on Quebec's current dilemma with "reasonable accommodation."

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A TRIBUTE TO WALLACE LAMBERT

Dr. Victor C. Goldbloom was Canada's Commissioner of Official Languages from 1991 to 1999. A paediatrician by profession, he had been Quebec's first Minister of the Environment (1970-1976). He has devoted himself to bridging linguistic and religious divides at home and at the international level.

ABSTRACT

Canada, a two-language country since 1759, became formally and legally so in 1969 with the passage of the Official Languages Act. As a result, French immersion programs spread across the country, and the official language minority communities in each province and territory benefitted from increased resources. Wallace Lambert was a pioneer in the study of language acquisition, and Canada's achievements in linguistic duality owe a great deal to his research and his teaching.

I did not know Wallace Lambert personally, but he was a legendary figure for anyone interested in Canada's linguistic duality, and his work assumed special significance for me when I became Commissioner of Official Languages of Canada.

Ever since 1759, there have been tensions, and barriers of incomprehension and incommunicability, between English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians. Ever since 1867, there have been differences of interpretation as to the fundamental nature of the Confederation agreement: for English-speaking Canadians – four provinces, equal notwithstanding their differences in size and population, came together and were gradually joined by six others; for French-speaking Canadians – two peoples agreed to form a two-language, two-culture country.

In 1969, Pierre Elliott Trudeau – who paradoxically adhered to the first interpretation – consecrated our linguistic duality with the first Official Languages Act. It did not, contrary to widespread impression, make Canada a bilingual country. It obligated the federal government and related institutions to respond to Canadian citizens in the official language of their choice, providing two-language services in those census districts in which the minority was sufficiently numerous to make that a reasonable thing to do.

Keith Spicer was named the first Commissioner of Official Languages, filling the role with his characteristic verve. Max Yalden followed, bringing to it his vast experience of the federal apparatus. D'Iberville Fortier made a significant contribution to a major extension of the Act in 1988 which defined the federal government's responsibility for the vitality of official language minority communities. It fell to me, the fourth incumbent, through diplomacy and through the courts, to obtain the governance of their schools for the French-speaking minorities of the seven provinces which had not spontaneously granted it,

and other resources such as community centres grafted onto schools so that adults and children could benefit from cultural and recreational programs. We not only saved Ottawa's Montfort Hospital from closure, we prevailed on the University of Ottawa to establish French-language programs to produce health care professionals for the French-speaking minority communities across Canada.

No sooner was the original Act adopted than it began to be contested all across the country. English-speaking Canadians had the impression that French-speaking employees were disproportionately occupying jobs and being promoted within the federal public service, and that enormous sums of money were being poured into a bottomless pit of "bilingualism". I devoted a great deal of effort to speaking in every corner of Canada, appearing on open-line and interview programs, and responding personally to every negative letter to the editor which appeared in my daily press clippings, to set the record straight: to show that French-speaking Canadians were slightly over-represented in lower-paying public service jobs and significantly under-represented at the management level; that jobs designated bilingual were in reasonable proportion and distribution to population; and that the annual cost of the program was a tiny fraction of one percent of the federal budget.

There were, fortunately, positive voices as well; and though most of them probably did not know it, they were disciples and inheritors of Wallace Lambert. Beginning in the 1970s, French immersion programs began to be offered in English-language schools all across the country. Enrolments grew slowly at first, then more rapidly in the 1980s, and by about 1990 they reached a level of 300,000. When I became Commissioner in 1991, I wondered if the enthusiasm might begin to wane and the numbers decrease. They did not.

A major reason was the existence of an organization called Canadian Parents for French. Many of those parents

did not and do not speak French fluently themselves, but they had and continue to have a vision of Canada which binds us together because we can speak to each other, understand each other and feel for each other. With the mistrust of the unknown person being dispelled, we can build Canada together.

The maintenance of French immersion enrolments at a little over 300,000 English-speaking children year after year has very particular significance. Each year a cohort of children graduates from these programs, and each year enrolments open at the foot of the ladder. It is inspiringly obvious that the parents of the graduating children are saying to the next generation, "This was a *good* experience for my child and I strongly recommend it for yours."

Here in Quebec, we went through a long period in which there was considerable resistance to French among English-speaking Quebecers. Language legislation was perceived as restrictive and discriminatory, and its implementation as dictatorial and petty. Those times have changed to a fair degree. English-speaking Quebecers, and not only the younger among us, are increasingly comfortable in French and comfortable in a French-speaking milieu. We have problems, and we feel under-represented and sometimes under-serviced, but our relations with our brothers and sisters of the majority are much more substantial and much happier than they used to be. We feel that this is a good place to live.

Wallace Lambert was a pioneer in the analysis of how the brain treats a second language. His seminal work is at the root of the French immersion program. From time to time it is challenged, often nastily, by people who have anti-French political objectives, but it has stood the test of time and been confirmed and enhanced. He deserves remembrance and honour.

LOOKING BACK AT THE ROLE OF MINORITIES IN THE QUIET REVOLUTION

Garth Stevenson was born in Montreal and educated at McGill and Princeton. He is a Professor of Political Science at Brock University and previously held full-time teaching positions at the University of Alberta and at Carleton University. He has also taught on a part-time basis at the University of British Columbia, York University and Duke University. He is author of several books including *Community Besieged: The Anglophone Minority and the Politics of Quebec* (1999) and *Parallel Paths: The Development of Nationalism in Ireland and Quebec* which won the Donald Smiley prize awarded by the Canadian Political Science Association for the best book on Canadian politics published in 2006.

ABSTRACT

Prior to the Quiet Revolution Quebec's ethnic minorities, for historical reasons, largely lived in social isolation from the Francophone majority and used English as their primary language. To a large extent this made them observers rather than participants in the Quiet Revolution, although there were some prominent exceptions. Because of this they did not fully understand the significance of the Quiet Revolution and were not psychologically prepared for the language legislation of the 1970s, which radically altered their situation. Although many left Quebec, most stayed and have adapted reasonably well to the more egalitarian and more integrated Quebec of today.

The role of Quebec's minorities (Anglo-Protestants, Irish Catholics, Italians, Jews and others) in the Quiet Revolution can only be understood when it is recalled that prior to 1960 these minorities lived in a world, or worlds, of their own that was relatively little influenced by Francophone Quebec society or by the Quebec state. This was somewhat less true of those minorities that lived in rural areas and of those who shared the Catholic faith of the Francophone majority, but even they lived in a state of relative isolation that seems bizarre by modern standards. This situation, which the Quiet Revolution largely ended, can be traced back to five closely related factors that were of central importance to the development of Quebec:

- The British tradition of indirect rule dating back to the *Quebec Act* of 1774.
- The superior economic status of the Protestants, and to some extent also of the Jews.
- The consociational regime that largely governed relations among Quebec's ethno-cultural groups.
- The lack of proficiency in the French language among most minorities.
- The fact that the Quebec state intervened to only a limited extent in matters that fell under provincial jurisdiction elsewhere in Canada, such as education and social services, in effect delegating its jurisdiction to the Catholic Church and to private initiative.

Although it may be assumed that most minorities who voted in 1960, particularly in urban areas, voted for the Liberals, they certainly did not do so in anticipation that major changes in Quebec society were imminent, nor would they have anticipated that even if they had expected the Liberals to win, which very few did. They had little awareness of the growing opposition among Francophones to the Union Nationale, the increasing dissatisfaction with the ethnic division of labour in Quebec, or the changes taking place within Catholicism. The media that they read, watched or listened to must be held largely responsible for this state of ignorance.

And as the Quiet Revolution gradually took place over the next twenty years, minorities were largely spectators rather than participants, although there were some important exceptions. At least until 1970, it is fair to say that the Quiet Revolution was almost viewed by non-Francophone Quebec minorities as something happening somewhere else and involving other people, like the struggle of African-Americans for civil rights or the dismantling of the British and French colonial empires.

The victory of the Liberals in 1960, and most of the reforms that resulted, were at first welcomed and interpreted as evidence that Quebec was finally getting in step with the rest of Canada. Hospital insurance, free tuition in high school, a merit-based public service, a ministry of education, and even public ownership of hydro (which already existed

in Montreal since 1944) were naturally viewed with favour. There was no understanding that the backwardness of *la grande noirçeur*, which most Anglophones derided, was the source of their privileges, and that a modernized and more "normal" Quebec would inevitably place those privileges in danger, even if it remained part of a united Canada.

As time went on, this complacent attitude was gradually undermined. The FLQ bombings of 1963, the emergence of the RIN and other movements demanding an independent Quebec, the controversy over bilingual education in St. Léonard, the increasingly frequent demonstrations and protests, particularly those directed against the royal visit in 1964 and against McGill University in 1969, and the endless speculation about whether René Lévesque was really a "separatist", all contributed to a gradual build-up of anxiety. Even the sudden emergence of the Créditiste movement in federal politics in 1962 and the unexpected return to office of the Union Nationale in 1966 caused considerable disquiet, although neither event was actually threatening to the status quo. The election of 1970, when many Anglophones persuaded themselves that the Parti Québécois had a serious chance of winning, produced another brief surge of anxiety, followed by relief at the victory of the Liberals.

However, the decisive event was Bill 22 in 1974. Innocuous as it seems now compared to what followed, this legislation produced a real sense of fear and anger, reinforced by a conviction that Anglophones had been stabbed in the back by the Liberal party that most of them had supported in every election since 1939. It is interesting that there was much less reaction to Bill 65 in 1971, which brought health and social service institutions, including those that mainly served minorities, under the direct control of the state.

Bill 22, of course, failed to prevent the Liberals from being outflanked on the issue of language by the Parti Québécois. The victory of the PQ in 1976 was soon followed by Bill 101, the *Charter of the French Language*, which was more interventionist than Bill 22, although not really extreme. This in turn led to a massive exodus of Anglophones from the province and eventually the formation of organizations like Alliance Québec and the Equality Party by some of those who chose to remain. However, these developments fall outside the chronological boundaries of the Quiet Revolution, so I will refrain from discussing them in further detail.

Getting back to the Quiet Revolution, there were some non-French Quebeckers who did play a significant part in it. The most important of these was undoubtedly Eric Kierans, who was a minister in the Lesage government, first of Revenue and then of Health, from August 1963 until the government lost office in June 1966. Although not fully fluent in French, and coming from the unlikely background of McGill and the Montreal Stock Exchange, Kierans proved to be an important member of the Liberal party's left wing, and a close friend and ally of René Lévesque (although the two friends eventually parted company over the issue of sovereignty-association, their mutual regard for one another survived even that). It is worth stating that Kierans was a Catholic of Irish and German ancestry rather than a Protestant of British ancestry.

A politician of a very different kind who deserves to be remembered was the legendary Frank Hanley, the independent member for Ste. Anne. Although he enjoyed playing the role of the colourful Irish politician, Hanley a serious person who understood and sympathized with what was going on in Quebec. He was the only Anglophone who spoke in favour of the bill to make the Legislative Assembly into the National Assembly.

Also deserving of mention is Michael Oliver, who taught a course on French Canadian politics at McGill for many years and introduced the subject of the Queit Revolution to many Anglophone students. His dissertation on the social and political ideas of Quebec nationalism was, incredibly, not published until 1991, thirty-five years after he wrote it, but it is well worth reading even today.

In the Bourassa government of 1970-76 the minority representation, which included two of my fellow contributors, was unusually strong both in quality and quantity. In fact, the same could be said for the second Bourassa government after 1985, at least until the conflict over Bill 178 in 1989 led to three resignations from cabinet. The Parti Québécois, of course, had great difficulty attracting minority voters, let alone electing minority members to the National Assembly, and the government of 1976-85, through no fault of its own, had no minority representatives in cabinet. If the Legislative Council had still existed at that time, it might, and probably would, have been used to overcome this deficiency.

The election of a Parti Québécois government in 1976, which arguably led to the completion of the Quiet Revolution begun in 1960, was viewed with dismay by most of Quebec's minorities for at least two reasons. First, the new government's promise to adopt more stringent legislation to protect the French language, as it actually did when the *Charter of the French Language* became law in August 1977. Second, the prospect of a referendum on sovereignty-association, which took place in May 1980 and resulted in a decisive defeat for the government's proposal for sovereignty. Meanwhile, the number of Quebec residents with English mother tongue declined by 100,000 between 1976 and 1981, largely because of out-migration to Ontario and Alberta due to both political and economic reasons.

The practice of consociational elite accommodation, which had worked for Quebec's minorities (or at least its Anglo-Protestant minority) since 1867, was clearly no longer viable after 1976, and the immediate result was a flurry of organizational activity culminating in the formation of Alliance Québec in 1982. Encouraged and funded by the federal government, this organization attempted to mobilize all the regional, ethnic and religious sub-groups of non-Francophone Quebec into an effective political lobby. For a while it seemed to have some success, but its popularity declined sharply after 1989, when it failed to prevent the adoption of Bill 178, which perpetuated the ban on outdoor bilingual signs. A new political vehicle, the Equality Party, emerged and elected four members to the National Assembly in 1989, but it disappeared after the next election. Alliance Québec lingered on until 2005, when the termination of the federal grant on which it was almost totally dependent finally put it out of its misery.

By that time, Anglophones who remained in Quebec had adapted reasonably well to the new order of things and were increasingly integrated, and intermarried, with the Francophone majority. Two-thirds of them could speak French, or at least claimed the ability to do so, and many were enrolling their children in French schools. In March 2011 the Standing Senate Committee on Official Languages issued a report on "The Vitality of Quebec's English-Speaking Communities" which noted that the Anglophone population, measured by the criterion of "first official language spoken" had returned by 2006 to the level of 1971, after a significant decline in the intervening years. It did however express some concern about the small and scattered Anglophone populations outside of greater Montreal and the Gatineau region, whose access to English-language health care, education, and cultural activities is limited.

Today Quebec's most significant problem of minority/majority relations concerns not language but religion. Large numbers of Muslim immigrants, and a smaller but significant component of ultra-orthodox Hasidic Jews, fit uneasily into a secular Quebec that increasingly supports the rigid *laïcité* of France's Third Republic and wishes to keep religion of any kind in the closet. On the other hand, they are also resented by conservative Quebeckers who believe that Quebec's traditional Catholic faith should at the very least be first among equals. Muslim and Hasidic demands for "reasonable accommodation" of their distinctive beliefs and practices led to a backlash from both secularists and traditional Catholics, and the Quebec government responded by appointing the Bouchard-Taylor commission of inquiry in 2007.

When I published my book on the Anglophones of Quebec more than a decade ago, *La Presse* featured the book in a prominent article under the headline "The Quiet Revolution: A Disaster for Anglophones". That is not exactly what the book said, and whether it is true is a matter of interpretation. The Quiet Revolution certainly ended, although not right away, the traditional ethnic division of labour in Quebec that had existed for more than two centuries, and the segmented society with autonomous minorities running their own affairs that resulted from it. So perhaps it was a disaster for "the Anglophone community" as traditionally understood, but that is not to say a disaster for individual members of Quebec's various minorities. Many left and pursued careers elsewhere; many who stayed and became fluent in French blended into their changing environment and continue to occupy important positions in Quebec society and politics. The Quebec of today is a more integrated, more egalitarian, and more harmonious society than the Quebec of half a century ago. Perhaps in conclusion I may echo the words of Lady Gregory, the Anglo-Irish aristocrat and patroness of Irish culture in the early twentieth century, when she wrote that the Irish revolution had eliminated the class to which she belonged but that from a broader and more impartial perspective that may have been just as well.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE MINORITY IN QUEBEC SINCE THE QUIET REVOLUTION

Reed Scowan has been directly involved in the Quebec/Canada Question for over 30 years. He was Executive Director of the Federal Task Force on Canadian Unity (Pepin-Robarts Commission), Member of the Quebec National Assembly for 10 years, advisor to Claude Ryan and Robert Bourassa on Constitutional issues, Délègue Générale for Quebec in London, New York and Washington, and has written two books and many newspaper and magazine articles on the subject. He was educated at Bishop's University, the Harvard Business School and the London School of Economics.

ABSTRACT

This paper looks at the evolution of the English Language Minority (ELM) in Quebec since the Quiet Revolution of 1960-1966. It briefly examines demographic changes, changes in attitude and the reaction of the Anglophone community. It concludes with a description of the Evolution of Anglophone language institutions and leadership since the Quiet Revolution using census data from 1971 and 2006.

DEMOGRAPHIC DEFINITIONS AND EVOLUTION

In thinking about the demographic evolution of the English Language Minority (ELM) since the Quiet Revolution, a single linguistic consideration outweighs all others. Indeed, for most of that period, the Anglophone community was the object of an unprecedented effort on the part of the provincial government to increase the knowledge and use of French in Quebec, in both the private and public sectors. This implied a corresponding decrease in the use of English and so the demographic evolution of the ELM must be assessed in the light of these circumstances.

Given this background, we can take a look at the understanding of how linguistic communities are defined demographically and then try to make sense of the shifts that have occurred since the Lesage Government of 1960-1966.

We begin by noting that there is no single "Anglophone community" in Quebec, at least not in any accepted sense of the word. The ELM is made up of people who are speaking a minority language as part of their daily life, some frequently and some infrequently. Many of them would not identify themselves primarily by their primary language, but with reference to many other social and cultural interests and organizations in their lives.

The ELM includes:

• The remaining Anglo-Saxon descendants of the class that controled the levers of power in Quebec during the first half of the twentieth century. At this point, most of this cohort are senior citizens. They have typically been, and remain, strongly opposed to langauge legislation. But there are also a number of Anglophones who are devoted to Canada's Official Languages Act and believe that language legislation is good because it encourages bilingualism, which in turn stimulates tolerance and learning skills.

• Throughout downtown Montreal and in its western suburbs, there are thousands of English speaking middle class and blue-collar workers. There is also an important Jewish community, and a Black community from the Caribbean. The members of these communities, or their parents, were leading their day-to-day lives in English before the Quiet Revolution. There are also, recently, many first-¬generation immigrants from Europe, Asia, and Latin America, who use English mainly. Further, in rural Quebec, a number of Anglophone communities remain and a handful of towns still have a majority English speaking population. In addition, most of Quebec's First-Nations population use English as a first or second language.

The reality is that there are many thousands of Quebecers whose mother tongue is French, but who use English all or most of the time. There are hundreds of thousands more who retain French as their home language but use English regularly in their daily lives. For example, living in the Western and downtown regions of Montreal

you will find thousands of English-speaking corporate executives and technicians, university students and academics from all over the world – with their spouses. In the offices and factories of Montreal, and throughout the province, there are countless conversations taking place in English, face to face or over the Internet, with people from other parts of Canada and the world.

To summarize, we note that members of the ELM are frequently referred to in Quebec as the "Anglophones", for which there are two generally used definitions:

English Speakers - For some, an Anglophone is simply a person who can speak English. The census counts these people as such, and in 1971 there were 3.3 million of them in Quebec out of a total population of 6 million (about 55%). By 2006, thirty five years later, the number of English speakers was essentially unchanged, but their percentage of the total population had fallen from 55% to 45%.

English Community - There is a second, more widely used definition of ELM. This is one which limits membership to someone who speaks English all the time, or at least a good deal of the time. These people are often referred to as the members of the "Anglophone community". The census also counts these people, but uses several definitions which provide somewhat different answers than above (see Annex) and include categorization by mother tongue, home language and First Official Language Spoken (FOLS).

If we measure the demographic changes in the size of the English Community over the 35 year period being examined, we get the following results:

- Quebecers whose Mother Tongue is English – a drop of 23% from 789,000 to 607,000.
- Quebecers whose Home Language is English – a drop of 11% from 886,000 to 744,000.
- The FOLS group – a drop of 8% from 958,000 to 885,000.

As a rough generalization, employing the above statistics, it can be said that in the 35 years since the Quiet Revolution the size of the "Anglophone community" in Quebec has been reduced by one third, from about 15% of the total population to fewer than 10%. As well, the percentage of the total population which understands and uses English has also been reduced by about 15%. All this occurred lawfully, peacefully and with generally little opposition from those most negatively affected.

ANGLOPHONE REACTION

The ELM has reacted to this unprecedented demographic shift in their daily life in a variety of ways. An estimated 250,000 (net) simply left the province. For those who remained, there have been a variety of responses due to the great diversity of the ELM. In short, the Anglophones who remain in Quebec have evolved in a number of different directions in their thinking about language.

Some (approximately 10%), are in the process of assimilation into the French speaking community; a few (another 10%) object strenuously to the language laws and believe that somebody, perhaps the federal government, should "do something about it". Between these two poles there are others (25%) who enjoy life in Quebec the way it is and speak French quite well. Others (25%), are considering the possibility of leaving. Some are here on a temporary basis and will be going as soon as their studies or jobs in Quebec come to an end.

Finally, a plurality (30%) of English Quebecers don't like Bill 101, but they are trying, and in most cases managing, to live with it. In their daily lives the language laws have been relegated to the category of background noise. Like snow, potholes and high taxes, the language laws are now accepted as a fact of life in Quebec. For some Anglophone Quebecers they pose a big problem, for others they are a minor irritation; but no one in this group spends much time thinking about it any more and no one is proposing an alternative.

THE EVOLUTION OF ANGLOPHONE LANGUAGE INSTITUTIONS SINCE THE QUIET REVOLUTION

Given the above demographic changes and accompanying reaction, we are now more fully able to look at the rise and fall of the institutions and the leadership which were created within the ELM in response to the language legislation in the years following the Quiet Revolution.

The Creation of an "other"

Back in 1977, the new Parti Quebecois (PQ) government understood that to mobilize the French speaking majority in support of language legislation it would not be enough to merely provide census data. A bogeyman was required; the adversary had to be personalized. And so "les anglais" appeared, essentially as the oppressive class, in the minds of French speaking Quebecers. Once the Parti Quebecois had invented "les anglais", there was no option for the ELM but to provide itself with an organization and some elected leaders to speak on its behalf. Thus Alliance Quebec was born.

Alliance Quebec

After the shock of the 1976 election, a number of voluntary groups sprang up to "save Canada", several of them based in Quebec. But the first organization specifically created to represent Anglo Quebecers on the language issue was Alliance Quebec, in 1982. It was welcomed by the PQ government as an official *vis-à-vis* to respond to its language initiatives. Alliance Quebec had a competent staff, developed policy suggestions of its own, responded to government initiatives and was consulted and respected by the government, the media and the community at large, during that time.

The Quebec Liberal Party (LPQ)

The other source of Anglo leadership in Quebec during the 1980s was the LPQ, which, as a federalist party, monopolized the Anglophone vote. There were a number of electoral districts with an Anglophone majority and about a dozen Anglophone members of the National Assembly. LPQ supporters were bound to a party program designed to appeal to the Francophone majority, but Anglophones in the LPQ were influential in getting acceptance for proposals which would also be acceptable to the members of their own community, enabling them to ensure the ongoing vitality of its institutions. The Anglophone vote was instrumental in achieving the election of an LPQ government in 1985.

The Crisis

However, once elected to power, the LPQ government did not respect its electoral promises. In 1989, four years after being elected, the viable leadership of the Anglophone community of Quebec was ruined in a single month by the decision of the Bourassa government to continue the ban on the use of English on public signs, already declared unconstitutional, despite a specific election promise to the contrary. The Anglophone community was furious. As a direct result of this decision, the three most prominent Anglophone MNAs, all cabinet ministers, resigned in protest and immediately abandoned public life in Quebec. Alliance Quebec was left exposed to extremely bitter accusations of ineffectiveness and irresponsibility by its own supporters – its critics renamed it "the lamb lobby", and "Compliance Quebec" – for having played into the hands of the LPQ.

Within a space of one month in 1989, Anglophone leadership in the National Assembly and in the community itself, was eliminated, and it has never been reconstituted.

A New Political Party

The Anglophone reaction was chaotic. At the political level, a new protest party – Equality –was formed under Robert Libman. It received most of theAanglophone vote in the following election and elected 4 members, but subsequent infighting assured its rapid demise. Since then, most Anglophones continue to support the LPQ (mainly because of the sovereignist threat), but the role and the influence of Anglophone members of the LPQ has been greatly reduced and on the subject of language legislation today they have no discernable influence.

The End of Alliance Quebec

Within a demoralized Alliance Quebec, the leadership was taken over by a group which adopted the more radical approach of attacking Bill 101 in a series of court challenges; a project which did not succeed. Other, more eccentric ideas were subsequently tried out, but to no avail.

Organizationally, Alliance Quebec had 10 Presidents in the 15 years between 1989 and 2005 and subsequently became insolvent and went out of existence.

The Quebec Community Groups Network (QCGN)

In the meantime Alliance Quebec members from outside the Montreal area, who had frequently complained of neglect by the Head Office, established a new organization in 1996, the Quebec Community Groups Network (QCGN), which now receives some of the federal government funding previously allotted to Alliance Quebec. The QCGN is a federation of about 36 regional and sector based organizations, overwhelmingly devoted to the interests of Anglophones living outside the Montreal area. Of its 13 regional members not one represents any part of Montreal, where about 80% of the English speaking population resides. Most importantly, it has not succeeded in establishing its credibility as a voice

ANNEX 1: Demographic Evolution of ELM Since the Quiet Revolution

KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH AND FRENCH	1971*	2006*	CHANGE*	%
Total Quebec Population	6,028	7,435	1,407	23
People who can speak English	3,296	3,354	58	2
Speak English only	633	337	(296)	(47)
English Mother Tongue	789	607	(182)	(182)
English Home Language	886	744	(100)	(11)
FOLS	958	885	(73)	(8)

Another Reading

KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH AND FRENCH	1971*	% OF TOTAL	2006*	% OF TOTAL
Total Quebec Population	6,028	100	7,435	100
People who can speak English	3,296	55	3,354	45
Speak English only	633	11	337	5
English Mother Tongue	789	13	607	8
English Home Language	886	15	788	11
FOLS	958	16	885	12

Source: Statistics Canada   * = Thousands

for the many Montrealers in the ELM who are not involved in Anglophone organizations. The structure and policies of the QCGN will require significant modification if it aspires to become the voice of English Quebec.

But it is also possible that the National Assembly of Quebec will conclude that it has now done all it can for the advancement of the French language, and that the next chapters in this contest must be played out "in the street", in the *vécu*.

SYNTHÈSE DES ÉCHANGES

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AVANT-PROPOS

En 1990, le ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration du Québec publiait l'énoncé de politique *Au Québec pour bâtir ensemble*. Dans un contexte de fin de siècle marqué par des mutations importantes sur les plans économique, social et politique, on réaffirmait ainsi par ce texte le rôle de l'immigration dans l'édification d'une société compétitive et ouverte.

Vingt ans plus tard, qu'en est-il ? Les orientations normatives avancées alors sontelles encore d'actualité ? Quel bilan faire du chemin parcouru depuis ? Afin de répondre à ces questions, le Centre d'études ethniques des universités montréalaises et l'Association d'études canadiennes ont organisé, le 17 mars 2011, le panel « *L'énoncé de politique* « Au Québec pour bâtir ensemble » : vingt ans après. Regards croisés face aux défis d'aujourd'hui ». Quatre personnes associées à l'élaboration de cet Énoncé, ou ayant eu à y réagir à l'époque, ont fait part de leur vision à cet égard à près d'une centaine de participants des milieux universitaire, gouvernemental et communautaire.

Ce document présente une synthèse des échanges ayant été tenus lors de cette rencontre. Nous espérons qu'elle saura vous intéresser.

PARTICIPANTS AU PANEL

ROBERT TREMPE
Conseiller spécial, ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles Sous-ministre adjoint, ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration (1989-1994 et 1996).

ANDRÉ BOISCLAIR
Consultant, développement stratégique et affaires publiques et Ministre des Relations avec le citoyen et de l'Immigration (1996-1998).

FO NIEMI
Directeur, Centre de recherche-action sur les relations raciales (CRARR).

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Titulaire, Chaire en relations ethniques et Chaire de recherche du Canada sur l'Éducation et les rapports ethniques, Université de Montréal et Co-directrice, Centre d'études ethniques des universités montréalaises (CEETUM).

ANIMATEUR

JEAN-PIERRE PROULX
Président, Conseil supérieur de l'éducation (2002-2006) et Professeur, Faculté des sciences de l'éducation, Université de Montréal (1991-2009).

SYNTHÈSE DES ÉCHANGES
PRÉSENTATION DU PANEL

Jean-Pierre Proulx

Pour amorcer, M. Proulx fait une présentation générale de l'événement en rappelant que c'est l'anniversaire de l'énoncé de politique *Au Québec pour bâtir ensemble* qui réunit l'ensemble des personnes présentes. Cette politique, adoptée en 1990, reposait sur trois constats : l'immigration est un facteur de développement et un atout pour l'avenir du Québec sur les plans démographique, économique, linguistique et socioculturelle ; la contribution de l'immigration à ces défis dépend étroitement de l'intégration et de la pleine participation des immigrants et de leurs descendants à la société québécoise ; le succès de l'intégration repose sur le respect des Québécois de toutes origines, des choix de société qui gouvernent le Québec moderne.

Cet énoncé contenait cinq grandes orientations ; les deux premières portaient sur l'immigration. La première évoquait une sélection des immigrants contribuant au développement d'une société francophone et d'une économie prospère, dans le respect des valeurs québécoises de réunification familiale et de solidarité internationale, la deuxième, une hausse graduelle des niveaux d'immigration en fonction des besoins et de la capacité d'accueil du Québec. L'énoncé comportait par ailleurs trois orientations en matière d'intégration : le développement des services d'apprentissage du français et la promotion de son usage auprès des immigrants et des Québécois des communautés culturelles, le soutien accru à l'ouverture de la société d'accueil et à la pleine participation des immigrants et des Québécois des communautés culturelles à la vie économique, sociale, culturelle et institutionnelle du Québec et, enfin, des interventions visant le développement des relations intercommunautaires harmonieuses entre les Québécois de toutes origines.

Avant de procéder à l'ouverture du panel, M. Proulx fait la lecture de la lettre que la ministre des Relations internationales, Monique GagnonTremblay, qui était ministre de l'Immigration à l'époque de la publication de l'Énoncé, a bien voulu faire parvenir aux participants :

« Bonjour, depuis plus de vingt-cinq ans j'ai le privilège de suivre le développement du Québec. Comme l'ensemble des élus, j'ai cherché tout au long de ces années à faire évoluer le Québec en imaginant constamment notre société de demain. C'est cette détermination et cette vision qui m'ont amenée, à titre de ministre des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration, à élaborer en 1990 la première politique en matière d'immigration et d'intégration. Vingt ans déjà. Tant de défis se présentaient alors à nous, grâce à cette nouvelle croyance que l'immigration pouvait et devait contribuer au redressement démographique, à la pérennité du fait français, à la prospérité économique et à l'ouverture du Québec sur le monde. Vingt ans plus tard, nous pouvons clairement affirmer que nous sommes passés de la croyance à la certitude quant à la nécessité, pour une société comme le Québec, de grandir grâce aux talents et à l'expérience de vie de celles et ceux qui choisissent le Québec. Aujourd'hui, vous aurez l'occasion d'échanger sur les vingt ans de l'Énoncé. L'occasion sera idéale pour partager vos réflexions sur les défis que devait relever le Québec en matière d'immigration et d'intégration au début des années 1980. Pour ma part, un des principaux défis consistait à appliquer au Québec le principe d'interculturalisme, c'est-à-dire de faire en sorte que celles et ceux qui choisissent d'y vivre se sentent unis par un sentiment d'appartenance à une société commune et acceptent de construire la société de demain, que l'apport de chacun enrichira. En ce sens, le Québec choisissait alors clairement ce principe plutôt que le multiculturalisme canadien.

En somme, bien que certains croient à l'arrivée récente de l'interculturalisme dans la modalité du vivre-ensemble québécois, je suis fière de constater que le gouvernement a globalement réussi à orienter le Québec dans cette voie depuis plusieurs années. Reste-t-il au Québec des problèmes de perception collective à l'égard de l'immigration ? Forcément. D'ailleurs le récent débat sur les « accommodements raisonnables » nous a rappelé avec justesse de ne rien prendre pour acquis, en poursuivant collectivement nos efforts, afin de permettre aux Québécois de toutes origines de s'approprier le patrimoine commun que représentent l'histoire du Québec, sa culture et les acquis de sa tradition démocratique. »

M. Proulx précise ensuite que la discussion s'articulera autour de deux questions, auxquelles chacun des panélistes répondra. La première : *Jusqu'à quel point la lecture du contexte et des grands enjeux ainsi que les orientations normatives qu'on retrouve dans l'Énoncé sont-elles encore d'actualité ?* La seconde : *Quel bilan faitesvous du chemin parcouru : les grand acquis, les problèmes déjà identifiés qui perdurent, les nouveaux défis qui ont émergé ?*

Première question :
Jusqu'à quel point la lecture du contexte et des grands enjeux ainsi que les orientations normatives qu'on retrouve dans l'Énoncé sont-elles encore d'actualité ?

Robert Trempe

Dans cette première intervention, M. Trempe commence par brosser un portait du contexte politique québécois en vigueur en 1990, dans lequel a émergé l'Énoncé de politique. Il mentionne alors le fait que le ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles est, à ce moment, un « petit » ministère, dont le « drapeau » sont les COFI (Centre d'orientation et de formation des immigrants). À ce moment, précise-t-il, l'attention se porte sur la clientèle des réfugiés et les personnes issues de la réunification familiale. Il précise ensuite qu'une des cinq conditions de l'accord du Lac Meech entériné en 1987 concernait l'immigration. L'Énoncé a été développé à la suite de l'échec de cet accord. Il rappelle par ailleurs que les rapports avec le Gouvernement du Canada sont « difficiles », particulièrement avec la nomenklatura libérale en place à ce moment ; enfin, l'Énoncé arrive dans les mois qui suivent l'invalidation de la loi sur l'affichage par la Cour suprême, et la décision du gouvernement Bourassa de mettre en vigueur la loi 178 en utilisant la clause nonobstant, de façon à maintenir l'affichage uniquement en français à l'extérieur.

M. Trempe insiste par la suite sur ce qui demeure, sur les enjeux de 1990 encore valables aujourd'hui. À ce titre, il mentionne l'immigration comme une réalité incontournable. Viennent ensuite les objectifs poursuivis par cet Énoncé, qui sont toujours d'actualité : le fait français, un effet sur la démographie, un effet économique et l'ouverture

sur le monde. Un autre élément qui demeure selon lui est la nécessité et la difficulté de concilier ces objectifs visés par l'immigration. Par ailleurs, il mentionne l'idée de contrat moral, que certains auraient certes voulu plus contraignant, comme un acquis, de même que le principe de base de notre sélection des immigrants : il s'agit d'une sélection non-discriminatoire, qui favorise aussi la réunification familiale, et qui reflète une tradition humanitaire.

Pour finir son intervention, M. Trempe aborde ce qui, selon lui, a changé le plus dans les vingt dernières années. Il l'appelle «la vision un peu juvénile, un peu optimiste» entourant cette Politique. En effet, si maintenant l'immigration occupe une place centrale dans notre société, les problèmes que celle-ci engendre et les défis que cela pose sont beaucoup plus apparents et beaucoup plus complexes qu'ils l'étaient auparavant. Ce sont moins les orientations du gouvernement en tant que telles que les mouvements mondiaux qui «dirigent» l'immigration. Avant, il y avait «l'idée que nous étions capables d'encadrer correctement tout cela» ; maintenant, il semble que nous soyons davantage «entraînés» que véritablement «capables» d'encadrer la chose, conclura-t-il.

André Boisclair

M. Boisclair commence par souligner que le «désir d'émancipation du peuple québécois de jouer un plus grand rôle dans les processus d'immigration» n'est pas né avec l'Énoncé de politique ; ces préoccupations étant déjà bien ancrées dans la société québécoise avant 1991. Il rappelle à cet effet l'avancée qu'avait représentée l'énoncé Autan*t* d*e* façon*s* d'êtr*e* Québécoi*s* sous la gouverne du Parti Québécois en 1981. D'ailleurs, pour lui, la preuve en est que cet Énoncé a été adopté à l'unanimité par l'Assemblée nationale. C'est donc dire que les grands enjeux décrits dans la Politique, à la fois au niveau du diagnostic et au niveau de sa mise en œuvre, faisaient consensus et témoignaient donc d'un certain niveau de maturité chez les leaders politiques et chez les partenaires communautaires.

En ce sens, il précise qu'il y avait un contexte particulier entourant l'accord de Meech, ce désir de faire en sorte que le Québec puisse assumer plus de pouvoir. D'ailleurs, à ce moment, le premier ministre Bourassa admet clairement dans l'introduction de la Politique que les objectifs poursuivis sont le redressement démographique, la pérennité du fait français et l'adaptation de notre économie aux nouvelles réalités internationales. L'idée était de faire en sorte que le Québec puisse jouer un plus grand rôle, il réclamait donc les pouvoirs requis pour le faire, pour «redresser» la démographie. Le mot en soi montre bien jusqu'à quel point cet objectif n'a pas été atteint. L'immigration contribue effectivement à ralentir le rythme auquel la population vieillit, mais de façon générale nous ne sommes pas, au jour d'aujourd'hui, à des niveaux de redressement. Ce qui

est intéressant également à ses yeux est de constater à quel point cette Politique mettait de l'avant une vision qui plaçait les enjeux de développement économique au cœur du projet. Cependant, il s'interroge sur les difficultés qu'ont encore aujourd'hui les immigrants, particulièrement ceux appartenant aux minorités visibles, à s'intégrer et sur la confusion qui existe encore dans l'appareil d'État québécois quant à qui est un immigrant et qui ne l'est pas.

Par ailleurs, avance M. Boisclair, alors que le consensus est en place, il demeure encore une confusion sur le sens de l'intégration. En ce sens, il affirme que le désir d'utiliser l'expression «communauté culturelle» dans la politique de Mme Gagnon-Tremblay était mû par une volonté politique de faire une distinction entre les anglophones et les communautés culturelles, dans le contexte de l'époque où la tendance était plutôt à identifier ces deux groupes comme appartenant à un seul. Cette décision soutenait également un désir de pouvoir identifier ces citoyens québécois d'une autre façon, plutôt qu'appartenant à un grand meltin*g* po*t* des «autres», par opposition à des blancs francophones catholiques. Il y avait cette volonté politique qui plaçait au cœur de la réflexion ce concept d'interculturalisme qui, à son avis, est un concept un peu en panne. Il précise ainsi que, pour lui, les relations intercommunautaires sont d'abord et avant tout des relations interpersonnelles.

En somme, M. Boisclair, admet qu'il y a des acquis solides au niveau des pouvoirs, au niveau des sommes investies, ou encore au niveau du savoir-faire québécois, mais au sujet de l'interculturalisme et de la volonté politique, il constate une certaine confusion avec laquelle nous sommes encore aux prises, et qui mérite d'être clarifiée.

Fo Niemi

M. Niemi commence par rappeler qu'il a participé à l'Énoncé de 1990 en tant qu'acteur communautaire. Il souligne l'importance de l'effet de contexte, au sens où les années 1980 ont été particulières, avec notamment deux référendums[1]. Il faut, précise-t-il, avoir en tête tous les changements en cours durant ces années pour comprendre «pourquoi l'Énoncé a été important et unique».

Les événements importants au cours de ces dernières années sont, selon M. Niemi, la dominance de la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés dans la vie quotidienne, notamment avec l'entrée en vigueur de la clause Égalité (article 15) en 1985 ; le rejet de l'accord du Lac Meech et de l'accord de Charlottetown ; le référendum de 95 ; la dévolution des pouvoirs (immigration et développement de la main-d'œuvre) pour que le Québec assume plus d'autonomie, les guerres de purification ethnique et la fin de l'URSS, le morcellement de l'identité et des frontières politiques, en même temps que le libre-échange. On a alors commencé, explique-t-il, à voir et à transformer les continents en blocs économiques. Tout cela permet

une mondialisation des marchés et du mouvement du capital humain, jumelée avec la montée des technologies de l'information, marquant une nouvelle génération qu'il qualifie de « génération Ipod-Iphone ». Il y a également toute la question des changements démographiques, dont le plus important est le vieillissement des baby-boomers. Est alors venue poindre la question : comment utiliser l'immigration pour changer cela ? Viennent ensuite les répercussions du 11 septembre 2001 : islamophobie, américanisation de l'économie et sécurité nationale canadienne et obsession avec la sécurité dans divers secteurs (transport, emploi, commerce, etc.). Avec le vieillissement de la population naît un conservatisme et un effritement de certaines valeurs fondamentales. On revenait à l'idée d'une hiérarchie des droits contre laquelle nos grands-parents ont lutté avec l'adoption de la Déclaration universelle des droits. Enfin, le changement climatique et le mariage gay, ce dernier point contribuant davantage à l'insécurisation sociale et culturelle au sein de diverses couches de la population. Ceci, toujours selon M. Niemi, contribue à expliquer le succès des leaders de la nouvelle droite comme Mario Dumont au Québec et aux autres courants du néo-conservatisme dans le reste du Canada.

Marie Mc Andrew

D'emblée, Mme Mc Andrew indique qu'elle s'est davantage attardée sur une « relecture » du contrat moral et sur la partie concernant l'intégration et les relations intercommunautaires comprises dans la Politique. Dans un premier temps, elle souligne qu'à ses yeux, les orientations privilégiées par l'Énoncé ont moins vieilli que la lecture du contexte. En effet, précise-t-elle, actuellement on a beaucoup tendance à penser que si on reformule les orientations normatives en y ajoutant des choses plus substantives, cela constituera une solution miracle à la crise des relations intercommunautaires actuelle. Or, elle a plutôt tendance à penser que ce sont nos actions en matière de relations interculturelles qui ont été mal adaptées au paradigme émergent.

Elle poursuit en rappelant les trois aspects du contrat moral tel que formulé : 1) une société dont la langue commune dans la vie publique est le français, 2) une société démocratique où la participation et la contribution de tous sont attendues et favorisées et, le plus important, 3) une société pluraliste et ouverte aux apports multiples, dans les limites qu'impose le respect des valeurs démocratiques fondamentales et la nécessité de l'échange. Pour elle, c'est ce dernier élément qui lui apparaît le plus novateur. Ce que nous dit ce contrat moral, précise Mme Mc Andrew, c'est d'abord une réciprocité des droits et des obligations, entre les immigrants et la société d'accueil, en intégration, et entre les Québécois de toutes origines, en matière de relations interculturelles. Il y aussi quelque chose d'assez réciproque dans le degré de contrainte de chacun de ces principes : le

premier faisant plus peser de choses sur les immigrants, le second devant normalement interpeller davantage la société d'accueil. Quant au troisième, les blâmes et les coups auraient dû être également répartis, puisqu'il s'agissait mutuellement d'accepter d'être transformés. On voit aussi que ces trois principes étaient indissociables et c'est cet aspect qui a été un peu perdu dans le débat, où les principes 1 et 3, qui reflètent les préoccupations de la société d'accueil, occupent souvent une portion excessive du débat par rapport au principe 2 relatif à la participation.

Sur le troisième principe, Mme Mc Andrew partage l'avis de M. Boisclair sur les limites d'une expression comme « communauté culturelle », mais elle rappelle que celle-ci a été conservée d'une part parce qu'elle figurait dans la loi du Ministère et d'autre part, faute d'une meilleure expression. Par ailleurs, elle précise qu'elle ne constitue pas une invention de Mme Gagnon-Tremblay, mais qu'elle a été mise de l'avant une première fois par M. Godin et le Parti Québécois dans les années 80. Elle a donc été conservée, mais la manière dont elle a été balisée, compte tenu du contrat moral, indiquait clairement que la diversité est portée par les individus. Une note justifie d'ailleurs l'emploi d'une telle expression, précisant que les gens peuvent avoir des problèmes de participation du fait de leur origine, et qu'il est donc nécessaire de nommer ce phénomène.

Concernant plus spécifiquement le troisième principe, Mme Mc Andrew rappelle dans un second temps que, dans l'Énoncé, l'ancienneté d'implantation n'a pas d'impact sur les droits. Cependant, le fait d'avoir été là depuis longtemps crée une « culture institutionnelle » ; il existe, de fait, une culture francophone. En revanche, les limites de la diversité sont les mêmes pour tous. À l'époque déjà, deux critiques avaient été émises à cet égard. D'une part, certains trouvaient que la culture civique mise de l'avant n'était pas suffisante et auraient préféré quelque chose de plus substantif (la « culture publique commune »). D'autres regrettaient que la « majorité francophone », comme on nommait alors la communauté historique d'origine canadienne-française n'ait pas un rôle plus central dans le contrat moral. Mme Mc Andrew précise ne pas être plus convaincue qu'avant que ces avenues sont viables. En effet, sans nier son empathie pour le sentiment de vulnérabilité et de changement identitaire qu'expriment ces questions, elle admet ne pas connaître de liste de valeurs communes qui ait dépassé le procédural pour atteindre le substantif et survivre à l'épreuve du réel. Elle ajoute également que d'insister sur la dichotomie Nous/Eux revient à ethniciser la communauté francophone, en niant de surcroît sa composante multiethnique. Or, justement, s'il y a quelque chose dont on doit se vanter aujourd'hui c'est que modestement, de plus en plus, la communauté francophone n'est pas composée uniquement de gens qui partagent la mémoire historique. À Montréal dans les écoles secondaires, 35 % des élèves de

première et de deuxième générations ont déclaré avoir le français comme langue maternelle ou langue d'usage.

Ceci dit, Mme Mc Andrew fait valoir que la lecture de la situation dans l'Énoncé en matière de relations interculturelles est dépassée. À ce titre, il faut donc réajuster nos actions. Elle identifie cinq éléments qui n'apparaissent pas dans l'Énoncé et qui font dorénavant partie de la réalité québécoise. Premièrement, le remplacement du marqueur linguistique par le marqueur religieux dans la dynamique des rapports ethniques. Deuxièmement, l'impact de la mondialisation sur les relations ethniques, qui amène une internationalisation des débats sur l'interculturalisme. Troisièmement, le fait que les tensions intercommunautaires, originalement générées par des gens qui étaient en contact, sont maintenant alimentées par les médias, permettant ainsi que soient mêlés au débat des gens qui ne sont pas en contact direct avec la diversité. Quatrièmement, un débat sur l'immigration qui s'est régionalisé plus rapidement que l'immigration elle-même. Sans nier que les immigrants s'installent effectivement davantage en région, il serait plus juste de parler d'une déconcentration significative de l'immigration à Montréal, au profit de la Région métropolitaine de recensement[2]. Finalement, les résultats de l'intégration socio-économique des immigrants récents qui se détériorent. On ne pense presque jamais les liens qui existent pourtant entre l'intégration économique et les relations intercommunautaires. Le racisme est l'objet d'un paragraphe de l'Énoncé[3]; il semble qu'on n'avait pas prévu dans quelle mesure l'intégration socio-économique des immigrants se détériorerait et pas non plus que celle-ci coïnciderait avec l'augmentation de la crainte par rapport à l'immigration.

Deuxième question :
Quel bilan faites-vous du chemin parcouru : les grand acquis, les problèmes déjà identifiés qui perdurent, les nouveaux défis qui ont émergé ?

André Boisclair

Selon M. Boisclair, parmi les choses qui perdurent dans la «psyché québécoise», on trouve l'idée que le Québec pourrait, par magie, avoir plus de pouvoir dans la gestion de son immigration. Or, une fois l'accord Gagnon-Tremblay-Mc Dougall signé, il est difficile d'imaginer comment le Québec, dans l'état constitutionnel actuel, pourrait exercer plus de pouvoir, bien qu'il s'agisse d'un discours très répandu. En effet, le gouvernement fédéral garde l'exclusivité de l'application de la Convention de Genève (sur les réfugiés) et dans le cas de la catégorie de la famille, peut-être pourrait-on discuter avec lui sur la façon de la définir, mais pour l'essentiel, il y a là peu de marge de manœuvre. Rappelons à cet effet que le Québec exerce sa pleine souveraineté sur la question de la sélection de l'immigration économique. Pour M. Boisclair, une telle

maîtrise de son immigration par le Québec passerait par la souveraineté. Et si cela était réalisé, surgirait alors la question suivante : est-ce que le Québec gérerait différemment le processus d'accueil des réfugiés ou des familles? Est-ce qu'il le ferait sur d'autres bases qu'actuellement?

Deuxièmement, M. Boisclair perçoit encore une grande confusion sur le multiculturalisme et sur ce qu'il représente. Certes, les Québécois aiment pointer du doigt la Constitution canadienne, les fédéraux, le multiculturalisme… Ils se «drapent» dans ce discours. Toutefois, il rapporte une discussion avec Mme Mc Andrew, au cours de laquelle elle lui avait fait la démonstration qu'avec une lecture attentive des programmes fédéraux, on pouvait faire le constat d'un hiatus entre un discours qui valorise le multiculturalisme, et une pratique de terrain qui se situe davantage dans le champ de l'interculturel; dans la promotion d'une citoyenneté partagée, plutôt que dans la promotion des différences. S'il y a un débat à faire au Québec, avance-t-il, il porte avant tout sur le chapitre des droits sociaux. On fait nommément référence au droit à la culture d'origine, par le biais de la notion de «communauté culturelle». En revanche, rien n'est dit sur l'intégration. La réouverture du contenu de la Charte des droits et libertés constituerait en soi un projet politique.

M. Boisclair rappelle que cette confusion sur le multiculturalisme est d'autant plus glissante que ceux qui, comme lui, ont voulu faire la promotion d'une citoyenneté québécoise, entendue comme le partage par tous d'un ensemble de droits et de libertés, formant le socle de la société québécoise ont été vilipendés par «les Mathieu Bock-Côté de ce monde», accusant les responsables politiques de l'époque d'être les promoteurs du multiculturalisme, et de vouloir effacer la distinction canadienne-française. Faisant référence à sa propre expérience politique, M. Boisclair souligne que dans les périodes de changement, il ne faut pas oublier de mettre un accent tout particulier sur les choses qui doivent demeurer, ce qui permet de rendre le discours moins inquiétant. En ce sens, il est évident pour lui que ce socle de droits et de responsabilités comporte des choses fondamentales. La langue française, la Charte française ayant un quasi statut de charte, la Loi sur la protection de la vie privée et d'accès à des documents publics, qui elle aussi a presque le statut de charte, sont des documents fondateurs qu'il faut associer ou peut-être même distinguer, ou encore nommer plus clairement dans ce socle.

Par la suite, il interroge la distinction complexe entre l'espace public et l'espace privé, entre ce qui relève de l'État et ce qui ressort de la responsabilité des individus. On a bien vu ce genre de confusion entre les deux sphères lors du débat sur les accommodements raisonnables, entre autres à l'occasion de l'affaire du YMCA[4]. Il est faux de penser que l'État allait commencer à réglementer le type de fenêtres. Dans cette affaire, il s'agissait des rapports privés entre une entreprise et des citoyens. Malgré tout, précise M. Boisclair,

dans l'organisation des services publics, on exige une façon de faire. On exige que des gens de l'appareil d'État se présentent devant les Québécois le visage découvert, qu'on reconnaisse qu'un homme ou une femme puisse donner des services indistinctement de la personne à qui elle s'adresse et que ce n'est pas vrai qu'on peut se présenter à un guichet de l'État québécois pour réclamer la présence d'un homme plutôt que d'une femme.

Le dernier thème abordé par M. Boisclair concerne la régionalisation. Il n'est pas vrai que par « pensée magique », on va envoyer des immigrants dans des territoires que les Québécois eux-mêmes quittent, avance-t-il. Le débat sur la régionalisation portait essentiellement sur la déconcentration : au lieu que les immigrants se concentrent sur l'île de Montréal, ils sont désormais distribués dans l'ensemble de la région métropolitaine. Du coup, parler de « régionalisation » c'est en fait parler de Montréal et un peu de Québec. À l'heure actuelle, le « facteur de rétention » des immigrants, c'est l'accès à des produits de consommation et à des services, qui sont malheureusement absents en région. En somme, c'est la famille et la communauté qui sont les principaux facteurs de localisation des personnes immigrantes au Québec. Il conclut sur la nécessité de « distinguer le vrai du faux » dans le discours politique sur la régionalisation.

Robert Trempe

Selon M. Trempe, le premier acquis concerne d'abord l'expertise acquise au cours des ans dans le domaine de l'accueil dans les organismes et ce, même s'il y a pu avoir ponctuellement des hauts et des bas, ou des difficultés de financement. Cette expérience est d'autant plus importante qu'en connaissant bien la situation, on est en mesure d'aider les organismes à bien travailler. Un autre acquis concerne les processus de sélection et les manières de gérer concrètement l'immigration. Signe de ces acquis, il n'y a pas de problème majeur en ce qui concerne la sélection de l'immigration ou le premier établissement, ce qui relève directement du Ministère. La croissance des travaux de recherche (comme par exemple le programme Métropolis) représente également un acquis positif.

Un autre acquis sur lequel s'arrête M. Trempe est le changement de perception du Ministère. Pendant longtemps, et c'est encore vrai aujourd'hui, le ministère de l'Immigration était vu comme « le ministère des « good guys » qui accueillent les gens ». Contre cette vision, il est nécessaire de rappeler que l'immigration a une vocation économique, et qu'il s'agit de trouver les outils pour rendre l'action du Ministère plus efficace en ce domaine.

La difficulté de concilier la sélection de beaucoup de travailleurs qualifiés pour occuper les postes qui deviennent vacants et la nécessité de choisir des personnes qui ont une connaissance du français non seulement demeure, mais

s'aggrave avec le temps. M. Trempe partage également le constat d'André Boisclair sur la confusion entre l'espace privé et l'espace public. Tant que cette confusion persiste, il y a là un boulevard où se lancent à fond de train éditorialistes et membres du personnel politique dans des déclarations contradictoires, alors même qu'il s'agit d'un terrain très mal balisé.

Un autre terrain mal balisé pointé du doigt par M. Trempe est la question de la régionalisation. Il renvoie à la réaction de Lise Bissonnette qui, lisant l'Énoncé avait eu ce commentaire : « L'Énoncé est vraiment très bon, mais votre objectif sur la régionalisation "it's for the birds" ». Elle avait raison puisqu'on est passé de 17,1 % à 17,2 % des gens qui sont en dehors de la région métropolitaine. Un autre problème qui subsiste est celui du « ministère des Immigrants ». On le voit également au niveau fédéral. Il y a beaucoup de discours sur l'immigration, mais quand il s'agit d'en venir aux questions pratiques et financières, les choses vont beaucoup moins vite. Le problème est donc que le Ministère est encore trop perçu comme un « ministère des Immigrants ». Selon M. Trempe, cette mauvaise perception vient peut-être du fait que le Ministère est à Montréal et non à Québec, même s'il reconnaît qu'il y a probablement des raisons plus profondes.

Il conclut son intervention sur la nécessité d'une véritable évaluation des politiques, surtout dans le domaine de l'intégration. S'il existe bien des affirmations sur l'intégration, on tombe rapidement dans l'anecdote. En effet, dans ce domaine, des bilans réels n'ont pas encore été réalisés.

Fo Niemi

Afin de ne pas répéter certaines choses, M. Niemi a choisi de concentrer cette deuxième intervention sur certains aspects du débat qui n'avaient pas encore été soulevés. En effet, il débute en abordant « la dichotomie multiculturalisme/interculturalisme ». En fait, selon lui, dans le reste du Canada, à partir de 1985, l'évènement qui a vraiment fait changer de manière fondamentale les coutumes, les façons de voir les choses, les mœurs et la conception de la vie dans le reste du Canada anglais, est la Charte canadienne. La révolution de celle-ci, surtout la mise en œuvre de l'article 15, redéfinit de manière parfois imprévisible les relations État/citoyen. Il faut savoir que la première décision de la Cour suprême sur la notion d'égalité était en 1989, avec l'arrêt Andrews, et s'en est suivi tout un mouvement de transformations sociales, qui a mené à la reconnaissance du mariage gay. C'est un évènement qui, à ce moment, bouleverse tellement les mœurs politiques et sociales au point où, dans plusieurs villes, dans plusieurs juridictions, on ne parle même plus de multiculturalisme. On parle surtout de l'égalité et de l'intégration dans l'article 15. Par exemple à Toronto, consacrée comme la ville la plus multiculturelle, le multiculturalisme comprenait la culture

gay et lesbienne à l'époque. Elle comprend la diversité au-delà de nos conceptions traditionnelles. Donc la révolution de la Charte a pris un peu de recul ou, disons, s'est figée un peu dans le temps depuis l'abolition du programme de contestation en 2006 par le gouvernement conservateur. Par contre, depuis 1989, et au moins jusqu'en 2005, la révolution était inestimable.

Un autre aspect sur lequel M. Niemi considère que le Québec a des acquis est l'adoption de la loi 143, soit l'accessibilité dans les services publics que l'État ordonne à ses organismes publics. Il croit qu'il s'agit là d'une réalisation très importante, même si l'efficacité de sa mise en œuvre peut être discutée. Il souligne également la question de la dévolution de certains pouvoirs au niveau du développement de la main-d'œuvre, de même que quelques petits acquis transformationnels importants qui reflètent cette génération de révolution de la Charte. La création des tribunaux des droits de la personne en 1990 et en même temps la création du Commissariat à la déontologie policière sont vraiment des événements qui ont des retombées encore très significatives et substantielles dans des questions de discrimination, d'intégration et d'égalité des chances. Ce que nous avons encore comme défi c'est cette question perpétuelle, appelée «l'entorse à la démocratie» en France, c'est-à-dire cette sous-représentation dramatique des communautés culturelles, des minorités ethniques et visibles, dans l'appareil d'État. En effet, pour lui, il s'agit là d'un symbole ultérieur de l'échec de l'intégration et qui remet même en question les grands principes politiques en la matière.

Au niveau des acquis, il mentionne aussi, parmi les éléments problématiques, les débats récents sur les accommodements raisonnables. L'Énoncé de politique a établi des valeurs fondamentales, des valeurs d'adhésion à la démocratie et la citoyenneté québécoise. Cependant, au cours des dernières années, toutes sortes de valeurs fondamentales ont été avancées, sauf une : la protection des minorités. On parle surtout de l'égalité hommes/femmes, de la laïcité, de la langue française. Toutefois, il conclut qu'il y a cette valeur fondamentale, consacrée dans le document, qu'on ne mentionne plus comme une valeur fondamentale québécoise et de moins en moins dans le débat. Selon lui, les répercussions de cette omission, voire même de cet oubli volontaire, peuvent être très sérieuses.

Marie Mc Andrew

Mme Mc Andrew propose, pour répondre à cette question, un parcours qui va du plus positif au plus négatif. Selon elle, l'acquis le plus clair des vingt dernières années est la francisation des immigrants. Trois objectifs avaient alors été fixés : l'accessibilité (1), la diversification des services (2), et la connaissance du français dans les populations allophones et l'usage du français comme langue commune de la vie publique (3). Pour les adultes, l'objectif fixé en matière d'accessibilité a été rapidement atteint. Les 60 % fixés ont été atteints en 1995, alors qu'en 1994 le taux n'était que de 40 %. Par la suite s'est posée la question de la diversification. Le démantèlement des COFI et la déconcentration des services ont sans doute eu un effet pervers sur les 25 % d'immigrants qui parlent l'anglais : ces derniers sont moins enclins à prendre des cours de français que lorsqu'il y avait des lieux uniques et très visibles. Il y a donc un bilan à faire de ce point de vue.

Chez les jeunes, l'accessibilité était garantie pour le primaire, ainsi que pour le secondaire. À l'époque, on soulignait déjà la faiblesse des services de soutien linguistique au niveau collégial et à celui de l'éducation des adultes. Cela n'a pas bougé d'un «iota», précise-t-elle. Ce qui n'avait pas été identifié et qu'on constate maintenant, c'est qu'en région, à cause de la règle du 30 septembre (on ne finance que les élèves arrivés en classe avant cette date) et du petit nombre d'élèves, les services d'accueil y sont très difficilement disponibles. On a aussi vécu une importante résistance à la diversification de l'accueil. Contrairement au secteur des adultes, où la diversification a été très rapide, dans les classes, au niveau des jeunes et en particulier à Montréal, on observe la persistance du modèle de classe d'accueil unique et ce, le plus longtemps possible.

Si on s'en tient aux résultats de connaissance et à l'usage du français, les résultats, qui ne tiennent pas qu'à la politique d'intégration mais également à la politique scolaire et à la politique linguistique, on peut mentionner que la connaissance s'est maintenue au même niveau parmi les allophones, mais dans un contexte de renouvellement perpétuel des stocks d'individus, ce qui signifie qu'elle a progressé. Elle est beaucoup plus élevée dans la population immigrée à cause de l'immigration francophone. Dans les usages publics, le fameux « tipping point » conséquent à l'adoption de la loi 101 en 1977, annoncé dans l'Énoncé de 1990 est effectivement arrivé dans les années 2000. C'est le moment où l'usage du français est devenu légèrement prédominant globalement et au niveau de langue d'usage au travail, avec toutes les nuances évidemment du fait qu'on parle de l'entièreté de la population immigrée, donc autant les pré loi 101 que les post loi 101. Les résultats sont également plus favorables pour certains groupes.

En ce qui concerne les transferts linguistiques, alors qu'on attendait les impacts de la loi 101 à l'horizon 2011, le retournement s'est fait sentir dès 2006. En effet, à partir de cette date, on voit des transferts linguistiques plus favorables au français, et plus on va dans les cohortes récentes, plus ces tendances sont marquées. Par ailleurs, en ce qui concerne la question de la fréquentation du cégep francophone par les allophones, Mme Mc Andrew souligne qu'on se situe depuis sept ans dans une phase d'augmentation. Mais le débat est très mal enclenché précise-t-elle, car si l'on prend

l'entièreté de la population allophone, y compris celle qui va à l'école anglaise, on oublie que ceux qui vont à l'école anglaise accèdent davantage au cégep. Ce faisant, on exclut également de nos données les 20 ou 25 % de la population immigrée qui est francophone. Sur le plan de la francisation, elle insiste sur un paradoxe : les sondages montrent que les gens pensent encore que l'immigration est une menace pour la langue française, alors même qu'ils sont prêts à dire que l'immigration est utile pour l'économie ou pour la diversité culturelle. Elle conclut sur ce thème de la langue en faisant remarquer une certaine « surenchère » sur le seuil des indicateurs. Ainsi, au fur et à mesure que nous avons atteint nos objectifs en matière d'usage public de la langue, où cet indicateur ne fut plus jugé suffisant, nous avons commencé à vouloir utiliser celui de la langue parlée à la maison, ou de l'usage public exclusif, alors même que nous connaissons des pratiques multilingues. De ce point de vue, prendre comme indicateur la préservation du pourcentage de personnes de langue maternelle française à Montréal, dans un contexte où on reçoit des flux migratoires constants, est une absurdité. Toutefois, elle insiste sur le fait qu'observer un tel décalage entre le débat social et les données positives dont on dispose par rapport aux objectifs fixés au départ est pour le moins préoccupant.

Dans un second temps, Mme Mc Andrew revient sur la reconnaissance de la réalité pluraliste au sein de la population québécoise. On a pu observer une évolution vers davantage de métissage et de mélange, et la vision « Eux/Nous » est moins affirmée. Malgré tout, ce constat positif est gâché par le débat qui porte précisément sur cette dynamique. Il est nécessaire de clarifier le débat, notamment quand on voit que l'opinion pense encore aujourd'hui que rien n'a été dit sur les limites de la diversité. Mme Mc Andrew met en avant le rôle qu'a joué M. Boisclair dans ce débat, en prenant position publiquement au début des controverses, dans un article remarqué dans les médias, où il a rappelé que l'Énoncé identifiait déjà des limites claires, même si les milieux manquaient sans doute de balises concrètes. C'est donc un manque d'appropriation qui conduit à des inquiétudes parmi la population. Ceci est parfaitement illustré par les sondages d'opinions : entre 1991 et 2006, alors même qu'il y a une progression en flèche des attitudes favorables à l'immigration et à la diversité culturelle, on observe une réticence beaucoup plus grande à l'égard des musulmans et d'autres minorités visibles.

Mme Mc Andrew termine son intervention par un retour sur la détérioration des indicateurs de performance économique au sein de la population immigrée : les taux de chômage des immigrants récents, l'allongement du temps de purgatoire, et l'émergence d'une problématique d'échec scolaire chez certains sous-groupes de jeunes. À l'époque de l'Énoncé on parlait encore de la réussite équivalente des populations immigrantes, mais depuis, les outils statistiques ont évolué et on se rend compte que cet échec touche non seulement les immigrants de la première génération, mais également les jeunes de la seconde, notamment parmi la population d'origine haïtienne. Ceci constitue un nouveau problème dont il est difficile d'identifier les causes. Selon elle, un débat doit être tenu sur ce qui apparaît être « un gros éléphant ».

TEMPS DE QUESTIONS ET DE COMMENTAIRES
QUESTION DE MICHELINE LABELLE

Mme Labelle, professeure au département de sociologie de l'UQAM, revient sur le rôle de l'État. Après avoir rappelé à M. Boisclair le discours qu'il avait tenté de mettre de l'avant autour du concept de citoyenneté, elle fait valoir que seule une telle approche permet de favoriser la « désethnicisation du discours de l'État », et de sortir ainsi des discussions sur les rapports interethniques et intercommunautaires. Mme Labelle distingue trois « filons » dans les propos de M. Boisclair : la question des droits, dont la protection des minorités (1) ; la question de l'identité québécoise désethnicisée (2) ; enfin, la question de la participation (3). Selon elle, si on parvient à intégrer la prise en compte de la diversité dans ces trois dimensions, il est possible de faire un saut qualitatif au niveau du discours de l'État.

Dans un second temps, elle souligne que tout ce qui se passe dans la société n'est pas de la responsabilité de l'État. Elle est donc particulièrement intéressée d'entendre M. Boisclair sur le rôle spécifique de l'État dans la production d'une société inclusive et sur les limites structurelles que le statut actuel du Québec génère à cet égard.

Réponse d'André Boisclair

M. Boisclair commence par rappeler que sa réflexion politique est intimement liée à sa propre identité : « le fait d'être une personne gay, homosexuelle à Montréal fait aussi partie de ce que je suis et a défini mon propos public ». Il revient ensuite sur deux moments qui l'ont encouragé à « faire sauter les étiquettes ». Le premier moment fut une rencontre avec les leaders des communautés noires à l'époque où les Libéraux avait fondé le Fonds Mathieu Da Costa, pour soutenir des jeunes entrepreneurs des communautés noires. Il y avait un problème d'accès au capital, mais plutôt que de changer le fonctionnement des institutions publiques, on a créé ce Fonds. Aussi, les jeunes entrepreneurs noirs pouvaient entendre de la bouche des gens à Investissement Québec : « Il y a un fonds pour des jeunes comme vous ». On retrouvait le même discours au ministère de la Culture en direction des artistes appartenant à des minorités ethniques. Ces exemples ont conduit M. Boisclair à se méfier de l'étiquette de « communauté culturelle. »

Le second moment fut une rencontre entre Simone Veil, fraîchement nommée au Conseil constitutionnel, et lui-même. Au cours de la conversation qui ne devait durer

que quinze minutes, mais qui s'étira finalement sur plus d'une heure, Mᵐᵉ Veil leva la manche de sa chemise, et dit, en montrant le tatouage témoignant de son passage dans un camp de concentration : « Vous savez M. Boisclair, je connais cela les étiquettes ».

Ce sont de telles rencontres qui lui font penser que la promotion d'une citoyenneté inclusive et pluraliste est la piste à privilégier au Québec. Il regrette que, si des gens au Ministère comprenaient le sens de sa démarche, il en allait autrement au Gouvernement, au point que le ministre qui lui a succédé, Robert Perreault, a défait tout ce qui avait été bâti. Il en arrive à la conclusion que le temps n'était peut-être pas venu pour ce discours. Il rappelle par ailleurs qu'il a essayé de porter un tel discours sur le terrain électoral, entre autres lors de la controverse sur l'accommodement raisonnable, et que ce fut un échec, au point que ses adversaires sont apparus comme les champions de la défense de l'identité québécoise. Selon lui, Mᵐᵉ Marois reprend tout le discours sur le « Nous » et prétend que c'est ce qui a remis le Parti Québécois sur les rails, mais la question se pose de savoir ce qu'elle fera quand elle sera au pouvoir. Est-ce que les grandes déclarations sur le « Nous » pourront servir de base à l'action du Gouvernement et du Ministère ? En quoi cela sera-t-il vraiment constructif ?

M. Boisclair achève sa réponse par un retour sur le Ministère. Il rappelle que l'une de ses forces était sa « haute tenue intellectuelle », entre autres l'expertise de recherche interne et externe qu'on y trouvait ; il n'est pas certain que ce soit encore le cas aujourd'hui.

QUESTION DE MOULOUD IDIR DU CENTRE JUSTICE ET FOI

M. Idir se demande si la notion de citoyenneté était prémunie contre une vision managériale. Il se demande également comment il est possible d'élargir le débat sur la citoyenneté, permettant du même coup à la collectivité québécoise d'assurer les moyens de son auto-détermination dans le contexte de globalisation, mais aussi en réintroduisant la question des droits économiques et sociaux.

Réponse de Marie Mc Andrew

Mᵐᵉ Mc Andrew déclare dans un premier temps qu'elle est à l'aise avec les trois « filons » proposés par Mᵐᵉ Labelle dans la mesure où ces derniers permettent d'assainir le débat. Cependant, elle rappelle que le concept de citoyenneté est polysémique, un peu comme celui de laïcité et qu'actuellement, pour bien des gens, il coïncide avec un discours assimilationniste. Si on veut le mettre de l'avant, il vaudrait donc mieux parler d'une citoyenneté pluraliste. Selon elle, la question est de savoir qui aura le courage politique d'aller défendre un tel concept. Elle fait

remarquer que c'est la première fois qu'André Boisclair dit aussi clairement qu'en refusant d'« embarquer » dans l'ethnicisation du débat sur les accommodements raisonnables, cela lui a coûté cher politiquement. Par ailleurs, avec le hiatus qui semble s'accroitre entre les positions traditionnelles en matière d'interculturalisme et les positions beaucoup plus tranchées d'une partie grandissante de la population, elle se demande quel politicien et quel parti auront le courage politique de s'engager dans cette voie et aussi qui, au Ministère ou ailleurs, sera en mesure de définir une stratégie d'action pour que ce discours-là passe et s'incarne.

QUESTION DE CÉLINE ST-PIERRE

Mᵐᵉ St-Pierre, ancienne présidente du Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, rappelle que ce dernier a amorcé en 1999 une démarche de réflexion très concrète pour éclairer la notion de citoyenneté et a publié un rapport intitulé « Éduquer à la citoyenneté ». Dans ce rapport, largement distribué et lu, il était même proposé des contenus de programmes pour le primaire et le secondaire. Malheureusement, si ces contenus figurent maintenant dans les programmes, il semblerait qu'ils ne sont pas toujours enseignés par les enseignants.

Réponse de Jean-Pierre Proulx

En qui de réponse, M. Proulx souligne « qu'il y a des graines et des arbres qui poussent plus vite que d'autres ». Il illustre ce principe avec un exemple dans le monde de l'éducation. C'est en 1969 qu'il a été question pour la première fois de créer au Québec des commissions scolaires linguistiques. Or, ces dernières n'ont été mises en place qu'en… 1998. Aussi n'est-il pas inutile de replacer les choses dans une temporalité longue. Cela prend ce qu'il appelle de la « patience citoyenne ».

NOTES

[1] Ceux de 1980 (sur la séparation du Québec)et de 1990 (sur l'Accord du Lac Meech).

[2] Pour voir le territoire de la RMR de Montréal : http://www.statcan.gc.ca/ca-ra2006/cma_mm_rmr/montreal-fra.pdf.

[3] Page 91 de l'Enoncé, paragraphe intitulé : « La promotion d'attitudes favorables à la diversité ethnique, raciale et culturelle. »

[4] À l'automne 2006, soucieux d'entretenir de bonnes relations avec son voisinage, le YMCA de l'avenue du Parc a installé des vitres givrées dans les fenêtres donnant sur la salle d'entraînement. Une communauté hassidique, qui se plaignait de la situation, a payé pour les aménagements (source : Radio Canada).

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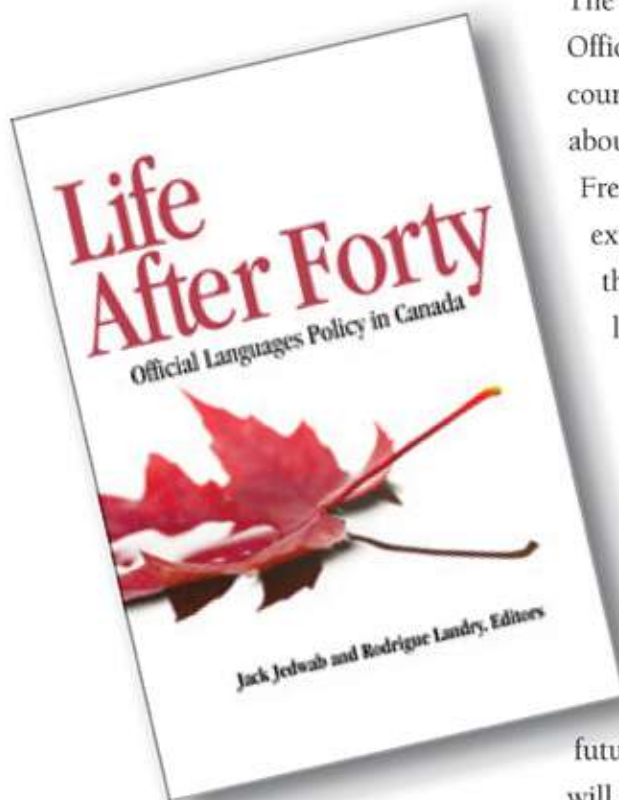
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Life After Forty: Official Languages Policy in Canada

Edited by Jack Jedwab and Rodrigue Landry

The year 2009 marks forty years since the introduction of Canada's Official Languages Act. In 1969, English and French were declared the country's two official languages and there has been ongoing debate about how best to establish harmonious relations between English and French-speaking Canadians. The Official Languages Act significantly expanded opportunity to secure services in the two official languages throughout Canada, it attempted to improve the situation of official language minorities and it encouraged the population to learn the two official languages. Achieving these objecitves has not been simple. Public support for these objectives has grown over time. Yet, some observers believe the legislation has gone too far while others believe it has not gone far enough. Edited by Jack Jedwab and Rodrigue Landry, "Life After Forty: Official Languages Policy in Canada" includes essays from several of the counry's leading experts who assess the effectiveness of Canada's Official Languages Act and propose ways for how it can meet future challenges in addressing the language situation. Specific focus will be directed at the impact of the legislation on the conditon of official language minorties in Canada and the degree of bilingualism on the part of the population.

Jack Jedwab is executive director of the Association for Canadian Studies

Rodrigue Landry is executive director of the Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities- Institut canadien de recherche sur les minorités linguistiques.