

Bilingualism in Minority Settings in Canada : Fusion or Assimilation?

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies in partial fulfillment of
the requirement for the MA in Experimental Psychology

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Legend

SEV: Subjective ethnolinguistic vitality

ELV: Ethnolinguistic vitality

SVOLM: Survey on the Vitality of Official-Language Minorities

EMVLO: Enquête sur la vitalité des minorités de langues officielles

ROC: Rest of Canada

ANOVA: Analysis of variance

MANOVA: Multivariate analysis of variance

FLC: French language confidence

ELC: English language confidence

DV: Dependent variable

ED: English-dominant

FD: French-dominant

ND: Non-dominant

L1: First language

L2: Second language

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr Richard Clément for his guidance and insight throughout this process. I would also like to thank the members of my lab, as well as my family and friends for their continued support and encouragement.

Finally, I would like to thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for granting me a scholarship to write my thesis.

Abstract

Despite the prevalence of bilingual identity among linguistic minority youth in Canada, few studies have empirically investigated its acculturative consequences. This study explores the nature of bilingual identity, as determined by language confidence, in various ethnolinguistic contexts. More specifically, it investigates the relation between language confidence and identity as moderated by ethnolinguistic vitality. It also verifies whether bilinguals can be distinguished from predominantly unilingual participants on factors related to the maintenance of identity, namely subjective ethnolinguistic vitality and language usage and evaluates the impact of ethnolinguistic vitality on these differences. Data from the Survey on the Vitality of Official-Language Minorities collected by Statistics Canada among francophones outside of Quebec and anglophones in Quebec ($N = 7377$) was used for analysis. The results of univariate and multivariate analyses of variance show that language confidence is significantly related to levels of identity for all regions. Bilinguals are significantly distinct from predominantly monolingual participants on most factors for maintenance of identity. However, among all francophone samples, bilinguals most resemble the franco-dominant participants. The implications of these findings on the understanding of the nature of bilingual identity are discussed.

Résumé

Malgré la prévalence de l'identité bilingue parmi les jeunes de groupes minoritaires linguistiques au Canada, peu d'études ont vérifié ses conséquences acculturatives de façon empirique. Cette étude explore la nature de l'identité bilingue telle que déterminée par la confiance langagière, dans divers contextes ethnolinguistiques. De façon plus spécifique, la relation entre la confiance langagière et l'identité, modérée par la vitalité ethnolinguistique est

examinée. Par ailleurs, l'étude explore si les gens bilingues se distinguent de ceux qui ont une prédominance langagière sur des facteurs liés au maintien de l'identité, soit la vitalité ethnolinguistique subjective et l'utilisation langagière, et évalue l'impact de la vitalité ethnolinguistique sur ces différences. Les analyses ont été menées à partir des données de l'Enquête sur la vitalité des minorités de langue officielle de Statistique Canada recueillies auprès des francophones de l'extérieur du Québec et des anglophones du Québec (N = 7377). Les résultats d'analyses univariées et multivariées dévoilent que pour chacune des régions ethnolinguistiques, la confiance langagière est significativement liée à l'identité. Les bilingues se distinguent significativement de ceux à prédominance langagière sur la plupart des facteurs importants au maintien de l'identité. Toutefois, parmi les groupes francophones, les bilingues ressemblent le plus aux participants franco-dominants. Les conséquences de ces résultats sur la compréhension de la nature de l'identité bilingue sont discutées.

Introduction

Bilingualism is the ability to communicate in two languages (Hamers, 2004). Involving more than the knowledge of two languages, its influence on identity has proven to be of interest for much research and speculation, particularly as concerns the situation of minority linguistic groups.

As a case in point, several studies have shown that many Canadian francophones tend to identify themselves as “bilinguals”, associating with both French and English language groups (Boissonneault, 1996, 2004; Dallaire, 2003, 2004 and 2006; Dallaire & Denis, 2005; Duquette, 2004; Gérin-Lajoie, 2003, 2004). In fact, the importance of bilingual identification has been highlighted in studies suggesting that between 60% and 70% of high school students in minority francophone settings adhere to it (Gérin-Lajoie, 2002). Implications for first identity maintenance and group survival, however, remain under studied. The present study will, therefore, seek to bring understanding to the meaning of bilingualism by exploring its acculturative consequences among Canadian francophones and anglophones living in regions where they constitute a numerical minority.

Identity and the Canadian Context

Identity, characterized by feelings of belonging to a group, is generally considered to be self-defined and to develop and change through time following social interactions (Hamers & Blanc, 1982, 2000; Liebkind, 1995; Noels & Clément, 1996). For minorities, the necessary contact with the majorities and the consequences of that contact for changes in identity would lead to the incorporation of both languages in identity as a response to the societal context (Clément, 2008; Landry, Deveau & Allard, 2006). Lambert's (1975 as cited by Clément, 2008)

notions of subtractive and additive bilingualism clearly illustrate this phenomenon. Specifically, second language (L2) learning can impact the relation to the first language (L1) in an additive or subtractive manner: there is retention of identity and cultural components in the case of the former or loss in the case of the latter (Lambert, 1975 as cited by Clément, 2008). It has been proposed that the outcomes of second language learning in a minority setting would follow a pattern of subtractive bilingualism, whereas the outcomes of L2 learning for members of the majority group would resemble additive bilingualism (Lambert, 1975 as cited by in Clément, 2008).

Although no consensus has been established as to the meaning and acculturative consequences of bilingualism, two main perspectives dominate: one proposing that bilingualism leads to assimilation and another endorsing the view that it is an integrative response to the societal context. The assimilative perspective of bilingual identification suggests that bilingualism serves as a mid-point on a linear continuum with French identity on one end and English on the other (ex. Landry et al., 2006). It is seen as a stepping-stone towards assimilation (Castonguay, 1999). For example, Bernard (1997) suggests that bilingual identity leads to a progressive fading of the maternal identity, language and culture. Similarly, studies by Landry (e. g. Landry & Allard, 1997) focus on the deterministic impact of the social, family and school environments on identity and linguistic practices. Landry and colleagues (2006) for example, suggest that bilingual identity is unstable and dependent on the declining ethnolinguistic vitality of a community. The meagre outlook for the vitality of minority communities leads to weakened identities and loss of elements composing the overall rapport to one's community (Landry et al., 2006).

In contrast, the integrative approach to bilingualism proposes that bilingual identity may in fact be a new and legitimate form of identity (Dallaire, 2003; Gérin-Lajoie, 2004). This notion is supported by ethnographic studies conducted among francophones in Canada that have found that bilingual identification is a way to claim affiliation to both francophone and anglophone language groups (Dallaire, 2003; Dallaire & Denis, 2005; Gérin-Lajoie, 2002). Indeed, as both in- and out- groups surround members of a minority and shape their social environment and communication networks, an affiliation with the majority group becomes inevitable. Close ties are formed and individuals have the opportunity to engage in meaningful contact with both groups (Gaudet & Clément, 2009). In such a context, bilingualism goes above and beyond the acknowledgement of being able to speak both languages: minority members claim to feel a sense of belonging to both communities (Dallaire, 2003). The merging of these two cultural worlds, and the reconciliation of these two dimensions of identity would lead to the formation of a stable dual affiliation that can be termed a hybrid identity (Dallaire, 2003; Pieterse, 1994, 2001).

Whether a hybrid identity is simply a step on a continuum leading towards assimilation or a truly distinct type of identity remains unclear. Indeed, as the debate on the nature of bilingual identity continues, no study has, as of yet, verified if those who are bilingual can in fact be distinguished from those who identify solely with one group. The answers to these questions seem to rest with the contextual and individual characteristics acting to steer bilingual identity.

The Social Context and Consequences of Bilingualism

Bilingualism naturally involves much more than the knowledge and the contact of two languages: it also involves contact with people of various cultural backgrounds (Clément, 2008), the quality and effects of which can vary based on the ethnolinguistic vitality of a region. We, therefore, consider in what follows the impact of ethnolinguistic vitality of the first language

on identity as well as the effects of characteristics of contact on the development of language confidence.

Ethnolinguistic vitality. Ethnolinguistic vitality (ELV) refers to the societal characteristics that promote the survival of a language community. It is measured by the demographic representation of a group, as well as its social status and institutional support. (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977; Giles & Johnson, 1981). Studies suggest that majority situations, which naturally benefit from high ELV, tend to be most favourable to an integrative pattern of acculturation. As such, members of majority groups tend to acquire identification to the second language group without losing their native group identity and cultural elements (Landry & Allard, 1994a; Landry & Allard, 1994b). In contrast, members of a group with low vitality often follow an assimilative pattern in that they tend to lose the cultural elements related to their first language group, such as identity, and coincidentally identify more strongly with the higher vitality second language group (Landry & Allard, 1994a; Landry & Allard, 1994b). Moreover, there is a tendency to adopt outgroup attributes at the expense of ingroup cultural elements, and participation within the ingroup is diminished (Gaudet & Clément, 2005; Noels, Pon, & Clément, 1996).

In a study of minority Canadian francophones, Landry, Allard and Deveau (2010) suggest that linguistic vitality, via bilingual linguistic socialization, may influence the motivational orientation for the learning and use of a language and accompanying linguistic identification. More specifically, they found that in situations of relatively high linguistic vitality, a stronger bilingual identity leads to a strengthening of anglophone characteristics to the demise of francophone attributes, as the motivation would be to attain fluency in English, a higher status language. In contrast, they found that in low vitality settings, bilingual identity is related to a

reinforcement of both francophone and anglophone attributes, most likely due to a desire to maintain a French identity despite their minority status. In medium vitality settings, the relation appears to be U-shaped, with a medium bilingual identity corresponding to the patterns observed amongst bilinguals in high vitality settings, and those with strong bilingual identity behaving more like bilinguals in low vitality settings. Despite the use of a unidimensional measure of bilingualism, these findings clearly illustrate that one's relation to identity is moderated by ethnolinguistic vitality.

Language confidence as bilingualism. The above discussion situates bilingualism and its consequences in a social and linguistic context. Essentially, the definition of bilingualism should reflect contextual constraints experienced by the individual. While objectively assessed language competence may be a useful index of degree of bilingualism, a more useful indicator of contextualised language fluency is language confidence. The concept of language confidence coined by Clément, Gardner and Smythe (1977; see also Clément & Kruidenier, 1985) refers precisely to the belief in one's capacity to use the language efficiently and to a lack of anxiety in specific situations. Language confidence in speaking a language allows understanding of cultural presumptions and is necessary for identification with an ethnic group (Collier & Thomas, 1988; Kim, 1988). In fact, language confidence has been found to be a precursor of identity in such a way that as confidence in using a language increases, identification to a language group increases as well (Clément, 1980; Noels & Clément, 1996). Further, it's been shown to be related to L2 motivation, proficiency, use, as well as attitudes towards the L2, adjustment and acculturation processes, willingness to communicate and self-involvement (Sampasivam & Clément, in press). It is determined by the frequency and quality of contact with members of the other group (Sampasivam & Clément, in press). It is therefore not independent from ELV.

For the purpose of this study, language confidence will, therefore, be used as an index of bilingualism using independent indices of French and English self-evaluations. A first objective of this study will be to investigate the relation between language confidence and identity, as it is moderated by ELV. If the assimilation approach is accurate, it is expected that the greatest identification to the other group would be found among bilinguals who have the lowest ELV.

Correlates of Identity

As a further attempt to document bilingual profiles, variables expected to be related to identification will be included in the analysis. The psychosocial outcome of second language learning, notably bilingualism as conceptualized by language confidence and identity, is proposed to lead to unique patterns in beliefs about one's group's vitality and language usage.

Subjective vitality. Subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (SEV), corresponds to the cognitive-affective disposition of group members towards the state of their ethnolinguistic group, (Allard & Landry, 1994). In contrast with ethnolinguistic vitality, which takes into consideration objective societal characteristics that promote the survival of a language community (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977), SEV looks at perceptions and representations. While objective vitality is necessary to explain group tendencies, SEV is considered to be a mediator for objective vitality, and personal decisions based on subjective vitality determine personal strategies for language maintenance (Corbeil, Grenier, & Lafrenière, 2007; Giles and Johnson, 1987). Subjective ethnolinguistic vitality has been proposed to be as important as ELV for determining sociolinguistic and interethnic behaviour (Harwood, Giles, & Bourhis, 1994).

Subjective vitality can be conceptualized as comprising various beliefs about the vitality of a setting that are constructed by one's experience in a certain ethnolinguistic context (Landry & Allard, 1994b). These beliefs may be egocentric, referring to the establishment of a factual or

desired relationship between oneself and an object, or exocentric, referring to the relationship between a subject other than oneself and an object (Kreitler & Kreitler, 1972; Landry & Allard, 1994b). Landry and Allard's (as described in Allard & Landry, 1994) model of additive and subtractive bilingual development touches on the link between objective and subjective vitality. It suggests that the perception of one's group vitality and competence in languages will depend on the objective vitality as experienced through contacts made within one's communication networks (Allard & Landry, 1994). Subsequently, beliefs and competence act as predictors of language usage (Allard & Landry, 1994). In turn, language usage affects one's acculturative strategy leading to assimilative consequences for those with beliefs reflective of a low vitality. In contrast, those with beliefs reflective of a high vitality will tend to adopt an integrative acculturation strategy, in which they are able to maintain their L1 identity and confidence despite embracing L2 culture and psychosocial consequences (Allard & Landry, 1994). The psychosocial outcome of second language learning then, is proposed to be related to variances in beliefs about one's group.

Language usage. Language usage corresponds to the degree to which a language is used in various aspects of public and private life. The importance of language usage, or contact with a language and social networks, has been highlighted in the model discussed above as crucial to the understanding of the link between subjective vitality and identity. Nevertheless, it is on its own fundamental to L2 acquisition and the acculturative process that ensues. As explained by Clément's model of language acquisition (Clément, 1980; Clément & Kruidenier 1985), frequent and pleasant contact with a linguistic group, whether the contact be through face-to-face interactions or media, generates confidence in using a language (Clément, Baker, Josephson & Noels, 2005; Gaudet & Clément, 2005; Noels & Clément, 1996; Rubinfeld, Clément, Lussier,

Lebrun & Auger, 2006). In turn, language confidence, or the perception of one's own communicative capabilities, leads to greater identification with the language group (Noels & Clément, 1996) and to increased usage of a language (Clément, Baker & MacIntyre, 2003; Noels & Clément, 1996). Even though language confidence has often been found to mediate the relation between use of a language and identity, language interactions have also been found to directly influence identity, particularly among low vitality group members (Abrams, O'Connor, & Giles, 2002; Clément, 2008; Noels & Clément, 1996). As such, language usage would be an important indicator of the type of bilingualism developed in a particular context. (Clément, 2008; Clément & Kruidenier, 1985; Gaudet & Clément, 2005; Kim, 1988).

Given that both subjective vitality and language usage tend to be related to acculturative outcomes, it should be the case that bilinguals can be distinguished from unilingual-dominant participants on these variables. It may be hypothesized that those who maintain a certain level of confidence in the minority language also exhibit further valorization of the use of the minority language, more optimistic beliefs on the vitality of their groups and optimistic and positive beliefs towards the minority group. However, the way in which they may differ from predominantly unilingual participants remains unclear. A central question here is the extent to which bilinguals resemble more unilingual L1 or L2 groups. For language usage, it may be hypothesized that the more confident someone is in using a minority language, the more use they will make of the language. In consequence, bilinguals will be expected to make more equal use of both languages than those who are predominantly unilingual, who may mainly use one language. Additionally, as the impact of factors related to the maintenance of identity appears to depend on the relative linguistic status of languages (ELV), whether or not the expected

distinctions between bilinguals and predominantly monolinguals vary based on levels of ELV will be investigated.

Most studies on the impact of ELV on consequences of second language acquisition in Canada have been conducted on the francophones. Obviously, it could also be of interest to verify how these processes may affect the anglophone minority, in the predominantly French province of Québec. Although a numerical minority in their province, Quebec anglophones live in a heavily anglo-dominant North American environment. It will therefore be interesting to compare them to francophones of similar ELV.

In brief, this study aims to investigate correlates of bilingualism among official linguistic minority groups in Canada. Two main objectives are pursued: (1) To assess the relationship between confidence and identity in different regions; (2) To verify whether bilinguals can be distinguished from predominantly unilingual participants on factors related to the maintenance of identity, namely SEV and language usage and to evaluate the impact of ELV on these differences.

Method

The data that was used for this study was collected by Statistics Canada in 2006 as part of the Survey on the Vitality of Official-Language Minorities (SVOLM).

Participants

Canada recognizes French and English as its two official languages despite English being the language of majority in all provinces, with the exception of Quebec, where French is most widely spoken. Nonetheless, English remains the language of majority in Canada as a whole, with English being spoken by 64.7% of the population and French by 20.6% (Statistics Canada, 2011). Furthermore, in Quebec, 68.9% of the anglophone minority is bilingual whereas this is the

case for 83.6% of the francophones living in the rest of Canada (ROC; Statistics Canada, 2006). To reflect this reality, two groups have been included in the study for analysis: French speakers outside of Quebec and English speakers in Quebec.

Those who responded to the SVOLM were selected from the sample of people having completed the long-form version of the 2006 census, more specifically one household out of five. To be included in either sample, participants needed to fit one of three criteria: have the language of minority as mother-tongue, with or without another language; have a non-official language as mother-tongue and of the two official languages, only know the language of minority; or have a non-official language as mother-tongue, know French and English and speak either a non-official language or the language of minority, with or without another language, most frequently at home. These criteria for inclusion permit the study of participants who do not necessarily have the language of minority as mother tongue but who do use the language of minority on a daily basis and thus, can be considered to be part of the official language minority (Corbeil, Grenier, & Lafrenière, 2007). The sample had a response rate of 70.5%.

The original database had a total of 15 697 adults. For the current study, only the participants who were born in Canada and who had always lived in the same province were retained for analysis, reducing the sample to a total of 7381 participants. An additional four participants for whom the province of origin was not recorded were deleted, resulting in a total of 7377 participants (3981 women, 3396 men). Of these, 1952 participants were from Ontario, 1558 were from New Brunswick, 2343 were from Québec and 1524 were from the other provinces and territories. The age range varied from 18 to over 65 years of age. The median age bracket was from 40 to 44 years of age. The participants' province or territory of residency was retained to allow consideration of the particularities of minority groups of different levels of

vitality in all parts of Canada. As such, participants in the final database were grouped into four distinct geographical areas: New Brunswick, Ontario, Quebec and other provinces and territories.

Relative ELV of the Four Regions

Each of the geographical regions named above exemplify a different level of ethnolinguistic vitality. These different contexts compare on all three indicators of vitality: demography, institutional support and social status (Giles & Johnson, 1981). Each region will be classified as having high, medium or low vitality, relative to one another.

New Brunswick. Francophones from New Brunswick can be considered to have high vitality. In New Brunswick, there are over 235 000 francophones (who have French as a first language or first official language learnt), representing 32.7% of the population (Lepage, Bouchard-Coulombe, & Chavez, 2011). In fact, proportionately and demographically, New Brunswick has the most important francophone community in Canada outside of Québec. The vitality of francophone communities within New Brunswick varies from one end of the province to the other and 80% of francophones in New Brunswick live in a region where they comprise of the majority of the population (Lepage et al., 2011). Furthermore, French is the language most commonly used in public and private spheres of life and a majority of francophones consume media exclusively or partially in French. A quasi-totality of francophone children attend school in French. Although French benefits from a high social status in being recognized as an official language in New Brunswick, relative to the anglophone population, fewer francophones have obtained a diploma of sorts and the salaries remain lower for them than for anglophones (Lepage et al., 2011). New Brunswick and Québec are the only two provinces to recognize French as an official language, and New Brunswick is the only province to have both English and French as official languages.

Ontario. Francophones in Ontario, relative to francophones in New Brunswick and other provinces and territories show a medium level of vitality. The total francophone population in that province has increased throughout the years to reach a total of 537 595. Nevertheless, proportionately the weight of the francophone population has decreased to only 4.5 % of the population in comparison to 6.5 % in 1971 (Corbeil & Lafrenière, 2010). The proportion of francophones varies from region to region within Ontario. As a case in point, 14% of the francophone population in Ontario lives in a region where they comprise the majority but the majority of francophones live in areas where they account for less than 30% of the population (Corbeil & Lafrenière, 2010). If medical and judicial services along with media access are often available in French, these services are not always used in that language (Corbeil & Lafrenière, 2010). However, the majority of francophones in Ontario attend French schools. Today, the proportion of francophones who obtain a university degree is equal to the proportion of anglophones having achieved the same level of education. Furthermore, the median revenue of francophones is higher than that of anglophones (Corbeil & Lafrenière, 2010).

Quebec. As mentioned earlier on, Québec is the only province in Canada that does not recognize English as an official language. English-speakers represent an official language minority group within Québec. Despite the fact that the minority is relatively strong, with a population of approximately 885 000, representing 11.9% of the population (Corbeil, Chavez, & Pereira, 2010), an important proportion (approximately 16%) of the young adult anglophone population migrates to the rest of Canada every year (Bourhis, Montreuil, Helley, & Jantzen, 2007).

A majority of anglophones attend a French or French-immersion school throughout their childhood, but those who only have English as a first language tend to mainly use English in the

public and private spheres of life. Services in English are accessible in the medical field with the vast majority of doctors being fluent in English (Corbeil et al., 2010). Even if a larger proportion of anglophones in Québec have university diplomas than the francophones, there is an underrepresentation of anglophones holding administrative positions at all levels of the provincial government (Corbeil et al., 2010). This underrepresentation of anglophones in the most important source of employment within the province exists even today, despite the creation of equity programs in the 1980s (Bourhis et al., 2007). Finally, the anglophone minority is naturally strong in some respects, most notably through its extended global importance. However, its social status remains fragile within Québec, deeming it a group with medium vitality.

Other provinces and territories. While the francophone communities from the remaining provinces and territories vary from one another in many ways, they share certain similarities that characterize them as having low vitality. As such, in all of them, francophones constitute less than 4% of the population of the province or territory in question. Nevertheless, certain francophone communities within these regions benefit from high vitality, with some areas where francophones are a majority (Allard & Landry, 1994b). Despite the existence of medical and judicial services in French, in these provinces and territories, the vast majority of interactions in the private and public spheres are done in English. Still, more than half of francophone children attend school in French. Furthermore, the majority of francophones state valuing the possibility of using French in their day-to-day lives and wish that the francophone minority rights were respected. French media consumption however, remains limited. In all provinces and territories francophones tend to have equal or superior education and salaries to those obtained by anglophones (Bouchard-Coulombe, Lepage, & Chavez, 2011a, 2011b; 2012; Chavez &

Bouchard-Coulombe, 2011; Chavez, Bouchard-Coulombe, & Lepage, 2011; Chavez, Lepage, & Bouchard-Coulombe, 2011; Lepage, Bouchard-Coulombe, & Chavez, 2012; Lepage, Chavez, & Bouchard-Coulombe, 2011).

Procedure

Data collection for the SVOLM began approximately six months after the 2006 census, from October 2006 to January 2007. Data was collected through computer assisted telephone interviews that lasted approximately 40 minutes. The participant had the option of doing the interview in French or in English. Qualitative tests and a pilot survey were originally conducted to determine the content of the questionnaires, and to verify the coherence between questions as well as the procedures to collect the data. A series of topics were covered, however only those of interest were retained for this study. Data obtained from questions on demographics were also retained to identify the respondents' age, gender, identity, province of birth and residence as well as first language (s) learnt and still understood.

Instruments.

Bilingualism. Bilingualism was assessed by combining the self evaluation scores on two questions (per language) that enquired about the respondents' perceived reading and writing skills in both official languages. All questions used a five-point Likert scale going from "does not know how to read/write English/French" to "very good". Both the French and English confidence measures had a Cronbach's alpha of .89. Participants were considered bilingual if they had high scores on both English and French language confidence scales, predominantly monolingual if they had high scores on only one of them and non-dominant if they had low scores on both scales. High and low scores were determined on the basis of a median split calculated separately for the francophones and the anglophones.

Identity. Identity was assessed unidimensionally with a six-point one-item measure enquiring about the respondents' sense of belonging to French and English language groups. Low scores indicated stronger identification to the francophone group, high scores signified stronger identification to the anglophone group and a score midway through indicated equal identification to both groups. Respondents also had the option of responding that they identified to neither group, however the participants who selected this option as their response were not included in the analyses.

Subjective vitality and language usage. There were numerous questions assessing subjective vitality and language usage using a variety of scales. In order to organize and reduce the many items and reveal the latent constructs in the set of questions, a factor analysis was performed on 17 items with both the francophones and the anglophones together. Four factors with eigenvalues exceeding one and accounting for 62.51% of the variance were rotated via Varimax (Table 1). The interpretation of these factors was done as a function of main saturation.

The first factor receives appreciable loadings from six variables relating to language usage. It is, therefore, labelled as a language usage factor. The scale score resulting from adding these variables presents good consistency ($\alpha = .88$) and ranged from one to five with low scores indicating more use of English, high scores indicating more use of French and midway scores indicating equal use of both languages. Participants also had the option of indicating that they used neither French nor English. Participants who selected this option as their response were not included in the analyses.

The second factor, perceived vitality, encompassed five variables relating to the subjective current vitality of one's minority community. This scale ranged from one to six with low scores indicating a perception that the vitality is high and high scores indicating a perception

that the vitality is non-existent or low. In order to facilitate interpretation, the values of the items were recoded so that low scores indicate a perception that the vitality is non-existent or low and high scores indicate a perception that the vitality is high. Cronbach's alpha for perceived vitality was .79.

The third factor, valorization of minority language included four items that had to do with the importance granted to aspects related to language valorization, use and access. The scale for these items ranged from one to five with the lowest score indicating that the participant thought that the access to and continuation of services in the minority language were very important and the highest score indicating that they were considered to be not important at all. Once again, in order to facilitate interpretation, the values for the items were reversed, such that the lowest score represented a perception that services in the minority language weren't important at all and the highest score indicated that they were thought to be very important. Valorization had a Cronbach's alpha of .80.

Finally, the fourth factor, evolution of vitality comprised of perceptions on the evolution of vitality, from the past vitality of a language group to the anticipated vitality of one's community. For this factor (Cronbach's alpha = .73), there was a three-point scale with high scores indicating a perception that the presence of the minority language had decreased, a midpoint score indicating that the perception had stayed the same, and a high score indicating a belief that it had increased.

Results

Relationship Between Bilingualism and Identity

The first goal of the study was to examine whether and to which extent language confidence is related to identity in different regions. A significant positive relation between confidence in using a language and identity in all regions was expected.

Francophone minorities. A 2 x 2 x 3 (French language confidence x English language confidence x Level of vitality) between groups analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on the identity score. The ANOVA showed significant main effects for French language confidence (FLC), English language confidence (ELC) (Table 2) and Level of vitality (Table 3). As such, those who were more polarized towards the French-end of the identity continuum tended to have higher confidence in French, lower confidence in English, and come from higher vitality settings. While the three-way interaction was not significant ($F(2, 4935) = 1,95, p > .05$), the analysis revealed significant two-way interactions between Level of vitality and FLC ($F(2, 4935) = 8.48, p < .001$), Level of vitality and ELC ($F(2, 4935) = 31.68, p < .001$), as well as FLC and ELC ($F(1, 4935) = 24,75, p < .001$).

Figure 1 displays the interaction between FLC and ELC. Tests of simple main effects showed that there were significant differences in identity between different levels of confidence in French for each level of confidence in English. Those who are bilingual as well as those who are strong in neither language have an identity that leans significantly more ($p < .001$ for all) towards the French end of the continuum than those who are English-dominant but significantly less towards the French end of the continuum than those who are French-dominant.

Figure 2 depicts the interaction between ELC and ELV. Tests of simple main effects revealed that there is a significant difference in identification between levels of ELC for the high

vitality group ($p < .001$) and for the medium vitality group ($p < .001$) such that those with higher ELC identify more with the anglophone group. No significant difference in identity was found between different levels of ELC in the low vitality group.

Simple main effects on identity computed on the FLC x vitality interaction (Figure 3), were significant for the high vitality group ($p < .001$), the medium vitality group, ($p < .001$), as well as the low vitality group ($p < .001$), such that those with higher FLC identify more with the francophone group.

Anglophone minority. For the anglophone medium vitality group, a 2 x 2 (FLC x ELC) between groups ANOVA showed a significant main effect for ELC and FLC (Table 4, $p < .001$), such that those who were further polarized to the English end of the identity continuum tended to have higher confidence in English, and lower confidence in French. Additionally, there was a significant two-way interaction between ELC and FLC ($F(1, 2312) = 4.48, p < .01$; see Figure 4). An analysis of the simple main effects showed that the identity of those who are bilingual as well as of those who are strong in neither language is significantly ($p < .001$) less polarized to one end of the continuum than that of those who are French-dominant (FD) and English-dominant (ED).

In sum, the hypothesis that confidence would be related to identity was supported in all groups. More specifically, those who tended to identify as bilinguals were significantly less polarized to either end of the continuum than those who were FD or ED, who tended to identify more to their respective ends of the continuum. With the results obtained with language confidence as index of bilingualism, we now turn to whether bilingualism is a stepping-stone towards assimilation or a unique and legitimate form of identification.

Relationship Between Bilingualism, SEV and Language Usage

The second goal of the study was to verify whether bilinguals could be distinguished from monolinguals on factors related to the maintenance of vitality and whether the distinctions between bilinguals and monolinguals could be maintained throughout all levels of vitality. It was expected that bilinguals and those dominant in the language of the minority have significantly more positive beliefs towards the vitality of their community than those dominant in the majority language, and that bilinguals make more equal use of both languages than those who are dominant in either language. The ways in which the results would vary as a function of ELV remained exploratory.

Francophone minorities. A 2 X 2 X 3 multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA), involving as factors FLC, ELC and Level of Vitality was performed on four dependent variables for the ROC: language usage, perceived vitality, valorization of minority and evolution of vitality. These scores are computed as a result of the factor analysis described above.

Results (Table 5) show that the combined dependent variables (DVs) were significantly ($p < .001$) affected by FLC, ELC and Level of vitality. Means for their main effects may be found in Tables 6, 7 and 8.

The three-way interaction was significant for all factors but evolution of vitality: language usage ($F(2, 4835) = 10.44, p < .001; \text{partial } \eta^2 = .004$), valorization of minority ($F(2, 4835) = 4.28, p < .008; \text{partial } \eta^2 = .002$) and perceived vitality ($F(2, 4835) = 4.88, p < .014; \text{partial } \eta^2 = .002$).

Tests of simple main effects were subsequently conducted. Firstly, they showed that for language usage in the high vitality group (Figure 5) and in the medium vitality group (Figure 6), those who are strong in neither language, and those who are bilingual make significantly ($p <$

.001) more use of English than those who are FD but significantly ($p < .001$) less use of English than those who are ED. The nature of the interactions was slightly different for the low vitality group (Figure 7) where bilinguals were not significantly different from the FD, but did significantly ($p < .001$) use more French than those who are ED. Those who were strong in neither language used French significantly less ($p < .03$) than those who were FD, but significantly ($p < .001$) more than those who are ED.

Secondly, for valorization of minority in the high vitality group (Figure 8), those who were bilingual as well as those who were confident in neither language valued the possibility of using French significantly ($p < .001$) more than those who are ED. Though those who were confident in neither language valued the possibility of the use of French significantly ($p < .001$) less than those who are FD, there was no significant difference between bilinguals and FD ($p > .05$). For the medium (Figure 9) and low vitality groups (Figure 10), while the bilinguals valued French significantly ($p < .001$) more than those who are ED, those who are confident in neither language did not significantly ($p > .05$) differ from the ED. They did however value French significantly ($p < .001$) less than the FD. If the bilinguals did not ($p > .05$) differ significantly from the FD for the medium vitality group, they did for the low vitality group ($p < .013$).

Thirdly, for perceived vitality, in all vitality regions bilinguals had significantly ($p < .001$) more positive perceptions of vitality of the minority than those who are ED. In the high (Figure 11) and medium vitality regions (Figure 12), bilinguals had significantly ($p < .001$ for high vitality, $p < .004$ for medium vitality) less positive perceptions of vitality than the FD. In contrast, in the low vitality region (Figure 13) bilinguals had significantly ($p < .001$) more positive perceptions of vitality than their FD counterparts. Whereas those who had confidence in

neither language had significantly more positive perceptions of vitality ($p < .001$) than the ED for the high vitality group, the differences were not significant for the medium nor the low vitality groups ($p > .05$). Those who have confidence in neither language scored significantly ($p < .001$) lower than their FD counterparts in high and medium vitality regions. However, these differences were not significant in the low vitality region ($p > .05$).

Anglophone minority. Separate analyses were conducted for anglophones in Québec to respond to the second objective of the study. A 2 X 2 MANOVA involving as factors FLC and ELC was performed on the four dependent variables: language usage, perceived vitality, valorization of minority and evolution of vitality. For anglophones in Québec, FLC and ELC were found to significantly ($p < .001$) affect the combined DVs. The combined DVs were also significantly ($p < .001$) affected by the two-way interaction between FLC and ELC (Table 9).

FLC was found to have a significant ($p < .001$) effect on language usage, perceived vitality, valorization of minority and evolution of vitality (Table 10). More specifically, it was found that higher French confidence led to less use of the English language, less positive perceived vitality of the community, less valorization of the possibility of using the minority language but more optimism for the evolution of vitality. ELC significantly ($p < .001$) affected language usage, valorization of minority, and evolution of vitality, but not perceived vitality (Table 11). More concretely, it was found that higher ELC led to more use of English, more valorization of the possibility of using the minority language but less optimism for the evolution of vitality.

The two way-interaction between FLC and ELC was significant for all DVs except perceived vitality: language usage ($F(1, 2251) = 17.63, p < .001$; partial $\eta^2 = .008$), valorization of minority ($F(1, 2251) = 4.34, p < .037$; partial $\eta^2 = .002$) and evolution of vitality ($F(1, 2251) =$

4.17, $p < .041$; partial $\eta^2 = .002$). An analysis of the simple main effects showed that for language usage (Figure 14), those who are bilingual as well as those who are strong in neither language, use English significantly ($p < .001$) more than those who are FD but use English significantly ($p < .001$) less than those who are ED. For valorization of minority (Figure 15), bilinguals and those who are strong in neither language tended to value the possibility of using English significantly ($p < .001$) less than those who were ED, but significantly more ($p < .001$) than those who were FD. Finally, those who are strong in neither language as well as those who are bilingual tended to believe that the presence of the English language had and will increase throughout the years significantly more ($p < .002$ for neither, $p < .001$ for bilingual) than those who are ED but significantly less ($p < .001$) than those who are FD (Figure 16).

In sum, results related to the second goal, which was to explore whether bilinguals would significantly differ from predominantly unilingual speakers on factors related to the maintenance of identity, partially confirmed the hypothesis that bilinguals would significantly differ from monolinguals. Indeed, for the francophone groups, bilinguals could not be distinguished from predominantly unilingual participants on evolution of vitality, but they did differ on the three remaining factors: perceived vitality, valorization and language usage. In contrast, for the anglophone minority group from Québec, bilinguals could be distinguished from predominantly monolinguals on evolution of vitality, valorization and language usage but not on perceived vitality.

Furthermore, the ways in which bilinguals and French-dominant or English-dominant participants varied based on the ELV of a setting was explored. Most notably, bilingual francophones, from all levels of vitality, usually tended more towards the French end of the continuum. This was especially true for the low vitality groups. In medium and high vitality

groups, bilinguals had significantly more positive perceived vitality, valued services in French and used French significantly more than the ED but as much or significantly less than the FD. In contrast, bilinguals from the low vitality group tended to have significantly more positive perceptions of vitality and value French services significantly more than the ED and FD. They also used French equally as often as the FD and significantly more than the ED.

For the anglophone minority group from Québec, a medium vitality group, the results further resembled those for the medium and high vitality francophone groups in that bilinguals in Québec tended to use English significantly more than the FD but significantly less than the ED. They also tended to value services in English significantly less than those who were ED but significantly more than the FD. However, surprisingly, bilinguals tended to have significantly less optimistic perceptions of the evolution of vitality than the FD but significantly more optimistic expectations than the ED.

Discussion

The main goal of this study was to explore whether bilingual identity can be considered a legitimate and unique form of identity among official linguistic minority groups in Canada. More specifically, it was meant to verify whether bilinguals, as determined by linguistic confidence, could be distinguished from predominantly unilingual participants on factors related to the maintenance of identity. Importantly, it was found that bilinguals differed from predominantly unilingual participants in unique ways from region to region. The ways in which bilinguals differed from predominantly unilingual participants however, varied from region to region.

For both the medium and high vitality francophone and anglophone groups, the bilinguals usually tended to follow the hypothesized trends. For these three groups, it was hypothesized and confirmed that bilinguals would use both languages more equally than the predominantly unilingual participants. It was also hypothesized that those confident in the minority language, that is those dominant in the minority

language and bilinguals alike, would have significantly more positive beliefs towards the vitality of their community than those dominant in the language of the majority. This hypothesis was also usually confirmed with the bilinguals and those dominant in the minority language usually scoring higher on measures of SEV.

However, results didn't always go in the expected direction. The most striking finding was the ways in which levels of confidence influenced the factors for the maintenance of identity for the low vitality group. These revealed stark differences in the manifestation of factors for the maintenance of identity among bilinguals based on the ELV of groups. More precisely, the tendency for bilinguals of the low vitality group to use French as much as the FD and to have more positive beliefs regarding the vitality of their communities than the FD, was contrary to what was hypothesized under the assimilation hypothesis. However, similar results have been found in other studies conducted among low vitality groups (Harwood, Giles, & Bourhis, 1994). It has been proposed by Harwood, Giles, & Bourhis (1994) that whereas in high ELV situations, involved members of the community might be aware of the strength of the group, in low ELV settings, those who identify strongly with the group may be more aware of the decline of their ELV group over the years. As such, it is possible that the FD in the low francophone vitality group be more involved in the francophone community and consequently, relative to the bilinguals, be more aware of the declining vitality of their groups. Landry and colleagues (2010) add to this by suggesting that in high vitality settings, those who are less bilingual and more francophone, may be most cognizant of the challenges of the francophone community. In contrast, in low vitality settings, those with strong bilingual identities may exhibit further efforts for language maintenance in order to maintain a francophone identity despite the influence of a dominant English setting. Bilinguals would thus be most aware of the challenges to their minority community.

Similarly, an unexpected finding on perceptions on the evolution of vitality could be observed among anglophones from Québec. Indeed, although bilinguals differed from the predominantly monolinguals, they had significantly more optimistic perceptions of the ways in which the vitality of the minority anglophone community has and will continue to evolve throughout time than the ED. However, their perception on the evolution of identity was significantly less optimistic than that of the FD. Following the same logic as our explanation of the unexpected results for the low vitality francophone group, this finding may also result from a more involved perspective from the ED. Indeed, the ED in Québec are the ones who value most the use of English, and thus, might make more efforts to use it. As a consequence, this might make them more aware of the progressive decline of the vitality of their community within Québec and of the accessibility of services in English, rendering them less optimistic about the future of the vitality of their community. Difficult access to employment combined with the observation of an “exodus” of anglophones towards the rest of Canada (Bourhis et al., 2007) may contribute to the more pessimistic expectations for vitality detected among the ED, and, to a lesser extent, the bilinguals. In contrast, the FD in Québec might be further influenced by the common perception that the francophone community still needs access to privileges in order to gain a social status representative of their demographic numbers, despite the prominence they’ve acquired in recent decades (Bourhis et al., 2007).

For the francophone group, the results of this study suggest that bilingualism is not a mid-point on the continuum but rather situated towards the franco-dominant end of it. The tendency for bilingualism to be franco-centered was true for francophone groups of all ELV levels, and particularly true for the low ELV group, who tended to hold even more optimistic views on the vitality of the community than the FD. Bilinguals, in comparison to predominantly monolinguals

were not found to further lean towards the anglo-dominant end of the continuum in lower vitality settings, as suggested by Landry and colleagues (2006). Bilingualism, in itself then, might not be quite as unstable and dependent on the ELV of the groups as suggested by proponents of the view that bilingualism leads to assimilation (ex. Landry et al.). Accordingly, instead of being seen as a consequence of ELV, bilingualism should be seen as a normal response to the increasing proximity of the anglophone culture in all francophone communities.

In fact, it is the interplay between the English and the French environments, as well as the knowledge of languages and social interactions, that allows francophones to have an identity that encompasses being francophone and anglophone (Gaudet & Clément, 2009). It has often been suggested that for bilinguals, a hybrid identity refers to the combination of two cultural identities, a dual affiliation, an attempt at striking a balance between an affiliation to the native francophone community and an unavoidable affiliation to the dominant English-language group (Dallaire, 2003; Gaudet & Clément, 2009). It is apparent that even though many francophones deeply value their affiliation to the ingroup, numerous are those who explicitly reject singular francophone identities as these are seen to undermine their affiliation with the anglophones (Dallaire, 2003; Dallaire & Denis, 2005; Gérin-Lajoie, 2003). A hybrid identity then, may very well be a way of integrating into an increasingly globalized Canadian society while upkeeping a belonging to the minority community (Dallaire 2003).

The focus then, should be on the upkeep of a strong attachment to the mother tongue, no matter the affiliation to other language groups. In fact, hybridity involves embracing identification to both the first and second language groups and does not need to lead to a progressive fading of the maternal identity, language and culture (as suggested by Bernard, 1997). What seems to lead to assimilation is not confidence in using a second language, but a

lack of confidence and attachment to the first language. This was observed in the francophone groups of this study, as it was the non-dominant and ED groups who tended to follow more assimilative patterns. As such, bilingual identity should be seen as an opportunity for integration rather than as a problem of assimilation. Considering that L1 retention is what distinguishes assimilation from integration, the focus should be on the retention of L1, not on discouraging the appropriation of a L2 (Gaudet & Clément, 2009).

The reality of bilingual identification may be slightly different for anglophones in Québec. Indeed, as observed in these results, if bilinguals did not tend to lean more towards the trends followed by the majority language-leaning participants (FD), they did not either follow tendencies shown by the ED. Rather, the non-dominant group seemed to be the group that the bilinguals most resembled. It may be the case that equilibrium between the two languages is the common thread here. In Quebec, both languages are valued, which is reflected in the results for both groups who display intermediary positions.

Limitations and Future Studies

The present conclusions pertaining to identity are largely based on the idea that having high confidence in speaking both languages is reflective of being bilingual and having a bilingual identity. Although this did prove to be true, it would be interesting to reproduce the study with a bidimensional measure of identity specifically, as bilingualism as measured by linguistic capabilities may be different in some respects from affective bilingualism (Liebkind, 1995).

Furthermore, future studies should ensure that oral confidence be used as a measure of confidence as identity has been found to be further related to oral competence than other forms of linguistic confidence (Landry et al., 2006). Nonetheless, considering the strong emphasis that has been placed on L2 psychosocial components in the existing literature on consequences of L2

learning (ex. Clément, Baker, & MacIntyre, 2003; Clément & Kruidenier, 1985), a strength of the current study was that it highlighted the importance and relevance of including first language measures of confidence and psychosocial components. In fact, in future studies of bilingualism, a bidimensional approach should be favoured as it permits a broader and more valid framework for the understanding of acculturation (see Gaudet & Clément, 2009; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000; Sommerlad & Berry, 1977).

Conclusion

The findings of this study bring support to the notion that bilingual identity is a legitimate and unique form of identity that is a response to the active coexistence of two language groups and that may vary in meaning based on the ELV of a group. Nevertheless, in all settings, and in low vitality ones in particular, bilinguals remain realistic in recognizing the need to and feasibility of integrating the majority language group into their identity, alongside the minority language equivalent. As such, bilinguals may have the realistic optimism required to continue efforts for the survival of the minority group.

The premise here is not to defy the notion that a decline in ethnolinguistic vitality should be taken lightly. Rather, the argument is that bilingualism may be an integrative response to the increasing proximity of other linguistic groups. This highlights the importance for minority-language institutions to recognize the importance of other linguistic communities in which the minority members may be engaged, and to acknowledge bilingual identity as a legitimate form of identity in order to attract and retain their members (Dallaire, 2003). The challenge then, is to acknowledge bilingualism as a positive reality and to focus on what encourages the retention of the minority aspect of identity while seeking other affiliations.

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Tables

Table 1

Varimax rotated factor solution

	Language usage	Perceived vitality	Valorization of minority language	Perceived evolution of vitality
Use with friends	.81	-.12	-.06	.10
Media use	.81	-.14	-.13	.07
Use with employees	.63	-.09	-.11	-.08
Use with neighbours	.71	-.09	-.05	-.03
Use to complete forms	.74	-.07	-.14	.04
Use at home	.67	-.13	-.05	.13
Provincial government services	.10	.72	-.03	-.12
Federal government services	-.06	.74	.03	-.06
Presence in businesses	-.15	.68	.07	-.01
Presence in media	-.14	.49	.17	.05
Perceived vitality of community	-.07	.54	.17	-.15
Importance of government services	-.03	.08	.81	.03
Importance of language rights	-.04	.05	.77	.01
Importance of development of community	-.15	.08	.62	.02
Importance of use in everyday life	-.16	.14	.58	.01
Past vitality	.06	-.11	.04	.79
Future vitality	.06	-.09	.02	.70
Explained variance (%)	27.13	13.73	13.03	8.62
Eigenvalues	4.61	2.33	2.22	1.47

Table 2

Francophones: Identity as a function of FLC and ELC

	Low scores	High scores	<i>F</i> (1, 4935)	Partial η^2
French language confidence	2.97 (.02)	2.44 (.02)	327.20***	.06
English language confidence	2.50 (.02)	2.92 (.02)	203.95***	.04

*** $p < .001$

Table 3

Francophones: Identity as a function of vitality

	Low vitality	Medium vitality	High vitality	<i>F</i> (2, 4935)	Partial η^2
Level of vitality	3.02 (.03)	2.73 (.02)	2.38 (.03)	142.91***	.06

*** $p < .001$

Table 4

Anglophones: Identity as a function of FLC and ELC

	Low scores	High scores	<i>F</i> (1, 2312)	Partial η^2
French language confidence	3.89 (.02)	3.36 (.03)	231.71***	.09
English language confidence	3.50 (.03)	3.75 (.02)	52.24***	.02

*** $p < .001$

Table 5

Results of multivariate analysis of variance conducted on francophone minority data

	<i>F (1, 4832)</i>	Pillai's	Partial η^2
French language confidence	176.91***	.13	.13
English language confidence	147.39***	.11	.11
Level of vitality	146.62***	.22	.11
Level of vitality x FLC	8.84***	.02	.01
Level of vitality x ELC	17.40***	.03	.01
ELC x FLC	8.51***	.01	.01
Level of vitality x ELC x FLC	3.51***	.01	.003

*** $p < .001$

Table 6

Means (and standard errors) for the francophone minority on factors for the maintenance of identity and main effects of level of vitality

	Low vitality	Medium vitality	High vitality	<i>F</i> (2, 4835)	Partial η^2
Language usage	2.12 (.03)	2.64 (.03)	3.36 (.03)	442.72***	.16
Perceived vitality	3.60 (.02)	3.95 (.02)	4.36 (.03)	230.72***	.09
Valorization of minority	3.98 (.02)	4.29 (.02)	4.40 (.02)	122.38***	.05
Evolution of vitality	1.88 (.02)	1.83 (.02)	2.20 (.02)	99.83***	.04

*** $p < .001$

Table 7

Means (and standard errors) for the francophone minority on factors for the maintenance of identity and main effects of FLC

	Low scores	High scores	<i>F</i> (1, 4835)	Partial η^2
Language usage	2.35 (.03)	3.07 (.02)	493.49***	.09
Perceived vitality	3.80 (.02)	4.14 (.02)	143.59***	.03
Valorization of minority	3.98 (.02)	4.47 (.01)	122.38***	.05
Evolution of vitality	1.98 (.02)	1.96 (.01)	453.84	.09

*** $p < .001$

Table 8

Means (and standard errors) for the francophone minority on factors for the maintenance of identity and main effects of ELC

	Low scores	High scores	<i>F</i> (1, 4835)	Partial η^2
Language usage	3.08 (.02)	2.34 (.03)	519.73***	.10
Perceived vitality	4.01 (.02)	3.93 (.02)	8.89**	.003
Valorization of minority	4.25 (.02)	4.19 (.02)	6.39*	.001
Evolution of vitality	1.93 (.02)	2.00 (.02)	12.70***	.003

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 9

Results of multivariate analysis of variance conducted on anglophone minority data

	<i>F</i> (4, 2248)	Pillai's	Partial η^2
French language confidence	251.54***	.31	.31
English language confidence	39.36***	.07	.07
FLC x ELC	6.05***	.01	.01

*** $p < .001$

Table 10

Means (and standard errors) for the anglophone medium vitality group on factors for the maintenance of identity and main effects of FLC

	Low scores	High scores	<i>F</i> (1, 2251)	Partial η^2
Language usage	1.73 (.03)	2.89 (.03)	918.12***	.29
Perceived vitality	4.01(.02)	3.75 (.03)	49.56***	.02
Valorization of minority	4.62 (.01)	4.38 (.02)	126.24***	.05
Evolution of vitality	1.60 (.02)	1.84 (.02)	73.04***	.03

*** $p < .001$

Table 11

Means (and standard errors) for the anglophone medium vitality group on factors for the maintenance of identity and main effects of ELC

	Low scores	High scores	<i>F</i> (1, 2251)	Partial η^2
Language usage	2.47 (.03)	2.14 (.02)	72.55***	.03
Perceived vitality	3.85 (.03)	3.91 (.02)	2.71	.02
Valorization of minority	4.40 (.02)	4.60 (.01)	89.05***	.04
Evolution of vitality	1.81 (.02)	1.64 (.02)	34.66***	.03

*** $p < .001$

Figures

Figure 1. Identity as a function of linguistic confidence in French and in English for the francophone minorities. ED = English-dominant, FD = French-dominant, ND = Non-dominant.

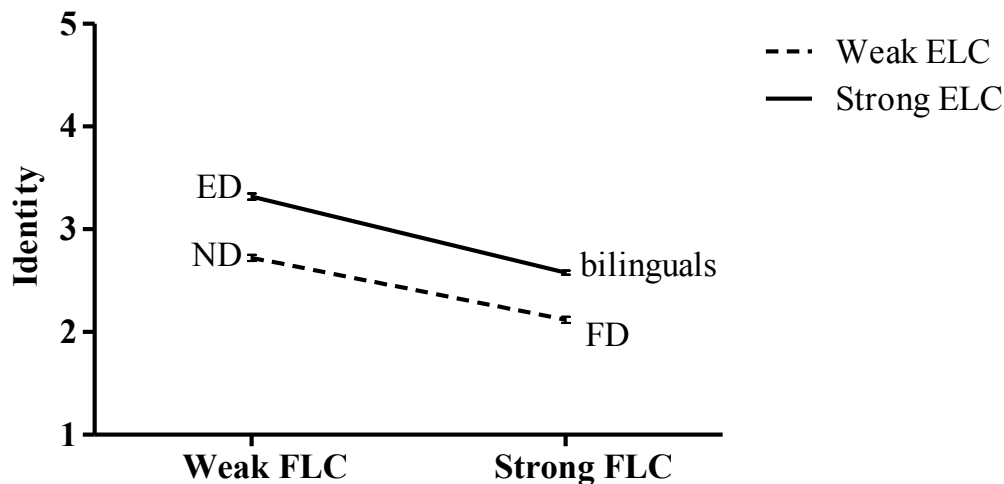


Figure 2. Identity as a function of vitality and linguistic confidence in English for the francophone minorities.

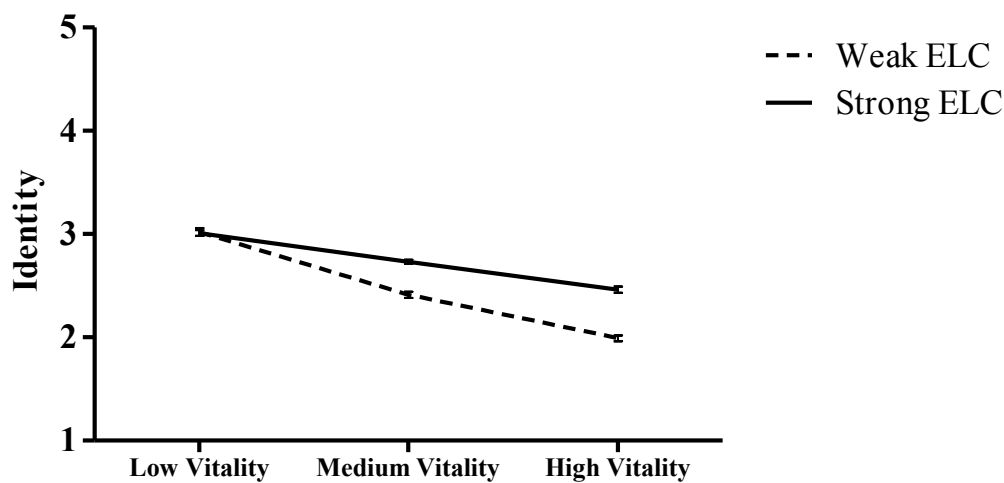


Figure 3. Identity as a function of vitality and linguistic confidence in French for the francophone minorities.

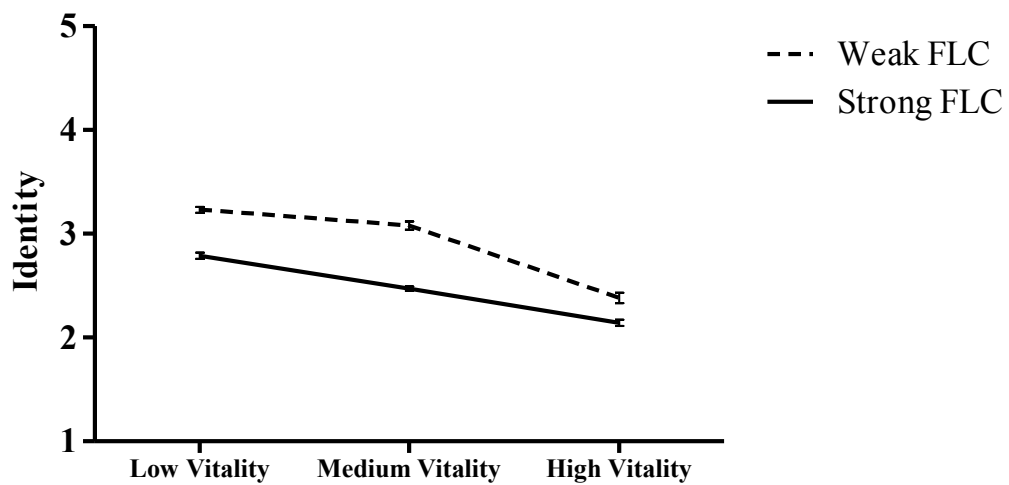


Figure 4. Identity as a function of linguistic confidence in French and in English for the anglophone medium vitality. ED = English-dominant, FD = French-dominant, ND = Non-dominant.

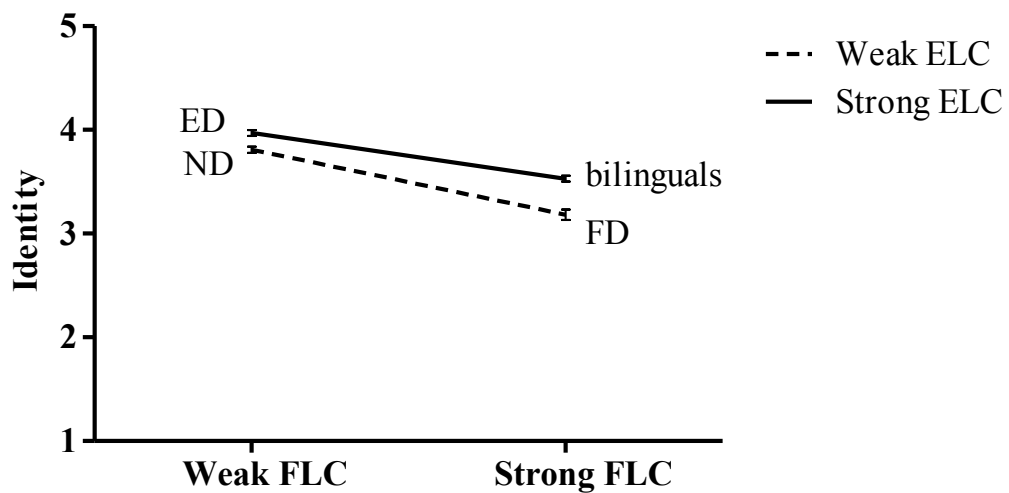


Figure 5. Language usage as a function of linguistic confidence in French and in English for the high vitality group. ED = English-dominant, FD = French-dominant, ND = Non-dominant.

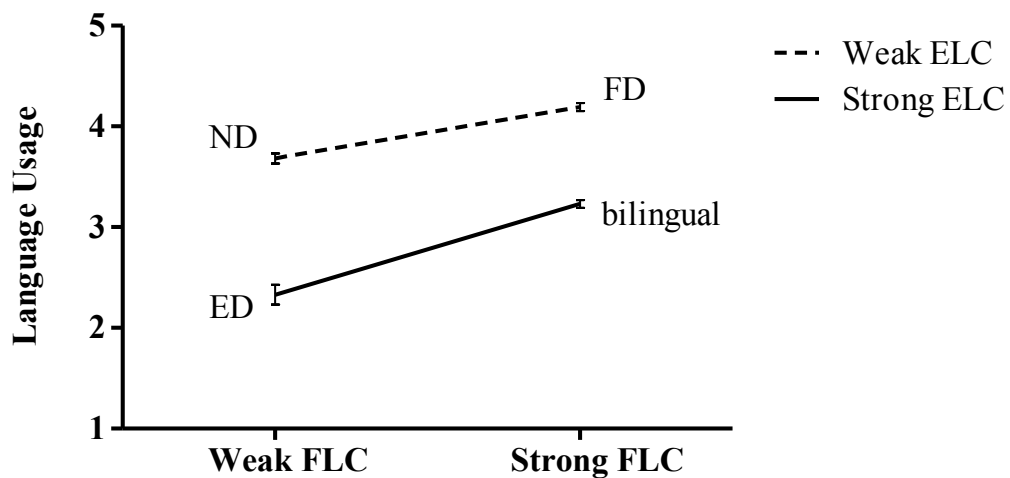


Figure 6. Language usage as a function of linguistic confidence in French and in English for the medium vitality group. ED = English-dominant, FD = French-dominant, ND = Non-dominant.

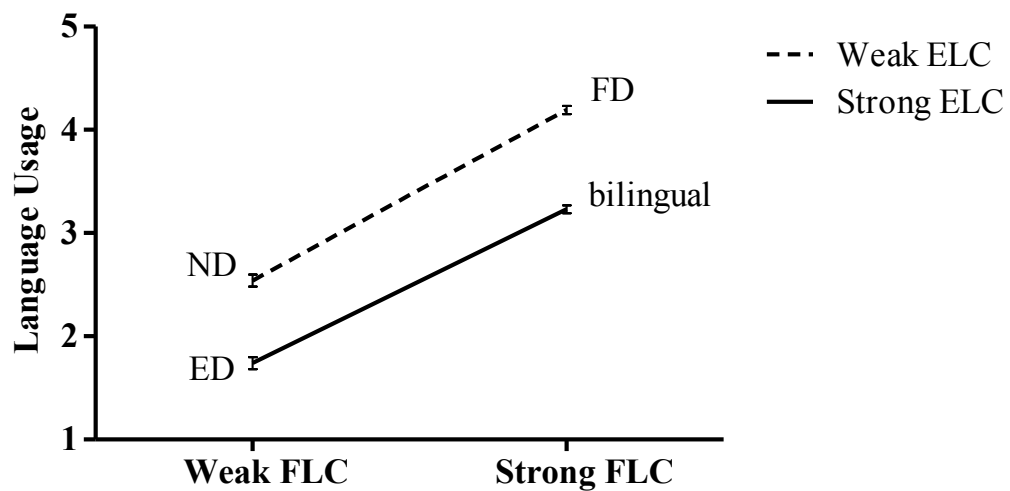


Figure 7. Language usage as a function of linguistic confidence in French and in English for the low vitality group. ED = English-dominant, FD = French-dominant, ND = Non-dominant.

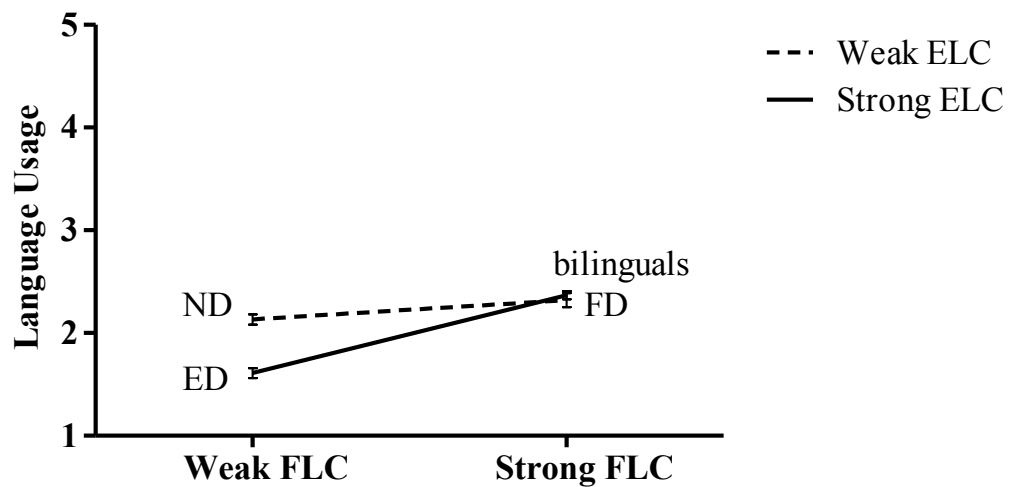


Figure 8. Valorization as a function of linguistic confidence in French and in English for the high vitality group. ED = English-dominant, FD = French-dominant, ND = Non-dominant.

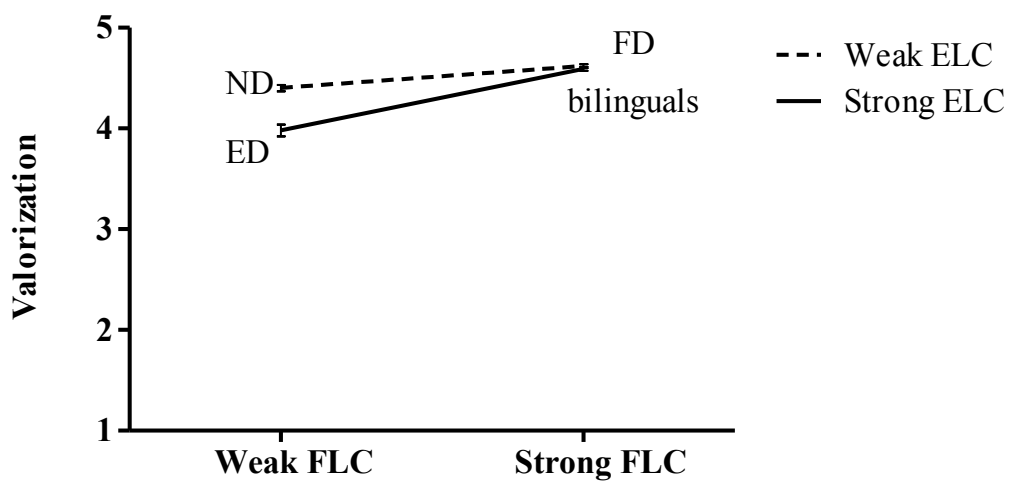


Figure 9. Valorization as a function of linguistic confidence in French and in English for the medium vitality group. ED = English-dominant, FD = French-dominant, ND = Non-dominant.

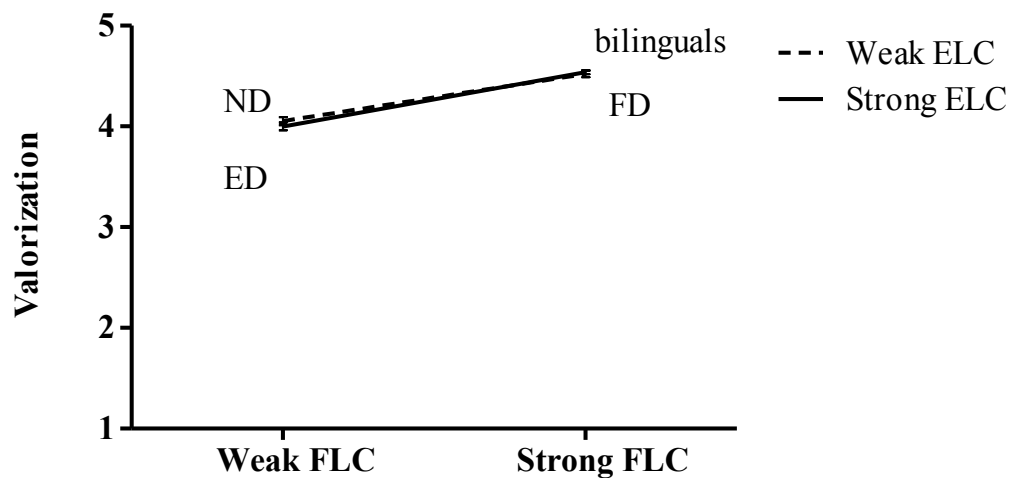


Figure 10. Valorization as a function of linguistic confidence in French and in English for the low vitality group. ED = English-dominant, FD = French-dominant, ND = Non-dominant.

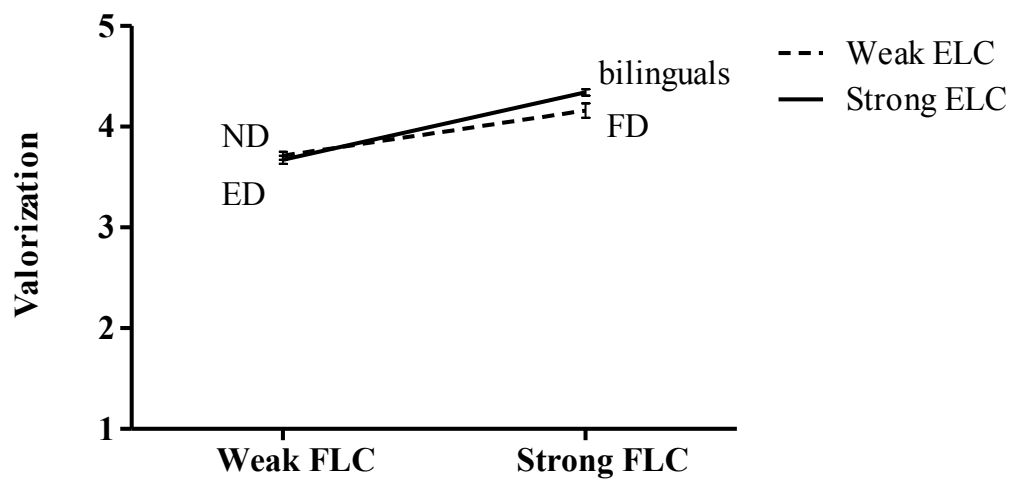


Figure 11. Perceived vitality as a function of linguistic confidence in French and in English for the high vitality group. ED = English-dominant, FD = French-dominant, ND = Non-dominant.

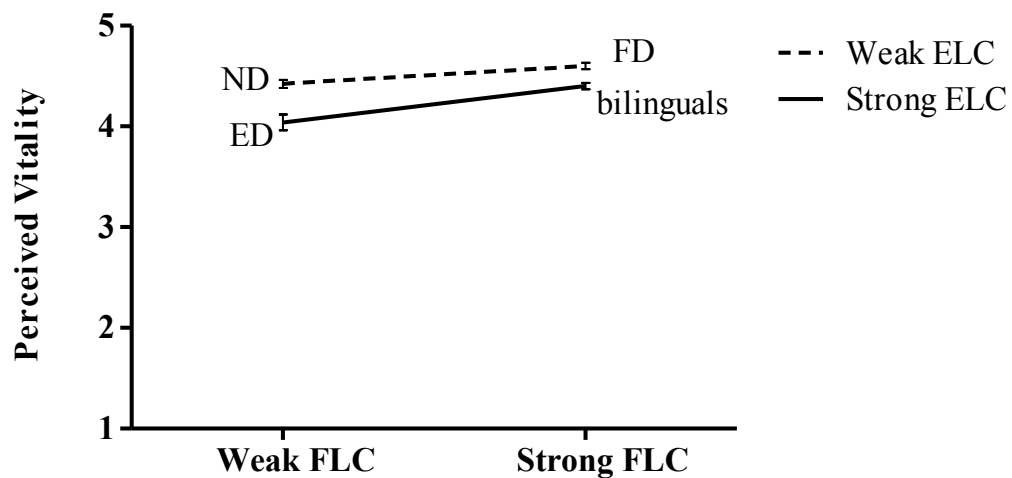


Figure 12. Perceived vitality as a function of linguistic confidence in French and in English for the medium vitality group. ED = English-dominant, FD = French-dominant, ND = Non-dominant.

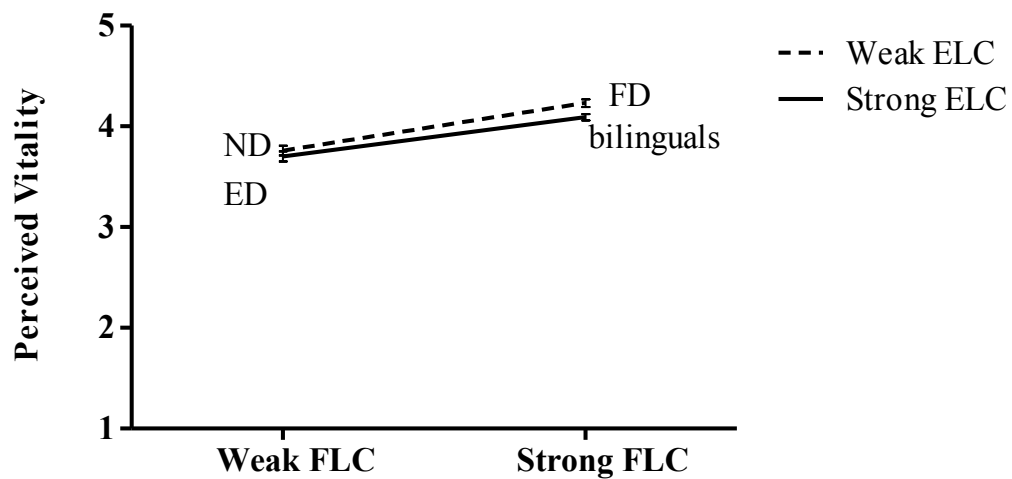


Figure 13. Perceived vitality as a function of linguistic confidence in French and in English for the low vitality group. ED = English-dominant, FD = French-dominant, ND = Non-dominant.

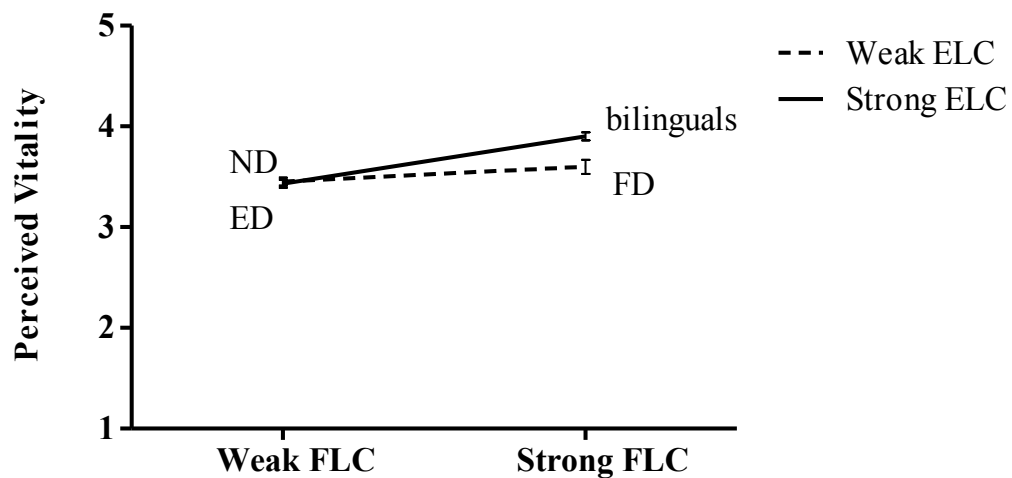


Figure 14. Language usage as a function of linguistic confidence in French and in English for the anglophone medium vitality group. ED = English-dominant, FD = French-dominant, ND = Non-dominant.

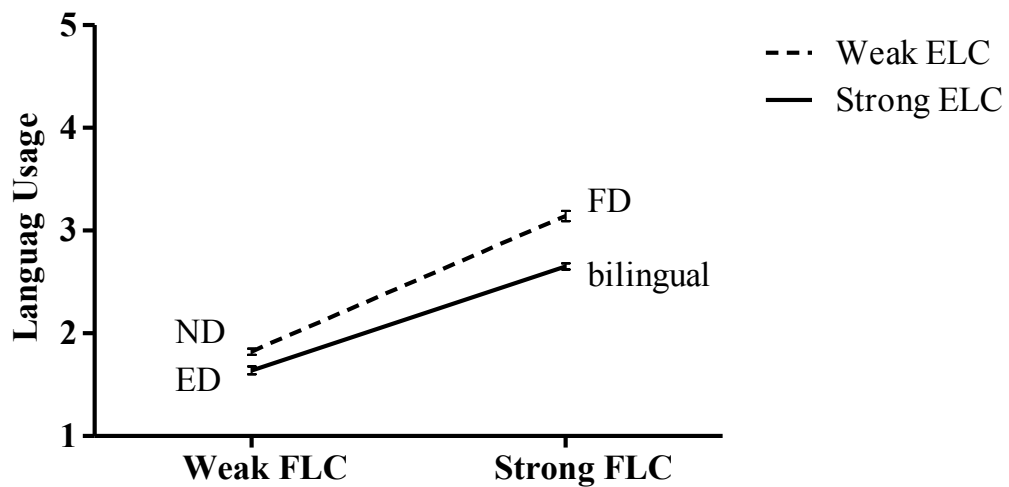


Figure 15. Valorization as a function of linguistic confidence in French and in English for the anglophone medium vitality group. ED = English-dominant, FD = French-dominant, ND = Non-dominant.

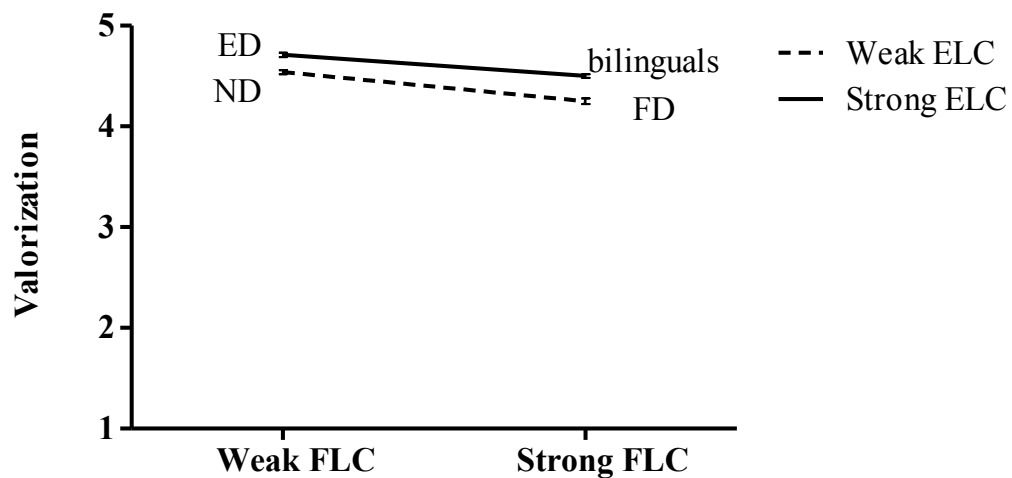


Figure 16. Evolution of vitality as a function of linguistic confidence in French and in English for the anglophone medium vitality group. ED = English-dominant, FD = French-dominant, ND = Non-dominant.

