

Language ideologies and mobility:  
A political economy approach to Quebec City's English-speaking minority

By  
Daniel Caron

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of master's in sociology

School of Sociological and Anthropological Studies  
Faculty of Social Sciences  
Ottawa University  
January 6, 2017

© Daniel Caron, Ottawa, Canada, 2017

## ABSTRACT

Socio-economic processes have long underlined the value of language and ethno-linguistic categories in Canada. The Quiet Revolution, widely considered to be one such process, has resulted in the production of Quebec's English-speaking minority. Although recent studies pertaining to Quebec's English-speaking minority have largely focused on the construction of identity, little research has explored the perceived value of language. While Quebec City's English-speaking minority is increasingly bilingual, figures suggest that its youth continues to migrate. Through a critical perspective, this thesis explores how Quebec City's English-speaking minority is navigating the uneven distribution and rising value of bilingualism. Using a qualitative approach, I conducted 15 interviews with participants who attended an English-language high school in Quebec City. Results revealed that participants mobilized ethnic and economic language ideologies as a means to negotiate the value of their linguistic practices and that these language ideologies structured mobility and enabled participants to reposition themselves within a new linguistic market.

**Key word(s):** English-language education; ethno-linguistic categories; language ideologies; mobility; official-linguistic minorities; political economy.

## RÉSUMÉ

Les processus socio-économiques ont longtemps structurés la valeur de la langue et des catégories ethnolinguistiques au Canada. La Révolution Tranquille a souvent été considérée comme un processus à travers lequel la minorité anglophone du Québec a été produite. Les études récentes, sur la communauté anglophone minoritaire, sont surtout portées sur la construction identitaire mais peu de recherches ont exploré la valeur perçue de la langue. Alors que la minorité anglophone du Québec est de plus en plus bilingue, les chiffres démontrent que sa jeunesse continue d'immigrer. Grâce à une perspective critique, cette thèse explore comment la minorité anglophone du Québec voyage entre la répartition inégale et la hausse de la valeur du bilinguisme. En utilisant une approche qualitative, j'ai mené quinze entretiens auprès des participants qui ont assistés une école de la langue anglaise dans la ville de Québec. Les résultats révèlent que les intérêts économiques et les politiques étatiques structurent la répartition inégale de la langue. Dans ce contexte, les acteurs mobilisent des idéologies linguistiques ethnique et marchandisable afin de négocier la valeur de leur pratique langagière. De plus, ces idéologies linguistiques structurent la mobilité et permettent aux participants de mieux se positionner dans un nouveau marché linguistique.

**Mot-clé(s):** Catégories ethnolinguistiques; école de la langue anglaise; économie politique; idéologies linguistiques; minorités de langue officielle; mobilité.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Je tiens d'abord à remercier ma directrice de recherche, Mireille McLaughlin, qui m'a inspiré à travers sa passion pour la recherche. Mireille, je te remercie pour ta patience ainsi que le temps que tu as accordé à mon progrès académique. Merci principalement pour ton approche autonome qui m'a permis de développer mon sens de gestion de projet.

J'aimerais remercier ceux et celles qui ont acceptés de me rencontrer à des fins d'entrevues, sans eux, je n'aurais pas pu poursuivre cette recherche. J'aimerais aussi remercier les membres de mon comité, Professeur José López et Professeur Ari Gandsman.

Enfin, je tiens à remercier mes parents, ma conjointe, mon frère et mes proches; merci pour votre soutien durant ce long projet.

## Table of Contents

<b>Introduction</b> .....	1
<b>Section 1: Context</b> .....	6
1.1 Historical context .....	6
<i>1.1.1 Colonization</i> .....	7
<i>1.1.2 The Quiet Revolution</i> .....	8
<i>1.1.3 The Politicization of Language</i> .....	9
1.2 Demographic context .....	11
<i>1.2.1 Population</i> .....	11
<i>1.2.2 Language shifts</i> .....	12
<i>1.2.3 Exogamy</i> .....	13
<i>1.2.4 Interregional migration</i> .....	14
<b>Section 2: Literature Review</b> .....	15
2.1 Ethno-linguistic vitality.....	16
2.2 Categorization .....	17
2.3 The proliferation of identities.....	19
<b>Section 3: Research Problem</b> .....	23
3.1 Sociological contribution .....	23
3.2 Sociological pertinence .....	23
3.3 Problem .....	24
3.4 Research Question.....	27
<b>Section 4: Theoretical Framework</b> .....	28
4.1 Political Economy .....	29
4.2 Language Ideologies .....	30
4.3 Late-capitalism .....	32
4.4 The Linguistic Market.....	33
4.5 The Commodification of Language .....	34
4.6 Ethno-linguistic categories.....	35
<i>4.6.1 Structure and Agency</i> .....	36

4.7 Summary .....	37
<b>Section 5: Methodology</b> .....	38
5.1 Methodological Paradigm and Epistemology .....	38
5.2 Methodological Approach.....	39
5.3 Data collection.....	40
5.4 Sampling method and recruitment .....	41
5.5 Defining the minority .....	42
5.5.1 <i>Mother tongue and First official language spoken (FOLS)</i> .....	43
5.5.2 <i>English-language school</i> .....	44
5.6 Data analysis .....	45
5.7 Ethics.....	46
5.8 Justification .....	46
5.9 Participant Profiles .....	47
5.9.1 <i>First cohort</i> .....	47
5.9.2 <i>Second cohort</i> .....	51
<b>Section 6: Results and Analysis</b> .....	55
Section 6.1: Structuring the value of English-language education .....	56
6.1.1 <i>Summary</i> .....	61
Section 6.2: Language ideologies and geographic mobility .....	62
6.2.1 <i>English-language education and ethno-linguistic categories</i> .....	62
6.2.2 <i>English-language education and language competencies</i> .....	66
6.2.3 <i>Summary</i> .....	70
Section 6.3: Mobilizing language ideologies within a new market .....	71
6.3.1 <i>Summary</i> .....	75
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	77
Bibliography.....	81
APPENDIX A: Interview guideline .....	88
APPENDIX B: Consent form .....	89
APPENDIX C: Recruitment poster.....	93
APPENDIX D: Citations used in Results .....	94

## **List of Tables and Figures**

Table 1.0: Complete and Partial language transfers, English to French mother tongue, 2006.....	<b>13</b>
Table 2.0: Interregional migration, English mother tongue speakers, 2001 to 2006.....	<b>14</b>
Figure 1.0: Participant profiles, language most often spoke at home and union type .....	<b>48</b>
Figure 2.0: Participants according to self-perceived ethno-linguistic categories.....	<b>65</b>
Figure 3.0: Self-prescribed language proficiency, from monolingualism to bilingualism.....	<b>69</b>

## **Introduction**

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) recently published an article pertaining to Quebec City's only English-language CEGEP. The article stated that the CEGEP was forced to refuse 350 applicants due to a lack of space. Accordingly, it appears as though Quebec City's French-language high school graduates are increasingly interested in pursuing their education in the English language. The article further inferred that this surge in popularity is due to the perceived "added value" of bilingualism (CBC 2016). However, what can be said of those students who have graduated from English-language high schools, what "added value" can we speak of then?

From the fur trade industry to the Quiet Revolution, socio-economic processes have long underlined the promulgation and value of ethno-linguistic categories within Canada (Heller and Bell 2012). While legislation stemming from the Quiet Revolution enabled the Québécois people to regain access to the economy, it did little to help the fate of Quebec's dissipating English-speaking population. In fact, by imposing the French-language onto the economy and by restricting access to English-language education, the state actively participated in altering the hierarchy of social categories in Quebec (Labelle 2010). Accordingly, this thesis starts with the premise that, since the Quiet Revolution, Quebec's English-speaking population has undergone a process of minoritization.

Authors have long considered the English-speaking minority to be a homogenous group. While some of these authors have argued that the groups' vitality depends on the strength of its institutions (Landry and Allard 1999; Foucher 2008), others have participated in a debate about categorization; i.e. which features should be used to characterize the group (Scowen 1991;

Caldwell 1994). More recently, emerging research has focused on the appearance of multiple identities in an increasingly heterogeneous society (Lamarre 2004; Magnan 2009; Pilote et al. 2010). However, I argue that the former over privilege institutions- and pay little attention to agency-while the latter focus on interactions and do not necessarily account for the relationships of power that structure said interactions. Accordingly, this thesis adopts a critical perspective and attempts to better understand how participants are navigating Quebec's shifting linguistic landscape.

Although English-language education is often perceived as an ideal terrain for the production of bilingualism, administrators and educators recognize that Quebec's marketplace is structured in a manner so as to value one form of bilingualism over another (Pilote et al. 2008:4). In fact, socio-economic investigations have illustrated that Quebec's market appears to favor French-English bilingualism over the English-French variety (Vaillancourt et al. 2007). This reality has resulted in the production of studies which conclude that Quebec's English-speaking population continues to experience linguistic insecurity<sup>1</sup> despite a rise in bilingualism (Magnan 2004). Coincidentally, recent data indicates that Quebec City's English-speaking youth is largely assimilated, yet continues to migrate at an important rate (Corbeil et al. 2010).

Quebec's English-speaking minority is brought to position itself in a linguistic landscape and reality where bilingualism is increasing in ideological value. How is Quebec City's English-speaking minority navigating the uneven distribution and rising value of bilingualism? In an attempt to investigate the latter, this thesis argues that participants negotiate the value of language through language ideologies which structure geographic and social mobility.

---

<sup>1</sup>Bourhis et al. (2007).

The concept of language ideology is central in political economy approaches to language. Accordingly, this thesis mobilizes language ideologies defined as socially constructed and often politically loaded beliefs about language that are mobilized by actors as a means to negotiate their position within the linguistic market. More specifically, this thesis mobilizes ethnic and economic-based language ideologies rooted in ideologies of monolingualism, authenticity and commodification.

Using a qualitative approach, I employed a snow-ball sampling technique and conducted 15 semi-direct interviews with English-speakers who attended an English-language high school in Quebec City. This methodological approach, I argue, allowed me delve into the experiences of Quebec's English-speaking minority and contributes towards the understanding of linguistic categorization within what is often perceived to be Canada's complex linguistic dichotomy.

Results demonstrated that the regulation of English-language education was a manifestation of economic interests which collided with state policies and further structured bilingualism as an unevenly distributed resource. Accordingly, mobility was employed as a means to negotiate the uneven distribution of linguistic resources. This occurred when participants structured mobility according to ethnic and economic-based language ideologies. Interestingly, results further indicated that within a post-migratory context, participants also mobilized language ideologies in an attempt to reposition themselves within a new marketplace.

Quebec's English-speaking minority resides within a majority group also considered to be one of Canada's official-linguistic minorities. By adopting the political economy perspective, this research will shed light on how language minorities navigate a society structured so as to protect the majority group's interests. In so doing, this thesis contributes towards the advance-

ment of scientific knowledge pertaining to linguistic minorities, beliefs about language and categorization. More specifically, it allows us to better understand the complex ways in which language ideologies structure majority-minority relations in Quebec.

My thesis proceeds as follows: Section 1 highlights both the historical and demographic context that enables me to frame the minority as a product of political-economic considerations. In section 2, I provide an overview of the most pertinent literature pertaining to Quebec's English-speaking minority. I situate the literature into the following three groupings: ethno-linguistic vitality, categorization and the proliferation of identities. In the third section, I place emphasis on the sociological pertinence, contributions, and proceed to frame the research problem. Accordingly, I attempt to understand how Quebec City's English-speaking minority is brought to reposition itself within an increasingly bilingual linguistic landscape.

In the fourth section, I present my theoretical framework comprised of various interrelated concepts such as the political economy, language ideologies and ethno-linguistic categories. These concepts, I argue, help frame the context whereby economic interests and state policies collide to structure the uneven distribution of language and the parameters whereby actors mobilize language ideologies in order to negotiate their position within the linguistic market. The fifth section presents the methods employed to conduct this research; i.e. data collection; sampling and data analysis. This section also provides the reader with participant profiles and explains how the English-speaking minority is defined.

As the third section will demonstrate, Quebec City's English-speaking minority is brought to re-position itself in a market where French-English bilingualism is increasingly valued. In view of that, the sixth section focuses on results along with the analysis and interpreta-

tion thereof. In the first of three sub-sections, I argue that participants ideologically reinterpreted language policies as a means to construct the value of language according to language of instruction. In the second sub-section, I argue that participants mobilized ethnic and economic language ideologies as a means to structure mobility according to language of instruction. In the third sub-section, and in a post-migratory context, I argue that ethnic and economic language ideologies were reemployed so as to enable participants to renegotiate the value of their linguistic practices within a new linguistic market. Finally, I present the conclusion which further discusses my results, sociological pertinence, limitations and avenues for future research.

## **Section 1: Context**

*"They can be in the nation, if they wish; somehow, they will never really be of the nation"<sup>2</sup>*

In this section, I demonstrate that the political economy of Quebec plays a central role in the minoritization of Quebec's English-speaking population. This is possible because I understand political economy as the process whereby politics and the economy intersect to construct the value of symbolic and cultural resources such as language. Political economy approaches stress that social structures are products of historical and contemporary struggles for the recognition of minority groups within politically defined spaces (Wallerstein and Balibar 1991). In particular, I apply Bourdieu's notion of linguistic market to understand the dynamics at play for the research participants. I understand the linguistic market to be a set of social structures, integrated within the political economy, that help construct the perceived value of certain linguistic competencies (Bourdieu 1992). Accordingly, when observing literature pertaining to English-speakers in Quebec, this approach better enables me to highlight how power relations shift along linguistic lines.

### **1.1 Historical context**

Quebec's English-speaking minority is a product of historical conditions (Caldwell 1994). These historical conditions, I argue, stem largely from political and economic concerns. Examining these concerns is pertinent because it allows the reader to recognize both the historic and more current role of the political economy in shaping Quebec's linguistic landscape.

---

<sup>2</sup>(Salée 1997:9) as cited in Floch & Pocock (2008).

### 1.1.1 Colonization

As early as the 16th century, claims over North American territory coincided with European conflicts, imperialism and economic expansion. In turn, this resulted in the development of a society progressively structured through "collusion between political authorities and agents of economic growth" (Arnopoulos and Clift 1984:18). In the years subsequent to the 1760 conquest, and with the emergence of unfavorable legislation, it quickly became apparent that French-Canadians held little intrinsic power in the political arena. Concurrently, Francophone businessmen "found it difficult to compete with their Anglophone counterparts, many of whom had family ties to merchant capitals or links to international, financial or political interests" (Dickinson and Young 2000:134).

Industrial capitalism became prominent in the years subsequent to Confederation (1867). By the early 20th century, hydroelectricity, which would later come to symbolize economic emancipation<sup>3</sup>, was either exported or sold to large industries (Stevenson 2006). Concurrently, financial institutions began developing relationships with manufacturing industries, subsequently rendering explicit "the fusion of industrial and financial capital in Quebec" (Dickinson and Young 2000:212). Until the Depression period, the focus on industry, American money and foreign investment remained an integral part of Quebec politics, but the impact of the depression would capsize liberalism and prompt the emergence of a conservative government, the influence of clerical-nationalism and the infamous "*Grande Noirceur*" (Stevenson 2006). The 1930s in Quebec are often portrayed as a decade of impeding traditionalism. Although society was construed through a series of conservative policies, the "*Grand Noirceur*" was the outcome of com-

---

<sup>3</sup> The nationalization of hydroelectricity symbolizes the political economic crux of the 1960 Quiet Revolution.

plex competitive discourses, and at the time, liberal ideologies continued to be evoked in various publications and newspapers (Couture and Mulatris 2012).

### **1.1.2 The Quiet Revolution**

Accordingly, the Quiet Revolution (1960-1970) is often understood as a product of the Great Depression (Gauvreau 2005), but it also materialized within a societal context of modernity and economic development (Stevenson 2006). During this time-period, the liberal government advocated for secularization, interventionism and the welfare state. Meanwhile, the strengthening neo-nationalist faction focused on political power, economic emancipation and cultural survival (Behiels 1985). Accordingly, the Quiet Revolution culminated in a shift of economic power and the emancipation of the “Quebecois” who, until then, were known as French Canadians (Magnan 2009).

Coincidentally, the Quiet Revolution also came to symbolize the Anglophone shift, and self-awareness thereof, from majority to minority status (Caldwell & Waddell 1982; Legault 1992). Subsequently, the English-speaking minority experienced a significant demographic decline, as expressed through exogamy, language transfers, and migration. Those who remained endured social isolation, linguistic insecurity and exclusion (Caldwell 1994). Although the Quiet Revolution implemented economic reforms, it also prioritized the restructuring of Quebec's education system. The focus on educational reform would eventually, through the Politicization of Language and Bill 101, restrict access to English-language schools and further marginalize the English-speaking minority (Stevenson 1999; Levine 1990).

### 1.1.3 The Politicization of Language

The politicization of language refers to a process whereby the Quebec provincial government became increasingly involved in the development of language-based policies (Stevenson 1999). These policies are especially pertinent because they highlight the states' power and ability to reproduce social categories and the hierarchy thereof (Labelle 2010). Accordingly, the politicization of language further characterizes the minoritization of Quebec's English-speaking population as articulated through political, economic and cultural concerns. This process of minoritization was accelerated by the fear of losing the French language. This fear was legitimized through emerging statistical evidence indicating that immigrants were overwhelmingly choosing to attend English-language schools<sup>4</sup>.

In the 1970s, language had quickly become one of the most central and contentious issues in the province of Quebec<sup>5</sup>. In an attempt to appease the intensifying language debate, the liberal government introduced the Official Language Act of (1974). This policy made French the exclusive official language in the province of Quebec, further stipulating that French was required on all signage and that English-language instruction was permitted only to those who had sufficient knowledge of the English language. Although the Act had no immediate impact on the English-speaking minority, it generated the perception that English had become a "minority or second-class language" (Caldwell and Waddell 1982:112). This perception was a catalyst for the development and mobilization of the English community who, until then, had remained rather intangible (Arnopoulos and Clift 1984).

---

<sup>4</sup>"While 48 percent of immigrants in Quebec were drawn to English schools in 1931... In the 1960s, over 85 percent of all immigrants in Quebec opted for English language schools" (Schmid et al. 2004: 231, 233).

<sup>5</sup> By the 1970s, the advent of household televisions had increased the visibility of linguistic nationalism (Stevenson 1999; Levine 1990).

The Official Language Act appeared largely insufficient in the eyes of an increasingly powerful nationalist faction. In response to these sentiments, the Parti Québécois emerged victorious in the 1976 provincial election and shortly thereafter, enacted the Charter of the French Language (1977). The new language policy upheld French as the official language and focused on the implementation of stricter regulations pertaining to both language of instruction and commerce.<sup>6</sup> New regulations pertaining to language of instruction restricted access to English-language schools. The legislation "forced all immigrants, from other parts of Canada as well as from abroad, to send their children to French-language schools" (Dickinson 2007:19). The new legislation also forced business owners to eliminate the use of English from all signage. Arguably, this new legislation understood language as an economic tool. More specifically, "by imposing the francization of business and prohibiting the use of English public signs, the authors of the legislation sought to enhance the economic value of the French language and make it dominant at work and in the marketplace" (Arnopoulos and Clift 1984:186).

The Quiet Revolution and subsequent language laws significantly altered power relations in Quebec (Legault 1992). Between the Official Language Act (1974) and the Charter of the French Language (1977), the English-speaking population began to "realize that negotiation had been replaced by majority rule" (Dickinson 2007:19). More importantly, the English-speaking population also began developing a minority group self-perception (Caldwell and Waddell 1984: 116) and "discovered that they did exist as a group, at least in the minds and the hearts of the French majority" (Scowen 1991:25).

---

<sup>6</sup> The Charter of the French Language (Bill 101) "had two prime objectives: francising the economy, to improve the economic prospects of French-speaking Quebecois and reshaping public schooling to protect the demographic position of the Francophone community" (Levine 1990:138).

The political economy has framed much of Quebec's existing linguistic landscape and the institutionalization of language has shaped language ideologies according to political and economic considerations. This reality is reflective of the demographic context, as highlighted through language transfers, exogamy and immigration.

## **1.2 Demographic context**

In an attempt to investigate how language ideologies might structure geographic and social mobility, my research focuses largely on English-speaking youths who migrated from Quebec City to Montreal. In this section, I use three demographic trends to illustrate that Quebec City's English-speaking population underwent a process of minoritization. First, I observe the declining reality of Quebec City's English-speaking population. Second, I refer to language transfers and exogamy as increasingly prevalent phenomenon, especially in Quebec City where the majority of exogamous unions transmit French as a mother tongue to their children. Third, I emphasize that migration has become an integral part of Quebec's English-speaking population and "un phénomène qui fait partie de leur environnement social et même de leur identité" (Magnan 2004:34). Importantly, this section highlights that Quebec City's English-speaking population appears to be greatly assimilated, however a significant proportion of young adults continue to migrate to neighboring regions.

### **1.2.1 Population**

In 1861, 39 percent of Quebec City's population was composed of English-language speakers, but by 1971 this number had declined to 4 percent (Rudin 1985). By the end of the Quiet Revolution, English-language speakers represented approximately 3 percent of the region's population (Rudin 1985:181) and by 2006, only 1.3 percent of the region's population recorded

English as their first official language spoken (FOLS) (Corbeil et al. 2010:15). Additionally, in 2006, the Quebec City region harbored only 1.7 percent of Quebec's total (FOLS) English-speaking population (Corbeil et al. 2010:14) and "97% of the Anglophones found there reside[d] in municipalities in which their relative weight [was] less than 10% of the population" (Corbeil et al. 2010:16). This differs significantly from the rest of the province where "more than 70% of Anglophones...live in a municipality where the Anglophone group represents at least 30% of the population" (Corbeil et al. 2010:15). Many factors explain the demographic trends at play in Quebec City. Below, I explore the main ones identified in the literature.

### **1.2.2 Language shifts**

Language transfers occur when the language used at home is in variance with an individual's mother tongue (Corbeil et al. 2010:30). Table 1.0 illustrates that in 2006, 4.7 percent of English mother tongue speakers used French as their language most often spoken at home and 5.9 percent used French as their language regularly spoken at home. This differs significantly from Quebec City where both complete and partial language transfers accounted for 25.1 and 24.8 percent respectively (Corbeil et al. 2010). Transfer rates in Quebec City are significantly greater than the average rates computed for the entire province of Quebec. This signifies, in part, that Quebec City's English-speaking population is greatly assimilated.

Table 1.0: Complete and Partial language transfers, English to French mother tongue, 2006<sup>7</sup>

<b>Region</b>	<b>Complete Transfer</b>	<b>Partial Transfer</b>	<b>Total</b>
<i>Quebec City</i>	25.1%	24.8%	49.9%
<i>Montreal</i>	3.3%	4.3%	7.6%
<i>Eastern Quebec</i>	6.5%	8.1%	14.6%
<i>Outaouais</i>	3.7%	6.5%	10.2%
<i>Eastern Townships</i>	6.6%	7.5%	14.1%
<i>Rest of Quebec</i>	13.7%	15%	28.7%
<i>Total Quebec</i>	4.7%	5.9%	10.6%

### 1.2.3 Exogamy

According to (Corbeil et al. 2010), exogamy accounts for an important part of language transfers for minority official language communities in Canada. In Quebec, exogamy has considerably altered the linguistic composition of English-speakers residing outside of Montreal (Lamarre 2008). In 2006, approximately 90 percent of Quebec City's English-speaking youth resided in an English-French exogamous family (Corbeil et al. 2010:22). Only 34.1 percent of these English-French exogamous unions transmitted English as a mother tongue to their children, compared to 78.4 percent in Montreal (Corbeil et al. 2010:20). Exogamy is arguably creating a growing number of bilingual identities. It would therefore appear as though Quebec's young English-speakers are increasingly capable of "fitting" into multiple linguistic categories (Jedwab 2008).

---

<sup>7</sup> Data gathered from (Corbeil et al. 2010:33).

### 1.2.4 Interregional migration

Despite experiencing significant levels of exogamy and language transfers, 11.7 percent of Quebec City's English mother tongue speakers conducted interregional migration between 2001 and 2006.

Table 2.0: Interregional migration, English mother tongue speakers, 2001 to 2006<sup>8</sup>

	<b>Total # of Migrants</b>	<b>Migration Rate</b>
<i>Quebec City</i>	1, 060	11.7%
<i>Quebec total</i>	30, 215	5.4%

A significant proportion of Quebec City's interregional migrants left for Montreal (28 percent) and the Montérégie region (20 percent). This is especially significant when compared to French mother tongue speakers who left Quebec City for Montreal (18 percent) and the Montérégie region (13 percent) (Forgues et al. 2010:47-49). More strikingly, 30.3 percent of mother tongue English-speakers aged between 20 and 29 left Quebec City for another region between 2001 and 2006 (Forgues et al. 2010:58). How can we explain this significant out-migration of Quebec City's English-speaking youth? By exploring how linguistic ideologies structure the manner whereby participants perceive the value of language, this thesis will demonstrate that out-migration is significantly related to perceived linguistic competencies.

---

<sup>8</sup> Data gathered from (Forgues et al. 2010:37).

## **Section 2: Literature Review**

Literature pertaining to Quebec's English-speaking minority has generally been characterized by scarcity. However, in the 80s and 90s, the topic appears to gain in popularity amongst researchers<sup>9</sup>. Following the work of Stevenson (1999), this relative popularity was replaced by a considerable dearth. Recently, however, there has been a resurgence in interest concerning Quebec's English-speaking minority.

Descriptive research was first utilized to better characterize and quantify Quebec's English-speaking minority (e.g. Rudin 1985; Corbeil et al. 2010). This approach, though still prevalent, initially gave rise to the concept of ethno-linguistic vitality. Those who advocated for the latter critiqued descriptive research for its inability to take into consideration the political and social features of linguistic and demographic problems (Cardinal and Lapointe 1990). Tenants of vitality, through demographic, socio-legal and economic indicators, argue that the community's future hinges primarily on the strength of its institutions (Bourhis and Landry 2008; Foucher 2008). Meanwhile, other investigations focused on the future of Quebec's English-speaking minority, as dependent on the conception of perceived commonalities. Accordingly, these researchers began to conceive English-language speakers through rigid categories (Caldwell 1994; Scowen 1991). In a context of heightened diversity and bilingualism, more recent studies question the place of rigid categories and emphasize the subjective construction of identities and their multiplicity (Magnan 2009, 2010; Lamarre 2007 and Vieux-Fort 2010 amongst others). However, within the literature, little qualitative research has attempted to better understand the economic reality of an increasingly bilingual English-speaking population, one who often believes that:

---

<sup>9</sup>Caldwell and Waddell (1982); Rudin (1985); Arnopoulos and Clift (1984); Levine (1990); Scowen (1991); Caldwell (1994); and Stevenson (1999) amongst others.

"les jeunes Francophones sont plus avantagés lorsqu'ils entrent sur le marché du travail" (Maganan 2004:26).

In this section, I first present the ethno-linguistic vitality perspective as one that utilizes binary indicators to measure the strength of Quebec's English-speaking community. I proceed to introduce scholars who, through the use of rigid categories, further participate in debating what it means to be an English-speaker. Last, I focus on researchers who propose to examine identity in a context of increasing bilingualism and cultural heterogeneity.

## **2.1 Ethno-linguistic vitality**

Influenced by Bretons' (1964) notion of institutional completeness, ethno-linguistic vitality is defined as "[...] the structural and sociological factors that influence the survival and development of a linguistic minority" (Landry and Allard 1999:403). This concept, widely used by scholars and policy makers alike, measures the strength of minority communities according to multiple indicators<sup>10</sup> (Bourhis and Landry 2008). Proponents of vitality often conceive institutional support as central for the cultural autonomy and survival of linguistic minorities (Allard and Landry 1994). For instance, Foucher (2008) considers the legal system to be an essential instrument that fosters the linguistic homogeneity of minority institutions. This perspective relies on a French-English dichotomy, which monolingual in nature, denies the inherent multiplicity of languages and identities of minority communities.

The term itself, initially coined by Giles et al. (1977), became institutionalized subsequent to the federal 1988 Official Language Act, which stated that "the government of Canada is committed to: enhancing the vitality of the English and French linguistic minority communities

---

<sup>10</sup> These include demography, institutional support and socio-economic status.

in Canada and supporting and assisting their development” (Gov 2013). This is pertinent because it demonstrates that ethno-linguistic vitality is both regulated and supported by political institutions who do not necessarily account for the mechanisms by which inequalities exist. In other words, it can be interpreted as an instrument of governance (Heller and Duchene 2012; Heller and Bell 2012).

## **2.2 Categorization**

The vitality approach tends to rely on fixed indicators to measure the strength of a community, thereby obscuring the multilingualism inherent within minority communities (Heller 2007). Meanwhile, some researchers have held a conceptual debate over the significance and content of categories. Upon attempting to define Quebec's English-speaking minority, Rudin (1985) was perhaps one of the first researchers to imply that linguistic categories are subjective. However, though he was admittedly well cognizant of the limits posed by institutionalized linguistic categories (i.e. mother tongue), he concedes that his analysis required its usage.<sup>11</sup> In the subsequent decade, both Caldwell (1994) and Scowen (1991) further debate what it means to be an English-speaker in Quebec. While the former attributes the Anglo-Quebecer category to cultural commonality, the latter refers to the English-Quebecer category as linguistically dependent. Meanwhile, Jedwab (2008) opposes institutionalized linguistic categories and favors what appears to be self-categorization. Upon doing so, these researchers are actively participating in a debate about categorization.

According to Caldwell (1994), language cannot be the sole indicator of the Anglo-Quebecer; specifically, “oublier qu’il n’existe pas de groupe social aculturel... c’est aussi oublier

---

<sup>11</sup>He used this method to facilitate cross-analysis between time-periods, as prior to 1971 there was no information pertaining to language use at home (Rudin 1985:26).

que l'indicateur linguistique n'a de sens que dans la mesure où il existe une réalité culturelle qu'il sert à désigner" (Caldwell 1994:13). This cultural perspective focalizes on the existence of a common culture; connoting elements of historical and traditional similitude. Caldwell's (1994) approach appears to emphasize the existence of cultural homogeneity, amidst a context of increasing cultural diversity. This diversity is increasingly prevalent in metropolitan areas where an increasingly diverse population appears to be influencing the composition of otherwise largely dichotomous linguistic groups (Lamarre 2004:25). As such, immigration, exogamy and hyphenated identities<sup>12</sup> are some of the phenomenon that enable us to counter the notion of a homogeneously conceived cultural minority.

Conversely, Scowen (1991) considers that, notwithstanding mother tongue, first official language spoken, skin colour, or ethnicity, speaking English is the sole determinant of the English Quebecer. Specifically, "the English Quebecer is someone, regardless of country of birth, regardless of ethnic origin, who lives in English in Quebec and wishes to continue to do so" (Scowen 1991:64). However, upon examining linguistic transformations in Quebec City, by demonstrating that young adults are increasingly expressing bilingual identifications, Magnan (2010) and Vieux-Fort (2010) are challenging Scowen's (1991) linguistic thesis. Essentially, the language one speaks does not necessarily equate to how one articulates his or her identity; individuals are increasingly bilingual, even trilingual, and often express multiple identities.

Jedwab (2008) describes two orders of categorization: a structural order whereby linguistic based categories are prescribed; e.g. mother tongue or (FOLS) and an order whereby categories emerge through self-categorization. He recognizes mother tongue and (FOLS) as categories

---

<sup>12</sup> "Almost 10% of Anglophones provide multiple answers when asked to identify their mother tongue, refusing a single primary identification" (Lamarre 2007:68).

of exclusivity and inclusivity, thereby demonstrating that demo-linguistics are highly influenced by the manner through which institutional bodies choose to categorize the minority. Consequently, he advocates a position in which mother tongue and (FOLS) criteria cannot rightfully categorize Quebec's English-speaking minority. Instead, he postulates that self-categorization is more appropriate. Although self-categorization is pertinent, my thesis understands categorization to be influenced by institutional structures, as entities that promote pre-determined linguistic categories<sup>13</sup>.

### **2.3 The proliferation of identities**

Some scholars have steered away from approaches that rely on fixed categories (Lamarre 2004; Pilote et al. 2010; Gérin-Lajoie 2010 amongst others). These scholars have mobilized qualitative methods to document the role of subjectivity in the construction of identity. In so doing, some have emphasized that “dans un contexte d’individualisation, voir de complexification de la catégorisation linguistique, il faut repenser la façon dont les jeunes de langue anglaise construisent leur identité” (Magnan and Lamarre 2013:2). Although these studies enable us to account for the role of subjectivity, they often do not account for the manner through which English-speaking minorities navigate Quebec's linguistic market.

Both Lamarre et al. (2004) and Magnan (2009) focus on English-language education and the construction of a linguistic boundary. Lamarre et al. (2004) strive to examine whether or not the linguistic boundary remains dichotomous in Montreal. The authors conclude that the French-English dichotomy appears to be *dépassé*. In other words, students do not perceive inter-group boundaries based strictly on the traditional Anglophone and Francophone categories. Meanwhile,

---

<sup>13</sup> Self-categorization can be influenced by pre-determined categories, structured through institutional bodies.

Magnan (2009) argues that, in Quebec City, the Anglophone category is constructed through interaction with the Francophone other. She further observes that the linguistic boundary does not hinge, solely, on the English language per se; rather, it is concomitant with the language of instruction, regardless of mother tongue. Magnan (2009) therefore argues that, through interaction, English-language education in Quebec City serves to construct and maintain dichotomous categories. I also understand this to signify that proficiency in the legitimate language (Bourdieu 1992) does not necessarily equate to the dissipation of the linguistic boundary. Therefore, although English-speakers may be bilingual and may manifest multiple identities, English-language schools remain a key site for the construction of the minority category.

In a subsequent study, Magnan (2012) maintains that, in Quebec City, dichotomous identities persist despite increasing bilingualism. However, she notes that mobility often results in the transformation of dichotomous identities. More specifically, “les données montrent que la dichotomie entre « Francophone québécois » et « anglophone canadien » se met à s’effriter dans les histoires des répondants dès qu’ils découvrent un cadre scolaire ou territorial qui sous-tend d’autres altérités” (Magnan 2012:7). This is especially the case in Montreal where language is one of many markers used to categorize individuals.

Vieux-Fort and Pilote (2010) demonstrate that in Quebec City's English-language schools, the subjective positioning of identities ranges from Anglophone, bilingual and Francophone. Additionally, English-language schools help develop a sense of belonging to the Anglophone community. However, sense of belonging does not necessarily correlate with the manifestation of static Anglophone identities. Likewise, Pilote et al. (2010) agree that Quebec City's English-language schools foment a certain sense of belonging. They further demonstrate that the

development of bilingual identities is positive for the integration of English-speaking minorities. However, statistics highlight that a significant proportion of young bilingual speakers participate in both interprovincial and interregional migration. Accordingly, the authors ascertain that the challenge remains “l’insertion sociale mais aussi professionnelle des jeunes anglophones et des jeunes bilingues” (Pilote et al. 2010:92). This certainly leads me to question the current status of bilingual identities in Quebec's linguistic market.

With regards to the status of bilingualism, Gérin-Lajoie (2010) is the first to explicitly recognize that relationships of power can explain the context whereby bilingual identities emerge. She iterates that the relationship students develop with identity is not linear and may be related to structural factors that lead to the perceived value of language. The perceived value of language therefore plays an important role in the development of bilingual identities in Montreal (Gérin-Lajoie 2010).

More recently, Gérin-Lajoie (2014) places the spotlight on the perceived value of bilingualism in a Montreal school. She discovers that, in English-language schools, pupils express multiple identities, do not feel minoritized, yet often describe sentiments of exclusion whereby “ils ne se sentaient pas complètement intégrés à la société québécoise : à leurs yeux, ils demeuraient « l’Autre »” (Gérin-Lajoie 2014:478). Interestingly, pupils and their parents also recognize French as a “valeur monnayable” and perceive French as imperative in order to be successful in Quebec (Gérin-Lajoie 2014:481). Students therefore appear to be learning French as a means to facilitate integration, however their bilingualism does not possess much value in their relationship with the French majority (Gérin-Lajoie 2014:481). How does this sense of exclusion and “illegitimate” bilingualism translate itself into the marketplace? Given that both students and

their parents recognize French as a currency, minority language studies should be more frequently approached according to the commodification of language and language-based categories.

### **Section 3: Research Problem**

Thus far, I have demonstrated that Quebec's English-speaking population has undergone a process of minoritization. I have also attempted to frame this process through a political economy framework. I have emphasized that the Quiet Revolution and the politicization of language have led to a demographic decline. Importantly, I have also highlighted that, in Quebec City, the English-speaking minority has experienced a significant linguistic shift. In this following section, I argue that the changing political and economic landscape has altered the value placed on language and ethno-linguistic categories. As such, I believe that it has become increasingly important to better comprehend how minorities are navigating these societal changes.

#### **3.1 Sociological contribution**

This thesis situates itself within studies pertaining to Canada's official linguistic minorities and offers insight into the evolving mechanics of existing language inequalities found within Canada's democratic society. The thesis further contributes towards the advancement of scientific knowledge pertaining to minority studies relating to categorization and language. This is especially significant in a context where majority-minority groups are competing for access to resources. These competitions enable us to better comprehend how language and categorization articulate together to sustain the parameters of Quebec's linguistic market.

#### **3.2 Sociological pertinence**

Exceptionally, Quebec's English-speaking minority resides within a French-speaking minority, and as a result, distinguishes itself from the dominant language groups in both Canada and Quebec (Dickinson 2007). As such, they are formally conceived and at times, contentiously

perceived by the majority group, as an official linguistic minority. Official linguistic minorities are pertinent units of study because they enable me to better comprehend the mechanisms through which the value of language is both constructed and perceived. Deconstructing the term "official-linguistic minority" enables us to recognize the relationship between the concepts of language, minorities and the state. This study is therefore pertinent because it understands language as "an instrument of power" (Bourdieu 1997:648), refers to minorities as "collectivities, notwithstanding their social positions, who must counter greater obstacles to achieve the same objectives than do others with parallel qualifications" (Bauer 1994:13) and recognizes that the term *official* refers to the institutional conception and regulation of certain minorities found within Canada.

### 3.3 Problem

*I feel that I'm an English-speaking Quebecer that's not necessarily accepted being there, but I mean that doesn't change my roots and where I came from, you know. I'm okay with that, however you know, it's kind of like saying you know, you're a second class citizen, really that's my perception. -Jonah*

Individuals are increasingly bilingual, even trilingual, and often express multiple identities (Magnan 2010; Vieux-Fort 2009). However, according to Caldwell (1994), over half of the Anglophone population considers that they, despite being proficient in French, have fewer chances of being employed when compared to their Francophone counterparts. This coincides with studies that demonstrate that English-speakers often experience "un manque de confiance en leurs habiletés en français" (Magnan 2004:25). While the literature demonstrates that there is a departure from English-French dichotomies, a new dichotomy appears to be emerging between bilingualism and unilingualism (Lamarre 2008:70).

Although English-French bilingualism continues to increase, it is not synonymous with integration (Caldwell 1994). In 1971, 37 percent of Quebec's English mother tongue speakers were bilingual compared to 69 percent in 2006 (Vieux-Fort 2009:17). Importantly, English-speakers under the age of 25 are characterized by higher rates of bilingualism and while 32 percent of them were bilingual in 1971, by 2006 this proportion had increased to 80 percent (Magnan 2004:23). Concurrently, the most active segment of the population, those aged between 25 and 44, "were 16% more likely to show low income than Francophones in the same age group" (Floch and Pocock 2008:44). Fifty years ago, English mother tongue speakers "were better paid in Quebec across skills groups [however] in 2000, only the most skilled Anglophones in Quebec earned as much as their equivalents outside of Quebec" (Albouy 2008:17).

The relationship between linguistic skills and income has altered significantly since the 1970s. While bilingual English mother tongue speakers earned 17 percent more than French mother tongue speakers in 1970, by the turn of the century, bilingual English mother tongue speakers earned the same as unilingual French mother tongue speakers (Vaillancourt et al. 2007:5). Strangely, this suggests that bilingualism has no added value for English mother tongue speakers. These changes further explain that the Quebec labour market is mostly structured so as to provide economic returns for French-English bilingualism<sup>14</sup> (Vaillancourt et al. 2007).

Quebec's English-speaking minority appears to be significantly marginalized in labour markets organized by the provincial state. In fact, the 2006 census indicates that while they represent 11.9 percent of Quebec's population, (FOLS) English-speakers are significantly underrepresented in the Quebec provincial public service, where their "relative share is only 2.8%

---

<sup>14</sup> French-English bilingualism refers to bilingual Francophones whose (FOLS) or mother tongue is French and who subsequently learnt English.

[...] of the workforce (Corbeil et al. 2010:82). It is also documented that language legislation may have had latent effects on Quebec's official-linguistic minority. Specifically, over-time, language legislation may have resulted in reverse discrimination, considering that there is as much discrimination against Anglophones in the private sector in 2000 as there was against Francophones in 1970 (Nadeau 2010:176).

English-language schools are often seen as the bearers of bilingualism, however in a round table session comprising of Quebec City English-language professors and administrators, it was inferred that the linguistic skills acquired in English-language schools were deemed insufficient (Pilote et al. 2008). In turn, this has a significant impact on English-language school pupils because there exists "a shared perception that, in Quebec, bilingualism signifies having "excellent skills in French and some abilities in English", thereby rendering Anglophones less employable (Pilote et al. 2008:4). Coincidentally, a large proportion of young English-speakers tend to leave their native region due to education and employment (Magnan 2004). In fact, a 2004 GRMJ<sup>15</sup> survey noted that over 50 percent of Quebec's interregional migrants "have a negative assessment of the job market in their area of origin" (Magnan et al. 2007:81). This coincides with Amit-Talai (1993) who discovers that interregional migration is often associated with the desire to study and search for employment (Magnan 2004:50).

The conditions by which the majority regulates the more formal aspects of society has a significant impact on Quebec's English-speaking minority (Magnan 2004). In fact, "by virtue of its control of the state through the government, the public administration and much of the economy, the Francophone dominant majority plays an important role in determining the economic,

---

<sup>15</sup> Groupe de recherche sur la migration des jeunes

linguistic, and political integration of immigrants and linguistic minorities" (Bourhis and Foucher 2008:45). Accordingly, my research highlights some of the mechanisms through which language ideologies help construct the value of language and language categories in Quebec. To do so, I understand English-speakers as categories, thereby enabling me to better focus on how categorization is influenced by institutional structures which promote pre-determined linguistic categories.

### **3.4 Research Question**

In an attempt to investigate how Quebec City's English-speaking minority is navigating the changing value of language, this study aims to understand both the process by which language becomes an unevenly distributed resource and how access to this resource structures geographic and social mobility. In pursuance of the latter, this thesis asks the following question: how is Quebec City's English-speaking minority brought to reposition itself within an increasingly bilingual linguistic landscape? By exploring how the value of language is structured, this thesis will demonstrate that language ideologies structure mobility, thereby enabling participants to renegotiate their position within a new linguistic market.

#### **Section 4: Theoretical Framework**

From Saussure's conception of semiology to Bourdieu's notion of symbolic capital, language has been studied as both a system of confined signs and as an instrument used to facilitate the reproduction of social inequalities<sup>16</sup>. In the following section, I aim to implement a framework allowing me to examine language as both a product and a process, though particular attention is placed on the processes whereby language comes to be constructed as a product.

It is generally understood that structuralism tends to recognize language as whole bounded systems whereas interactionism interprets language within the confines of social interaction. These, however, omit to account for the mechanisms of language production, considered to be dynamic processes, which foment inequalities. Thus, in an attempt to steer away from the interdependent domains of synchronical analysis and interaction, I adopt a critical approach accounting for the manner through which speakers interact under uneven sets of socially constructed structural restrictions (Heller 2007:14).

I conceive language as an unevenly distributed commodity whose value is socially constructed in processes of social structuration<sup>17</sup> (da Silva et al. 2007). Social structuration, as derived from the structure-agency debate, espouses the belief that "structures and agency cannot be conceived apart from each other" (Calhoun 2002:453). Exploring the intersectionality between political economy, language ideologies and ethno-linguistic categories, I argue, further enables me to account for both the macro and micro-level processes which construct the value of language in Quebec.

---

<sup>16</sup>More recent work explicitly frames language as a resource (Blommaert 2010).

<sup>17</sup>By structuration I mean the sociological conception of the term and not the linguistic one; i.e. structuration is used to represent social structures (whether normative/institutional or ideological) and not linguistic structuralism such as syntax.

## 4.1 Political Economy

Political economy is as an overarching concept derived from the intersection between the political and economic fields. This intersectionality, I argue, frames society as comprised of various institutions, beliefs and practices imbedded within "political processes and relations" (Irvine 1989:249). The political economy is therefore a relevant approach given that Canada's official-linguistic minorities exist within a context structured through continuous dialogue between the economic, political and social fields (Heller 1999).

The political field may implement a series of policies that attempt to counter economic phenomenon and social inequality. However, these policies remain integrated within a capitalist context which represents economic interests that extend well beyond the confines of the nation-state (Wallerstein and Balibar 1991). While politics may be conceived as a vehicle used to legitimize economic interests, there are also political factions that oppose capitalist ideologies.

Within a capitalist economy, however, political economic processes often involve producing language as a commodity, whose symbolic and economic value is negotiated by actors within a structurally regulated linguistic market (Bourdieu 1992; Heller and Duchene 2012). Accordingly, the political economy approach enables me to analyze how speakers' adopt linguistic beliefs and practices within a social context constructed on the basis of economic interests and power (Mariou 2015:1). More broadly, this helps frame linguistic-based practices as "part of a larger system of inequality" (Gal 1989:347), thereby resulting in the two following queries: who defines language and the symbolic value thereof? What are the processes whereby language competencies become legitimized?

## 4.2 Language Ideologies

Language ideologies are socially constructed beliefs about language that “mask underlying political economic realities” (Friedrich 1989:309). Rationalized through perceived linguistic differences, language ideologies are often mobilized by speakers in order to negotiate the value of language in a manner that allows some to position themselves advantageously, both symbolically and economically (Irvine and Gal 2000:35). These beliefs therefore characterize processes whereby speakers' attempt to position themselves socially in order to obtain and maintain power (Gal 1989; Woolard 1998).

Through the implementation of language-based policies, the state assists in naturalizing the linguistic features used to rationalize differences; thereby implying the existence of symbolic domination (Heller 1999). Specifically, speakers misrecognize that those in power are creating uneven social conditions which reproduce inequalities (Bourdieu 1992). However, although the political economy plays an important role in the development of language ideologies, it is actually through "beliefs about language and cognition-as well as about social relations-that political and economic events have an effect on language use" (Woolard 1992:242).

Language ideologies "embody the general principles that control the overall coherence of the social representations shared by the members of a group" (Dijk 2005:729-730) and are especially pertinent given that they mediate the macro and micro-level forces that construct the value of language (Zuniga 2015:15). Accordingly, language ideologies allow me to "relate the micro-culture of communicative action to political economic considerations of power and social inequality, [and] to confront macrosocial constraints on language behaviour" (Woolard 1998:27).

In late-capitalism, the multiplication of heterogeneous linguistic contexts has increased the prevalence of multilingualism (May 2014). However, monolingualism and authenticity continue to structure the ideological value of language (Heller 2010). As we will see in the analysis, this ideological value is significantly related to what Heller and Duchene (2012) refer to as: "pride" and "profit" discourses. Late-capitalism, they argue, has altered the way in which language has been conceived, and while political and cultural conceptions of language are still prevalent, there has been a "widespread emergence of discursive elements that treat language and culture primarily in economic terms" (Heller and Duchene 2012:3).

To distinguish the ideological tensions lived by participants, this thesis mobilizes ethnic and economic-based language ideologies. These, I argue, are rooted in ideologies of monolingualism, authenticity and commodification. I understand ethnic and economic ideologies to be social constructs that are mobilized as a means to rationalize the value of certain language categories and practices. Ethnic ideologies, often rooted in ethnic-state nationalism and "pride" based discourses, conceive certain ethno-linguistic categories and language practices according to monolingualism and authenticity. In turn, authenticity is conceived as intrinsic and characterized as possessing a "definitive cultural value" (Coupland 2003:419). While ethnic language ideologies are loaded with political and cultural meaning, economic language ideologies, often rooted in globalism and "profit" based discourses, regard language as a "source of symbolic added value" (Heller and Duchene 2012:10). In this sense, multiple language categories and bilingual language practices are perceived as instruments used to facilitate the acquisition of symbolic and economic capital.

Interestingly, while monolingualism may enable the authentication of one's language competencies, bilingualism is equally authentic provided that its essence is comprised of two monolingualisms. This relates significantly to Heller (1999) who remarks that, within late-capitalism, bilingualism is increasingly valuable, but only "as a set of parallel monolingualisms" (5). As we will see in the analysis, participants mobilized ethnic language ideologies so as to authenticate language practices that they perceived to possess symbolic value in the marketplace.

### **4.3 Late-capitalism**

Late-capitalism, characterized by the shift from a material to an information-based economy, has intensified the perceived value placed on language use and language skills (Heller 1999; Tan 2008). This has resulted in the inherent comprehension that "languages [have] become economized" (Tan 2008:108). This comprehension emerges in response to the neo-liberalization of the nation-state, resulting from the concurrent saturation of markets and the expansion of the service economy (Heller and Duchene 2012). Importantly, through this process:

we are witnessing the widespread emergence of discursive elements that treat language and culture primarily in economic terms. The discourse does not abruptly or entirely interrupt or replace older discourses which treat language as political and cultural, associating it with the formation of the nation-state; rather, the two are intertwined in complex ways (Heller and Duchene 2012:3).

The tension between the value of the English-language abroad and the value of the French-language within plays a key role in the re-organization of Quebec's social hierarchy. In late-capitalism, the value of language appears straddled between the notion of ethnic-state national-

ism and globalized instrumentalism. How does this interpolated conception of language manifest itself? On one hand the forces of ethnic-state nationalism appear to support the manifestation of monolingualism whereas on the other hand, the global economy concurrently appears to foment the relevance of multilingualism.

#### **4.4 The Linguistic Market**

While late-capitalism draws attention to the re-organization of power relations and the changing value of language, the linguistic market acts as a set of social structures, integrated within the political economy, which determines the value of linguistic skills. Such skills are further valued in so far as they denote the ability to speak in a manner that appears favorable within a specific market. As such, the linguistic market organizes the perception that certain linguistic capabilities hold more currency than others (Bourdieu 1992).

The linguistic market may cause language to appear democratic; i.e. it may appear as an equally accessible communication tool within a 'free' market. However, this false consciousness misleads actors into omitting the fact that language "is not only an instrument of communication or even of knowledge, but also an instrument of power" (Bourdieu 1977:648). Power ultimately rests in the ability to construct languages' exchange-value in a manner so as to permit linguistic capital to be converted into symbolic and economic capital. Through this logic, the linguistic market sets the stage for what appears to be objective competitions over linguistic resources, although speakers often fail to recognize that the value of language has already been constituted and legitimized through state-regulated institutions (Gal 1989:353). This comprehension results in the following query: "who defines what counts as legitimate and commodifiable language...who controls the production and distribution of linguistic resources?" (Heller 2010:103).

The linguistic market helps us understand how language use is being redefined and repositioned in a manner so as to enable some, but not all, to succeed both socially and economically. This is imperative, as it results in the necessity for speakers to re-negotiate, in a changing linguistic market, both the legitimacy and value of ethno-linguistic categories and linguistic skills (Heller 2010). Accordingly, in the analysis, I mobilized the concept of linguistic market to demonstrate how social structures intersect with language ideologies to construct the perceived value of language.

#### **4.5 The Commodification of Language**

The commodification of language occurs through a series of linguistic exchanges that are perceived as having both symbolic and economic value (Tan 2008). Value is further legitimized when language competencies successfully go through a chain of authentication. This chain characterizes a process whereby language is legitimized through "authoritative" and "derivatively authoritative" statements (Irvine 1989:258). Essentially, the commodification of language encompasses the construction of linguistic value, legitimized by an authoritative structure, subsequently interpreted, negotiated and re-produced by its derivatives. Specifically, it is re-produced by both actors who are and are not perceived to possess legitimate linguistic skills and by institutional processes that participate in giving practices value.

It is not impossible to conceive language as something other than a commodity, however I perceive the commodity facet as overarching. For instance, language can be conceived as a marker of identity and may be recognized as imperative in the conceptualization and manifestation of nationalism. This is interesting because in Quebec, language has long been central to the notion of identity and nationalism. However, it is important to be cognizant of the fact that natio-

nalism in Quebec, epitomized by the Quiet Revolution, was a successful attempt to revert the relations of power and restore control of the economy and state structures into Francophone hands. As such, even though language can be conceived in a variety of manners, I espouse that, within Quebec, the conception of language as a commodity is all-encompassing.

The central advantage in conceiving language as a commodity is that it enables a better comprehension of the role played by language in relationships of power. It highlights that language can be both valued and de-valued, and this results in the development of new inquiries that focus on the processes whereby value is attributed. It ultimately enables us to better understand how language is unevenly distributed and further sheds light on inequalities, linguistic discrimination and linguistic insecurity.

#### **4.6 Ethno-linguistic categories**

Ethno-linguistic categories are used to construct the complex categorization of individuals who speak a certain language and/or associate themselves with a specific set of cultural referents. From there, categories can be applied to understand how actors, through language-use, come to negotiate and determine their social position within Quebec's linguistic market. Furthermore, I understand ethno-linguistic categorization as a concept which refers to a "strongly institutionalized...classificatory system [that] makes certain categories readily and legitimately available for the representation of social reality" (Burbaker & Cooper 2000:27).

Despite the fact that categorization is sometimes symbolic and can be legitimized by identity-based discourses, I argue that ethno-linguistic categorization cannot serve as a basis for understanding identity. Specifically, we have been immersed with so many justifiable construc-

tivist claims that it has become often too easy to assume that identities are constructed and that despite their fluidity, they are always in some form or another, present<sup>18</sup> (Burbaker & Cooper 2000). Subsequently, the term identity, as a category of analysis, is hollow, i.e. it often tends to mean either too little or too much (Burbaker & Cooper 2000). Accordingly, I believe that distancing myself from the term *identity* allows me to better account for the ways in which ethno-linguistic categories and relationships of power interact together in Quebec's multilingual society.

#### **4.6.1 Structure and Agency**

I espouse the idea that ethno-linguistic categories are shaped primarily through structural processes and that social actors mobilize pre-conceived categories so as to legitimize language competencies and position themselves advantageously in Quebec's linguistic market. Although ethno-linguistic categories are strongly dependent on state practices, the conception of institutionally derived ethno-linguistic categories intersects with individual needs to integrate the market and access resources. In turn, this creates battles between actors as they try to further define ethno-linguistic categories and both the theoretical and practical value thereof.

Although macro-level systems play a prominent role in structuring categories and the saliency thereof; in practice, actors must also attempt to navigate these said categories. Unfortunately, not all social actors are capable of navigating categories in a manner so as to position themselves in both socially and economically profitable situations.

---

<sup>18</sup> Constructivism therefore renders identity self-evident and further objectifies the term, treating it as a "thing, albeit a malleable one that people "have", "forge" and "construct"" (Burbaker & Cooper 2000:28).

While some actors are able to legitimately claim an alliance to multiple ethno-linguistic categories, and in multiple contexts, others are simply incapable of achieving such type of linguistic-based omnivorousness. Individuals wish to associate with a category that enables them to "claim an advantageous position vis-a-vis other individuals" (Wimmard 2008:994). However, we can also argue that our social position imposes constraints on agency and the individual's ability to strategically claim alliance to specific positions (Bourdieu 1992).

#### **4.7 Summary**

While the state represents economic interests, ethnic and economic beliefs about language construct the value of language as an effect of these interests. This occurs when language ideologies are mobilized to "construct ideological representations of linguistic differences" (Irvine and Gal 2000:37). Individuals therefore internalize categorization processes that are embedded through ideologies of difference and pre-established categories which serve to maintain and erect the social structure of Canadian society.

In Quebec, ethno-linguistic categories suggest that there is a significant and constant interplay between English and French based categories. I believe that it is these multiple tensions that render the examination of Quebec's (often bilingual) English-speaking minority that much more intriguing. It is therefore important to understand that actors may attempt to resist or position themselves within ethno-linguistic categories and in specific contexts, that reflect symbolic value, which they hope will be legitimized and subsequently transferred into economic profitability. The following query remains: who profits the most from "ethnic" and or "economic" based conceptualizations of language?

## **Section 5: Methodology**

This section converges both the philosophical underpinnings and concrete research methods used to construct my thesis' foundation. First, I present the philosophical underpinnings through a critical lens in order to draw attention to how power relations operate. Second, I proceed to explain my inductive methodological approach. This qualitative approach, I argue, enables me to better examine personal beliefs and individual experiences. Third, I delve into concrete research methods and provide details pertaining to data collection, sampling method and recruitment. I proceed to explicate the manner through which I opt to define Quebec's English-speaking minority. Fourth, this chapter will also explain how I have analyzed the data and that all ethical concerns have been addressed. Lastly, I present participant profiles, which I argue, help understand the context through which my results are derived.

### **5.1 Methodological Paradigm and Epistemology**

My methodological premise hinges on the belief that social reality is influenced by socio-political and economic induced power relations. According to Simon and Dippo (1986), these said power relations "structure how forms are produced and reproduced to limit and constraint, as well as contest and redefine what one is able to be" (as cited in Peirce 1995:571). As such, I espouse a critical perspective that focuses on "the relationship between the individual and the social [in order to] investigate the complex relationship between social structure, on the one hand, and human agency, on the other" (Peirce 1995:570-71).

Additionally, I understand social reality as impervious to objective claims and espouse the view that truth is "contingent on context and multiple perspectives" (Saldana 2011:23). I

adopt a reflexive sociology and highlight that I am cognizant of the fact that, as a researcher, my preconceived ideologies, identity and personal history co-construct the studied reality. Although I consciously attempt to distance myself from preconceived notions, "the production of knowledge cannot be understood apart from the personal histories of the researchers and the larger institutional context in which researchers work" (Peirce 1995:570).

## **5.2 Methodological Approach**

According to Magnan (2009), the qualitative approach has been infrequently used in previous studies pertaining to Quebec's English-speaking minority. Unlike previous descriptive and quantitative investigations (i.e. Corbeil et al. 2010; Lussier 2012 and others), the qualitative approach enables me to explore social processes through the study of individual perspectives and personal experiences. Through this approach, I employ an inductive mode of inquiry, which allows me to better understand "le point de vue et le sens que les acteurs sociaux donnent à leur réalité" (Gauthier 2008:337), while accounting for "contextual conditions-- the social, institutional, and environmental conditions within which people's lives take place" (Yin 2011:9). Additionally, I implement a bottom-up methodology whereby I construct theory as it emerges from the observed data. This allows me to sway back and forth between data-collection, analysis and theorization. The bottom up approach allows me to analyze "qualitative data in order to understand human processes and to construct theory (Saldana 2011:6).

### 5.3 Data collection

I employed semi-structured interviews, as they allow me to highlight the interdependency between researcher and participant, in a context where data is co-constructed through both questions and answers (i.e. discussion). The interview benefits from a high degree of flexibility and can be considered as “une action verbale animée de façon souple par le chercheur” (Gauthier 2008:340). This technique is adaptable and allows for a certain level of deviation while concurrently maintaining focus on specific themes and concepts. As a researcher, this allows me to inquire and probe regarding specific sentiments and or personal experiences. The semi-structured interview allows me to be in direct contact with participants and grants me explicit consent to develop momentary inter-personal rapports that may lead to the divulgation of intimate feelings vis-à-vis a specific social phenomenon or occurrence.

Following Gauthier (2008), I attempted to ensure that the questions posed during the interview were “open, short, neutral and pertinent” (352). As such, participants were asked a series of questions from the more general to specific. Examined themes ranged from bibliographical information, language and children, linguistic competencies, and linguistic differences. A copy of the question guideline can be found in Appendix A.

First, 8 interviews were conducted with English-speaking participants who attended an English-language high school in Quebec City during the 1970's. These specific participants attended an English-language school during the Quiet Revolution and I anticipated that this would yield rich results pertaining to the relationship between ethno-linguistic categories and the politicization of language. This series of interviews occurred between September 30<sup>th</sup> and November 14<sup>th</sup>, 2014. Each interview was conducted in a quiet location chosen by the participant (i.e. their

home or office). Interviews lasted between 35.50 - 81 minutes, and on average 51 minutes. The collected-data was recorded using a digital tape recorder and transcribed verbatim.

Second, 7 interviews were subsequently conducted with English-speaking participants who attended an English-language high school in Quebec City in the late 1990's, and who at the time of the interview, resided in Montreal for work and or school. These participants migrated to Montreal specifically for education and or work. I anticipated that this would yield rich results pertaining to the role of bilingualism in determining the relationship between ethno-linguistic categories and the linguistic market. Each participant is the son or daughter of a participant interviewed in the previous cohort. An 8<sup>th</sup> participant could not be secured; he was contacted on several occasions but could not find the time. This series of interviews took place between November 27<sup>th</sup>, 2014 and January 18<sup>th</sup>, 2015. Each interview was conducted in a relatively quiet environment (i.e. a café, or the participant's home). Each interview lasted between 40.42-66.58 minutes, and on average 50.58 minutes. The collected-data was recorded using a digital tape recorder and transcribed verbatim.

#### **5.4 Sampling method and recruitment**

The qualitative method is best executed when the sample population is selected based on the possession of particular traits and characteristics (Mongeau 2011). In this study, it was determined that the participant must have a) attended an English-language high school in Quebec City and b) must have a parent or child who also attended an English-language school in Quebec City. This method is supported by Vieux-Fort & Pilote (2010) who indicate that attending an English-language school “amène *de facto* à appartenir à la Communauté [Anglophone]” (90). These criteria therefore enabled me to focus on participants who were more prone to express a

sense of belonging to Quebec City's English-speaking minority and helps me better understand the perceived value of English-language education in Quebec City.

Regarding the recruitment process, I first contacted several Quebec City English-speakers and community organizations and distributed a recruitment poster as seen in Appendix C. Individuals then referred me to key contacts in English-language schools and community-based Facebook groups. Through both, I was able to reach prospective participants who then referred me to others. This sampling technique, known as the snow-ball sampling technique, allows for the recruitment of prospective participants through networks (Neuman and Robson, 2009). Interestingly, through social media, multiple individuals were interested in the project, but did not meet the eligibility criteria<sup>19</sup>. Additionally, recruitment posters were distributed through e-mail and to cultural brokers who, in turn, disseminated the information in their English-language networks.

## **5.5 Defining the minority**

Through both theoretical and methodological considerations, this study attempts to steer away from mother tongue or (FOLS) constructs, which tend to focus too much on the quantification of the English-speaking minority. Instead, I propose to strategically define the minority according to language of instruction. This approach, I argue, allows me to better highlight the relationship between the English-speaking minority and the political economy because access to English-language education is regulated by the state and is often perceived as representative of bilingualism and economic opportunities.

---

<sup>19</sup>Individuals most often interested in discussing language were those who were not allowed to attend an English language school in Quebec. Generally, they migrated from other provinces, the United States or elsewhere. In the latter case, some were racialized linguistic minorities.

### 5.5.1 Mother tongue and First official language spoken (FOLS)

Mother tongue is used to define the minority according to his or her first language learnt and still understood (Corbeil et al. 2010). This method hinges on cultural and ethnic similitude (Lussier 2012:3) and fails to acknowledge those who speak the English-language, despite not having an English mother tongue. Defining the minority through mother tongue does not account for the increasing linguistic diversity and heterogeneous dimension of English-speakers in Quebec (Lamarre 2007).

Conversely, the first official language spoken (FOLS)<sup>20</sup> criteria is more inclusive. It encompasses a larger number of speakers whose mother tongue is neither French nor English, but who frequently use the minority language (Corbeil et al. 2010:8). Although (FOLS) is considered more inclusive, I recognize that both criteria define the English-speaker according to constrictive categories that attempt to quantify the minority.

According to the 2006 census, the criteria used to define the English-speaking minority can yield a demographic disparity of nearly 400,000 individuals<sup>21</sup> (Corbeil et al. 2010). While English mother tongue speakers account for 8.2 percent of Quebec's population, (FOLS) English-speakers account for 13.4 percent (Jedwab 2008). This disparity symbolizes the dichotomous positions of Quebec's key linguistic stakeholders. In other words, the English-speaking minority is defined so as to align with various political agendas (Laur 2013). The quantification of minorities is imperative since a larger proportion of English-speakers would result in an increase in government assistance.

---

<sup>20</sup>The (FOLS) indicator is established through the following three census variables: knowledge of official languages, mother tongue, and language spoken most often at home (Corbeil et al. 2010:9).

<sup>21</sup>According to the 2006 census: 994, 723 (FOLS) and 607,165 mother tongue (Corbeil et al. 2010).

### 5.5.2 English-language school

As previously explained, there are considerable institutional restrictions placed on who can and cannot attend an English-language school in Quebec. The right to attend an English-language school is not necessarily determined according to one's knowledge of the English language, rather it is principally inherited. This signifies that, while some French mother tongue or (FOLS) speakers are entitled to attend an English-language school, some English mother tongue or (FOLS) speakers are not. These restrictions can be interpreted as an impediment towards the legitimization of language of education as a determinant of the English-speaking minority's definition. However, these restrictions also result in an increasingly bilingual and culturally diverse student body. Specifically, "between 1991 and 2003 the percentage of mother tongue French students in English language schools rose from 15.2% to 27.9%" (Jedwab 2004 in Lamarre 2007:123). Understanding the minority through English-language education therefore enables me to better focus on the value of language skills in Quebec's labour market.

Although English-language schools can be used to depict an interesting picture of how binary linguistic identities may alchemize, it too cannot lead us to accurately define Quebec's English-speaking minority. However, in Quebec City, Magnan (2010) has demonstrated that boundaries are constructed on the premise of language of education, despite mother tongue, (FOLS) and linguistic ability. Therefore, English-language schools can be recognized as a setting through which the minority category is not only expressed, but also constantly evolving- further signifying that the minority category does not revolve, exclusively, on the languages one speaks.

## 5.6 Data analysis

Data collection and analysis are not entirely linear processes. In fact, as data was being collected, it was also transcribed word for word (verbatim) and concurrently analyzed. Specifically, the preliminary (*initial coding*) resulting from the first series of interviews had an impact on the improvement of subsequent interviews. Using an inductive method, I developed theory by analyzing data and "deriving...categories and concepts" (Yin 2011:18). I followed a threefold coding process, centering on the analysis of data through the development of emerging actions and processes (Charmaz 2006).

First, using *initial coding*, I separated data into categories and concurrently observed emerging social processes (Charmaz 2006). Specifically, using a comparative approach I focused on answering: "what does the data suggest" and "from whose point of view?" (Charmaz 2006:47). The comparative approach allowed me to contrast content within and between interviews. In turn, this enabled me "to establish analytic distinctions...[to] compare data with data to find similarities and differences" (Charmaz 2006:54). Additionally, *In Vivo* coding was used in an attempt to understand individual perspectives by looking for "implicit meanings and... how they [participants] construct and act upon these meanings" (Charmaz 2006:55).

Subsequently, I used *focused coding* which allowed me to group together the most frequently observed data and concepts so as to try and "synthesize and explain larger segments of data" (Charmaz 2006:57). Lastly, I selected focused codes and proceeded to conduct *theoretical coding* which helps "tell an analytic story that has [theoretical] coherence" (Charmaz 2006:62). In this sense, I focused on developing relationships between categories previously emerging from *focus coding*.

## **5.7 Ethics**

This study respects all ethical principles and guidelines warranted by the University of Ottawa's *Office of Research Ethics and Integrity*. This thesis is part of a broader research project, managed by Professor Mireille McLaughlin, titled: "Language Without boundaries: Bilingualism, labour market and identity in Canada." All subjects participated voluntarily and provided their informed consent through an approved consent form found in Appendix B. Prior to data-collection, each participant was made aware that their participation in this study is both confidential and anonymous. Additionally, each participant was briefed through a preliminary meeting (via e-mail or telephone). Lastly, prior to the interviews, each participant was made aware of the research objectives and of their right to withdraw from the study.

While I do believe that ethics help ensure the validity of data, I remain confronted with ethical matters that extend beyond the scope of procedural ethics. For instance, during the data-collection process, participants often requested that I provide them with a copy of my findings. Today, I find myself confronted with the possibility of forwarding findings that participants may perceive negatively. In this sense, does respecting all ethical procedures guarantee the well-being of participants?

## **5.8 Justification**

My methodological approach does not hinge on a willingness to find causality. Rather, I aim to better understand social reality and the processes whereby the English-speaking minority navigates Quebec's changing linguistic landscape. Importantly, though this research cannot be used to generalize, it can lead to better demonstrate localized realities. These realities can further

contribute to both new and existing research aiming to better understand the inequality experienced by linguistic minorities in Canada and across the globe.

## **5.9 Participant Profiles**

The sample consists of 16 participants categorized into two distinct age groups. The first cohort consists of 9 participants aged between 50 and 65. The second cohort consists of 7 younger participants aged between 24 and 29. All members of the first cohort reside in Quebec City and have been employed there for over 25 years. Additionally, the first cohort attended an English-language high school between 1965 and 1977, in the midst of both the Quiet Revolution and the implementation of Bill 101. All members of the second cohort reside in Montreal where they are full-time students and or employees. These 7 participants were born and raised in Quebec City where they attended an English-language high school between 1999 and 2006, a period during which they experienced the transition of school boards from religious to linguistic based. Importantly, the first and second cohort are kin; the first cohort consists of parents and the second cohort consists of their offspring.

Importantly, the following profiles and the ensuing results will often reference participants' mother tongue. While mother tongue emerges from a gendered model of the family (McLaughlin and Heller 2011), it is worth referring to because some participants mobilized ethnic language ideologies derived from authenticity and often justified through mother tongue.

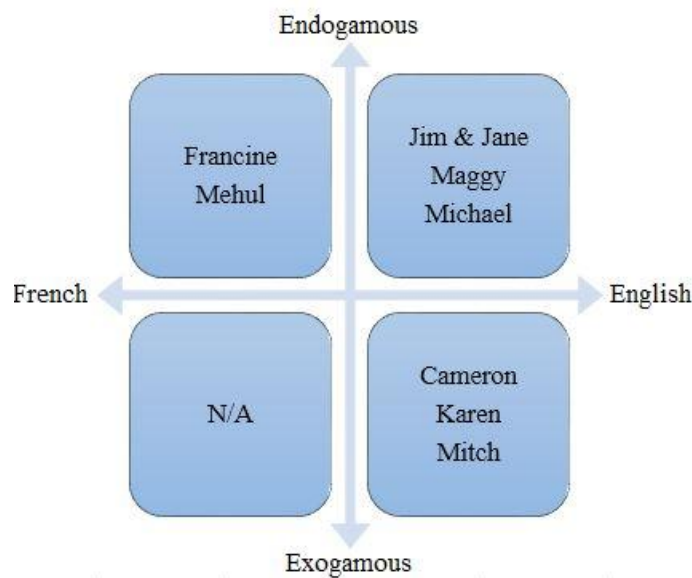
### **5.9.1 First cohort**

All 9 participants possess different linguistic backgrounds and abilities. Eight participants were born and raised in Quebec City and one migrated there during his early adolescence. Eight

participants have English as their First Official Language Spoken (FOLS) and seven as their mother tongue. Only one participant has both French as (FOLS) and mother tongue.

All participants completed their high school education in English and eight of them completed their primary education in English. Less than half of the participants attended university. Additionally, the sample consists of small business owners and individuals employed in the health or educational sectors, the service industry, and in real estate. At least 6 participants admitted to using English on a regular basis at work. Three participants had children from an exogamous union and six from endogamous unions. Lastly, two of the nine interviews were conducted in French.

Figure 1.0: Participant profiles, language most often spoke at home<sup>22</sup> and union type<sup>23</sup>



**Maggy Barry**

Maggy is one of three children born to an English-speaking French Canadian father and English-speaking German mother. Her father was an army man, and though her mother did not speak French, she found a variety of little jobs. Maggy has English as both her mother tongue and (FOLS). Between the age of 10 to 15, Maggy and her family resided in Germany, where she con-

<sup>22</sup> Coincidentally, this also corresponds to the language in which the interview was conducted.

<sup>23</sup> Union type refers to the union from which their kin was born.

tinued to be educated in English. She then returned to Quebec City, completed her high school degree, and plunged into the workforce. She worked as an orderly in a long term care center for over 25 years, and though recently retired, she continues to work a few hours per week. At the age of 19, she married an Anglophone with whom she has a child who currently resides in Montreal. She was divorced by 30 and has since been in a long-term relationship with a 'Quebecois'. Importantly, she is the only parent interviewed who's offspring could not be reached to participate.

### ***Cameron Darcy***

Cameron is one of six children born to an Anglophone father and mother. After the passing of his father, Cameron and his siblings were raised in Quebec City by a perfectly bilingual single mother. Cameron has English as both his mother tongue and (FOLS). He completed his primary and secondary schooling in English and proceeded to obtain a Law degree from Quebec City's French-language university. He was once a teacher and a lawyer, but currently works for a real estate company. Cameron is married to a Francophone with whom he has 4 children, 3 who reside in Quebec City and one in Montreal.

### ***Francine Gallagher***

Though she is of Irish-Scottish descent, Francine was born to a Quebec Francophone father and mother, the latter a housewife and the former a Marine. Although Francine has French as both her mother tongue and (FOLS), she attended an English primary and secondary school due to her Protestant religious convictions. However, during her post-secondary studies, she attended a French college and university where she obtained a degree in English instruction. She worked as a teacher in an English-language high school and eventually returned to university to obtain a graduate diploma. For the past several years, she has been working for an English-language school board. She is married to a Francophone with whom she has two children, one who resides in Montreal. Importantly, she is one of two participants with whom the interview was conducted primarily in French.

### ***Michael Henry***

Michael's grandfather was a Scottish migrant who married a Quebecer and eventually became the CEO of a Forest Fire Prevention Association. Michael is one of six children born to a bilingual father from Quebec City and Anglophone mother from New Brunswick. His mother was a housewife and his father was a Forest Engineer. Michael Henry has English as both his mother tongue and (FOLS). After attending an English-language primary, secondary and college school, Michael moved to New Brunswick to obtain a university degree. Afterwards, he returned to Quebec City where he has been employed as an orderly in a long term care center for nearly 30 years. He is married to an Anglophone wife with whom he has two children, both currently residing in Montreal.

### ***Jason Henry***

Jason is one of Michael Henry's younger brothers who also has English as both his mother tongue and (FOLS). Jason attended an English-language primary and secondary school in Quebec City. Afterwards, he attended two French trade schools to complete courses in architectural drafting and mechanics. He worked in the automobile industry for several years and eventually found an office job (in the service industry) where he has been working for the past 28 years. He is divorced and his only child currently resides in Montreal where she works, and until recently, was also attending university.

### ***Jim and Jane Jeffries***

Jim and Jane Jeffries are a married couple who both have English as their mother tongue and (FOLS). Together, they have 4 children who attended English-language school in Quebec City and who currently reside in Montreal and Europe. Jim is one of five boys born to parents of Turkish descent. He currently owns and operates a small family business, where he has been working for the past 48 years. Jane's great grandfather migrated from Scotland and her parents were born in Quebec City. A mother of 4, she has spent her life working as a housewife. Both Jim and Jane attended primary and secondary English-language schools in Quebec City.

### ***Karen O'Connor***

Karen is the grand-daughter of Irish migrants and daughter of Anglophone farmers. She was raised on the family farm in the town of Shannon, once a bastion of Quebec's Irish Community. Karen has both English as her mother tongue and (FOLS) and attended English-language primary and secondary school in Quebec City. Karen has been employed in the service industry for the past 20 years. Though she has been divorced for over 20 years, she originally married a Franco-phone with whom she has two children. One of her two children resides in Montreal.

### ***Mehul Pajii***

Mehul is born in Uganda, to an Indian father and mother. After his mother's death, he resided briefly in India where he attended boarding school. Shortly thereafter, Uganda suffered from a civil war which prompted his father and extended family to migrate to Quebec. In 1973, Mehul migrated to Quebec City to join his father and extended family. He did not attend an English-language primary school, but did graduate from a Quebec City English-language high school and college. Afterwards, he moved to the United Kingdom to attend university. He eventually dropped out, opened a small enterprise, sold it, and moved back to Quebec City. Since then, he has owned and operated a small family business. He has Hindi as his mother tongue and English as his (FOLS). He is married to an Indian with whom he has three children, one resides in Montreal, one is attending university in the Eastern Townships, and the other is studying abroad.

### 5.9.2 Second cohort

All participants reside in Montreal and interviews were conducted in English, except for the odd French word. Four participants have English as their mother tongue<sup>24</sup>, one has French and two have neither English nor French; i.e. they learnt both languages simultaneously. Three participants have English as their (FOLS) and one has French<sup>25</sup>. It is difficult to determine whether the remaining three participants have French or English as their (FOLS).

All participants were born and raised in Quebec City where they attended an English-language high school; only one participant did not attend an English primary school. Six participants attended university, one of which attended university in both Quebec City (in French) and Montreal (in English). The others deliberately attended university outside of Quebec City due, explicitly, to language. Only one participant did not attend university, but left Quebec City to attend an English-language trade school.

Two participants are attending university and working part-time in communications and social services. The others are employed in the financial industry, service industry, education sector, in marketing, and building maintenance. All participants admitted to using a significant amount of English in their current jobs.

#### *Casey Darcy*

Casey is one of four children born to a Francophone French mother tongue mother and Anglophone English mother tongue father. His father, Cameron Darcy, is a lawyer by trade and his mother a housewife. Casey is an English-speaking French Quebecer who has both an unknown-mother tongue and (FOLS). At home, he speaks English with his father, French with his mother, and does not recall having learnt one language before the other. He characterizes language use during family dinners as *Franglais*. In Quebec City, he attended an English-language primary

---

<sup>24</sup> Marie claims that English is her mother tongue, but states that she doesn't know which language she first learnt.

<sup>25</sup> Meiry informed me that he has no mother tongue, but that he learnt French before English.

and secondary school. However, in secondary V, he decided to attend a French-language private school before moving to the Eastern Townships where he completed his college education in English. Afterwards, he migrated to Montreal to attend an English-language university. Although he is fluent in both languages, he thinks in English and was more comfortable attending an English-language university. He eventually withdrew from university and opted to find a full-time employment. Casey works in the service industry where he manages a small printing enterprise. He works in a predominantly English-speaking neighborhood, but has both a French and English clientele. He has been residing in Montreal for approximately 8 years.

### ***Manny Bouchard***

Manny is one of two children born to a Francophone French mother tongue mother and father. Although his mother is a Francophone (in the institutional sense), she attended English-language school in Quebec City and Manny considers her “bilingual as bilingual gets.” His mother, Francine Gallagher, works in the English-language education sector, and his father as an engineer. Manny considers himself, separately, both a Francophone and an Anglophone. Manny has an unknown mother tongue and (FOLS); he could not determine which language he first learnt. Manny states that language at home has always been roughly 60-40 in favor of French. Specifically, it was French with his father, English with his sister and “whatever” with his mother. Manny attended English-language grade-school, high-school and college in Quebec City. Interestingly, he is the only 2<sup>nd</sup> cohort participant who attended a French-language university. There, he obtained an engineering degree, and shortly thereafter, found employment as an engineer in Quebec City (where he worked in both official languages). Unfortunately, he was eventually downsized and decided to move to Montreal to study Law in an English-language university. He was once a board member for an important Anglophone community organization in Quebec City and is a current contributor to a Quebec bilingual magazine. He has resided in Montreal for a little over 6 months.

### ***Jonah Henry***

Jonah is one of two children born to an Anglophone English mother tongue father and mother. Although he states that his parents are versed in French, he does not consider them bilingual. Both his father (Michael Henry) and his mother work as orderlies in a long term care center. Jonah has English as his mother tongue and (FOLS) and considers himself an English-speaking Quebecer. At home, English was the pre-dominant, if not exclusive language used. According to government standards, he considers his French to be advanced (conversationally) and intermediate (in writing). Jonah was educated in Quebec City’s English-language system and migrated to Montreal to attend an English-language university because he felt that he could achieve a higher level of success in an English-language post-secondary institution. Jonah works in an administrative position for an English-language university where the majority of his work is conducted in English. Interestingly, he remarks that he is the strongest French writer in his department. He has resided in Montreal for over 7 years.

### ***Marie Henry***

Marie is a single child, born to an Anglophone English mother tongue father and bilingual mother. Her parents are divorced and were educated in the English-language in Quebec City. Her mother works as an executive secretary and her father (Jason Henry) works in the service industry. Marie considers English to be her mother tongue but she does not know which language she first spoke. Ultimately, she categorizes herself as bilingual and admits that she is less comfortable in French. She speaks English with both her parents and Spanish with her boyfriend. Marie is the only 2<sup>nd</sup> cohort participant to have attended a French-language primary school. However, she did attend an English-language high school and college. Eventually, she moved to Montreal to study in an English-language university. She currently works as an administrative coordinator for a marketing company. She works in both English and French, but mentions that her work is primarily in English. She has been residing in Montreal for approximately 5 years.

### ***James Jeffries***

James is the youngest of 4 children born to an Anglophone English mother tongue mother and father. His mother (Jane Jeffries) is a homemaker and his father (Jim Jeffries) owns and operates a small family business. James refers to himself as an Anglophone with conversational French skills only. He was socialized in an English-speaking home and attended both primary and secondary English-language schools in Quebec City. He moved to Montreal to find employment and attend an English-language trade school. During his studies, he worked in the restaurant industry (in a predominantly English neighborhood). James currently works for an American construction company based in Montreal. Interaction with his colleagues, supervisors, and other employees occur in English. He has been residing in Montreal for approximately 6 years.

### ***Deirdra O'Connor***

Deirdra is one of two children born to an Anglophone English mother tongue mother and Francophone father. Her mother, Karen O'Connor, currently works in the service industry where she uses both English and French. Deirdra seldom interacts with her father and has always spoken English with her mother. Though English is her mother tongue and (FOLS), she learnt French at a very young age and categorizes herself as an Anglophone Quebecer. She notes that she is bilingual and uses the term *Franglais* to characterize some of her linguistic interactions. Deirdra attended English-language grade school, high school, and college in Quebec City. She migrated to Montreal to attend an English-language university because she did not feel confident enough with her French writing skills. She obtained a bachelor's degree, briefly returned to Quebec City, and eventually moved back to Montreal to complete a second degree. Deirdra is currently completing a school related internship and working several part-time jobs in the community sector. In her internship and part-time jobs, she uses both official languages.

### ***MeiryPaji***

Meiry is the oldest of 3 children born to Indian parents who migrated to Canada from Uganda and Mozambique respectively. His father (Mehul Paji) and mother have Hindu as their mother tongue, and while his father's (FOLS) is English, his mother's is French. Since his birth, both his

parents have owned and operated a small business in Quebec City. Meiry cannot determine his mother tongue, however he states that he was brought up speaking mostly English with his father and mostly French with his mother, but mentions that he learnt French first. With his siblings, he interacts with them in French (in person) and in English (via text). Meiry considers himself an Indian Canadian. After attending an English-language grade school, high school and college, Meiry moved to the Eastern Townships to attend university. He decided to attend an English-language university because, though he can communicate perfectly in French, he did not want to stray too far outside of his comfort zone. After completing his degree, he moved to Montreal to work for a financial company. Although his employer only hires bilingual candidates, he notes that the more formal aspects of his job are done in English. He has resided in Montreal for approximately 5 years.

## **Section 6: Results and Analysis**

This research aims to understand both the process by which language becomes an unevenly distributed resource and how access to this resource structures geographic and social mobility. The following three sub-sections will attempt to reveal how Quebec City's English-speaking minority is brought to reposition itself within an increasingly bilingual linguistic landscape. While language policies were meant to strengthen the status of the French-language, they were ideologically reinterpreted by participants as a means to construct the value of English-language education in the province of Quebec. English-language education may be beneficial for those participants capable of positioning themselves as having legitimate linguistic competencies in both the local and external markets. However, there are those for whom this investment does not translate into a better future for their kin, at least not locally. For these latter participants, mobility can be employed as a means to increase the benefits of their investment. Through geographic mobility, participants are capable of better positioning themselves according to both ethno-linguistic categories and linguistic competencies.

In section 6.1, I will explore how parents structured the value of English-language education in Quebec City. In section 6.2, I will focus on their kin and proceed to explore how language ideologies structured geographic mobility. In section 6.3, I will explore how, in a post-migratory context, participants recycled language ideologies in order to reposition themselves within a new marketplace. In a political economic framework, language ideologies are especially salient because they stem from and inform the unequal distribution of resources such as the value of language practices. Accordingly, the following three sub-sections will pay particular attention

to the attempts to define English dominant bilingualism as valuable in a competitive marketplace where French dominant bilingualism yields higher economic returns (Vaillancourt et al. 2007).

### **Section 6.1: Structuring the value of English-language education**

Francophones today, from what I see, most of them will opt to send their children / Anglophones will opt to send their children to French school and Francophones, as much as possible, will send them to English schools. So there is obviously a willingness and desire for bilingualism, why we're not able to accomplish that in the schools at all is complicated, is something else- *Cameron*

Although the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1963) conceived minority education as "the basic agency for maintaining language and culture" (Lamarre 2008:64), English-language schools have since altered their mandate so as to better reflect the market's demands. More specifically, in their most recent Strategic Plan (2013-17), and in response to an ever growing French-speaking student body, one of Quebec's largest school boards aimed at improving both "the mastery of English language Arts and the Quality of French" (CQSB 2013). Interestingly, this educational approach was implemented within a context where the politicization of language (i.e. Bill 101) has restricted access to English-language schools; thereby configuring English-language education as a rare commodity, only accessible to those who meet the eligibility criteria delineated by the state. By focusing on participants, with varying linguistic backgrounds, who sent their children to an English-language school, this section explores how economic interests have colluded with state policies to structure language as an unevenly distributed resource. Although language-based state policies were meant to bolster the status of the French-language, participants ideologically reinterpreted these policies as a means to construct the value of English-language education in an increasingly competitive linguistic market.

Participants often perceived that the quality of education was superior in Quebec City's English-language schools. This perception revealed a tendency to define the value of education according to specific criteria allegedly best distributed by English-language schools. These specific criteria were: quality of education and access to legitimate forms of English. Participants were ambivalent about English-language school and its ability to transmit legitimate bilingualism and access to local employment. Participants' perception of the school's capacity to transmit bilingualism depended on their own linguistic practices: bilingual participants tended to view access to English-language schools as a privilege while English-dominant participants felt it was an obligation.

Most participants chose English-language schools because they perceived it as delivering quality education. One such example is Michael, a retired English mother tongue participant who, at home, communicated almost entirely in English. When discussing his decision to send his children to an English-language school, Michael is one of the few participants who did not explicitly relate English-language education with language.

Today, I think the biggest thing is uh the French schools have gotten so big and so uhuh that you, that you as a parent if you're implicated with your kid you have more control over them in a smaller school and that's why you, we sent our kids to English school...you know if your kid is doing bad, doesn't mean your kid is not going to do bad [in a French-language school], but way more involvement so, smaller schools, more input, doesn't guarantee it, but it puts the odds in your favor that a kid that's uh middle of the road will do better than if a kid is middle of the road in a, in a French school he's gonna be left by the way side for sure. - *Michael*

Here, Michael is comparing the quality of education between English-language and French-language schools. Michael believed that the smaller size of English-language schools induced

parent involvement which increased the chances for academic success. Michael's beliefs about the quality of education are structured in response to state embodied policies that, by regulating access to language of instruction, reduced enrolment numbers so as to create what participants perceived to be a smaller and more personal scholastic environment.

Other participants understood English-language education as an instrument capable of ensuring the acquisition of legitimate English-language competencies. Notwithstanding the ethnic ideologies which legitimated the continued existence of the schools, in these cases, English-language education was perceived as a gateway towards greater opportunities, especially outside Quebec City. One such example is Mehul, an English (FOLS) migrant who attended an English-language high school in Quebec City. When asked how the decision to send his children to an English-language school was made, Mehul replied: "parce que l'anglais tu as beaucoup plus d'ouverture soit pour travailler ou si tu veux voyager tu es moins mal pris...Pour moi c'était, y fallait y'aller en anglais, y vont apprendre le français pareil." Beliefs which center on the instrumental value of English-language education are constructed on the basis of economic interests (Mariou 2015:1). Similarly, Karen, an exogamous (FOLS) English-speaking participant, perceived English-language education as advantageous because it enabled her children to "have perfect English." For her, English-language proficiency was important so as to ensure that her children would succeed in the city to which they would eventually migrate.

...Well I wanted them to have, to learn the English language, have perfect English like I do...Like the people I work with for example, they are French speaking, they are Francophone, they learnt English, but I mean if you're not raised in English and if you don't go to English school you can't learn the language perfectly so I wanted that for them, okay. So that if, I probably figured that someday they would move away and they would probably move somewhere where they spoke English you know so, I knew that's

it, I knew they would, I wanted their English to be perfect so. - *Karen*

In a society where bilingualism is increasingly prevalent, Karen suggested that English-language proficiency is legitimized through English-language education. English-language education is therefore valued because it enabled her children to learn the English language "perfectly." Interestingly, this belief was rationalized according to the expectation that her children would eventually migrate to "somewhere where they spoke English."

Some endogamous English (FOLS) participants expressed certain concerns regarding English-language education in Quebec City. For instance, Jim and Jane noted that English-language education "limited" their children's ability to find work-related opportunities. "We regret it" Jane said "In a sense we do well, I, yeah, we do because they, they missed out on learning another language very thoroughly...And it's harder for them to find work, well you know opportunities and that...they are limited, they are limited." English-language education resulted in the uneven distribution of both cultural and linguistic capital. Accordingly, not all members of the minority felt that English-language education provided them with equal opportunities.

For some, concerns related with English-language education were geared towards the structural factors involved in their 'decision' to enroll their children into these English-language establishments. One such example is Maggy, an English mother tongue participant who remarked that sending her child to an English-language school was not a decision per se, rather it was an obligation. "I had to send him to English school because I couldn't help him with his homework if he went to French school...I would not have been able to help him you know I would not have understood anything."

While Maggy considered that she had little choice but to send her child to an English-language school, Cameron suggested that language legislation allowed for "freedom of choice."

The strange thing is that the Anglophone community couldn't very well, euh it was difficult for us to contest the legislation because the legislation always allowed freedom of choice... While Francophones were the ones that were being denied access and they were the ones voting in favour of Bill 101, but when you speak to them individually they'll always tell you oh gosh it's such a wonderful thing that you have, that you have that choice. - *Cameron*

The system is structured so as to provide some members of the English-speaking minority with an illusory choice. This illusion is constructed by the majority group who, due to their inability to attend such an institution, often perceive English-language education as a privilege. Correspondingly, those participants most proficient in French were more likely to consider English-language education to be a privilege. For example, when discussing whether her grandchildren would attend an English-language school, Francine remarked that access to English-language school was not only a right but also a privilege. More importantly, she further inferred that English-language education granted access to bilingualism.

Mais si c'est à refaire je le referais, si un jour mes enfants ont des enfants je veux pas mettre de pression là mais si un jour, j'espère qu'ils vont les envoyer à l'école anglaise aussi.... j'espère parce que, bon c'est un droit oui selon la loi mais c'est un privilège aussi...il y a même quelqu'un m'a dit tu veux tu adopter ma fille sur papier là adopter là pour qu'elle aie accès, eeee, il y a tellement de gens qui voudraient que leurs enfants soient bilingues. - *Francine*

According to Francine, bilingualism appeared to be a hot commodity, mostly accessible through English-language education. This brings about the following questions: who defines bilingualism and the symbolic value thereof? What are the processes whereby bilingualism becomes legitimized? Although Bill 101 was meant to increase the status of the French-language, the policy

was reinterpreted so as to increase and legitimize the value of certain varieties of bilingualism over others; varieties that English-language schools and certain members of the English-speaking "minority" were best positioned to produce and police.

### **6.1.1 Summary**

This section explored how the English-speaking minority ideologically structured the value of English-language education in Quebec City. While English-language institutions overtly promote bilingualism, it was revealed that English-language instruction was not equally beneficial for all. French-endogamous and English-exogamous categories generally conceived English-language education as an instrument that produced external opportunities by ensuring the acquisition of English-language proficiency. Additionally, when focusing on the samples' only French mother tongue participant, it was observed that English-language education was also conceived as a privilege and a gateway towards bilingualism. Although English-language school was largely considered to be an instrument capable of distributing this resource (bilingualism), not all participants deemed that English-language schools were capable of developing both majority and minority language skills. This section therefore underlined that language state policies represent economic interests and that beliefs about English-language education are effects of these interests and the unequal distribution of resources.

While individual speakers, despite their linguistic background, generally presented a positive view of English-language education, the following section will explore why their kin, who also attended an English-language school, decided to leave one of Canada's largest cities.

## **Section 6.2: Language ideologies and geographic mobility**

From this point onward, I focus solely on the second cohort of participants. This cohort represents a younger generation, most of whom have migrated out of Quebec City for post-secondary education, despite having described themselves as possessing various levels of bilingualism.

By focusing on younger participants, with varying ethno-linguistic categories<sup>26</sup> and self-prescribed language proficiency<sup>27</sup>, this section explores how participants navigate the increasing value of bilingualism. Participants are observed to have mobilized language ideologies that structured mobility according to language of instruction. More specifically, it was observed that ethnic and economic language ideologies collided to structure geographic mobility. Through ethnic-based language ideologies, participants made sense of ethno-linguistic categorization within a linguistic market where the minority ethno-linguistic category had little perceived value. Concurrently, through economic-based language ideologies, participants commodified language competencies.

### **6.2.1 English-language education and ethno-linguistic categories**

This section demonstrates that participants conceived the ethno-linguistic boundary according to language of instruction. Specifically, through ethnic beliefs about language, participants perceived English-language education as structuring the minority category. English-language education and ethnic language ideologies enabled participants to make sense of ethno-linguistic categories in a Quebec City marketplace where these had little perceived value.

---

<sup>26</sup> As illustrated in Figure 2.0.

<sup>27</sup> As illustrated in Figure 3.0.

While English-language education structured the minority, the only self-identified Anglophone and Francophone participant remained convinced that English-language schools were integral to ensure the relationship between *local* and *global* markets<sup>28</sup>. For example, when asked whether Quebec City's English-language schools served a greater purpose than the education of its pupils, Manny replied that a small group of people with access to both the Anglophone and Francophone culture was an important bridge between Quebec's society and the rest of the world.

...I don't think it would be healthy if you were to wave a magic stick and suddenly every single student in Quebec City goes to English school. That would be very very bad uh, but I think having a contingency, a small amount not, I wouldn't even say a big minority, but at least having a group that, that sort of has access to that Anglophone culture while also having full and complete access to Francophone culture is an extremely important bridge between Quebec's society and uh the rest of the world.- *Manny*

Manny associated the Anglophone ethno-linguistic category with English-language education. Additionally, as a self-identified Anglophone and Francophone, he was of the opinion that a small group of social "brokers" was important for the development of Quebec's society. The value of ethno-linguistic categories was perceived as being situated in the speakers' ability to transition freely between both English and French categories. The combination of English-language school and Quebec City's French speaking marketplace were perceived as providing access to authentic categories that could be transferred into symbolic and economic capital. While not all participants were capable of such flexibility, ethnic-language ideologies remained integral and participants perceived English-language education as structuring the English ethno-linguistic category.

---

<sup>28</sup> Here I mean markets in the symbolic sense, whether social or economic.

For many participants who expressed hybrid ethno-linguistic categories, the minority category was constructed according to language of instruction. One such example is Casey, an English-speaking French Quebecer born to an Anglophone father and Francophone mother. When asked how he identified himself, the participant demonstrated that ethno-linguistic categories were the result of categorization processes that hinged, at least partially, on language of instruction. "I always described myself as an English-speaking French Quebecer, yeah, it's not that, I don't particularly take a side" he said. "You know, I left the English system my last year of high school, I went to French school and I was the English kid, but then when I came, at work, ever since I've been in Montreal, I'm the Québécois, I'm the French kid." In Quebec City, beliefs about language, rationalized through perceived linguistic differences, congealed certain ethno-linguistic categories according to language of instruction. By "English system", Casey emphasized that the segregation of education along linguistic lines is indicative of an institutional context ripe for the production of language ideologies. In other words, this segregation influences group dynamics and the manner through which English-speakers make sense of their reality in Quebec City. In this sense, ethnic language ideologies help construct the perception of English language education as representative of a monolingual Anglophone.

Some participants noted that, although being an Anglophone was sometimes positively perceived, it often resulted in false representations. One such example is Deirdra, an Anglophone Quebecer born to a Francophone father and Anglophone mother. When asked: "What was it like growing up English-speaking in Quebec", Deirdra specifically noted that teenagers differentiated each other by associating ethno-linguistic categories with language of instruction.

Yeah uhm it was, it was tough because it was I mean it was good in a sense because people were always telling me oh you are so

lucky but then on the other hand you had people always saying oh you're American or oh you know like, you know like store clerks or whatever telling you, you know oh where are you from like and I'm like well I'm from here (Laughs) what kind of question is that uhm and then you know like when you're a teenager and then you know people from French school telling me esti d'Anglophones nanana. - *Deirdra*

Speaking English in Quebec City resulted in the perception that Deirdra was an American *tourist* or an Anglophone. It appeared as though ethnic language ideologies produced the perception that ethno-linguistic categories were synonymous with monolingualism and or language of instruction. In turn, this perception resulted in false representations which did not account for the minorities' multiple linguistic identities and or linguistic skills.

Figure 2.0: Participants according to self-perceived ethno-linguistic categories



While most participants highlighted the role played by English-language education in categorization processes, results also revealed that these processes may have helped structure mobility. For example, in Quebec City, Jonah identified as an English-speaking Quebecer that was "not necessarily accepted." However, he remarked that these sentiments appeared to be less

prevalent in Montreal: "I feel that uh Montreal is much more multicultural uhm and, and taking that into consideration, I think asides from you know language there's many more facets. The way people are interpreted so immigration so not only is it what you speak, it's you know what's, what's your religion, where, where you come from, color of your skin, like there's more to it right." In Quebec City, hybrid ethno-linguistic categories defied ethnic language ideologies that interpreted authentic language and language-based categories according to monolingualism. However, Jonah remarked that Montreal's multicultural context sheltered this type of hybridity.

### **6.2.2 English-language education and language competencies**

Interestingly, although the majority of participants identified with multiple ethno-linguistic categories and or bilingualism, when confronted with the possibility to pursue French-language post-secondary education, they immediately expressed various levels of discomfort and insecurity. Participants migrated largely due to the belief that their perceived linguistic skills could enable them to achieve greater academic success in an English-language post-secondary institution. This section therefore demonstrates that dominant ideologies constructed legitimate language skills (French dominant bilingualism) as most valued; to the point where the perceived lack thereof structured mobility.

Although not all participants migrated directly from Quebec City to Montreal, it appeared normal to expect that Quebec City's English-speaking minority would eventually migrate out of La Capital Nationale. When I asked James, the least bilingual participant, why his brothers left for Montreal, he replied that Montreal was a city where a lot of Quebec City's youth moved to. "Uh yeah well my, the oldest brother uh he went first and he went to McGill there to go to an English University and then it just kind of I think it all followed. Everyone you know went off

everyone, it's more English here so it's more opportunities that's where a lot of youth from Quebec move." Conceptualizing Montreal (one of Canada's economic centers) as the bearer of English-based opportunities suggests that, in a context of late-capitalism, economic language ideologies are permeating beliefs about language which structure mobility. Language was therefore conceived as a skill rather than a characteristic of ethnic belonging. Participants felt that their language skills had little weight in Quebec City's labor market and privileged educational and work opportunities in cities where the labor market was perceived as valuing their particular language practices. Beliefs in the commodification of language; i.e. economic language ideologies, are important because they enable us to understand how Quebec City's English-speaking minority perceived the value of their linguistic practices in accordance with the linguistic market (Heller 2010; Mariou 2015).

All but one participant migrated out of Quebec City to attend an English-language post-secondary institution. The individual who remained was the only participant characterized by French-English bilingualism, as seen on Figure 3.0 below. Specifically, when asked whether language played a role in his decision to attend a French-language university, Manny, the only self-proclaimed Anglophone and Francophone participant, replied that it was important to study in the language in which he planned to work.

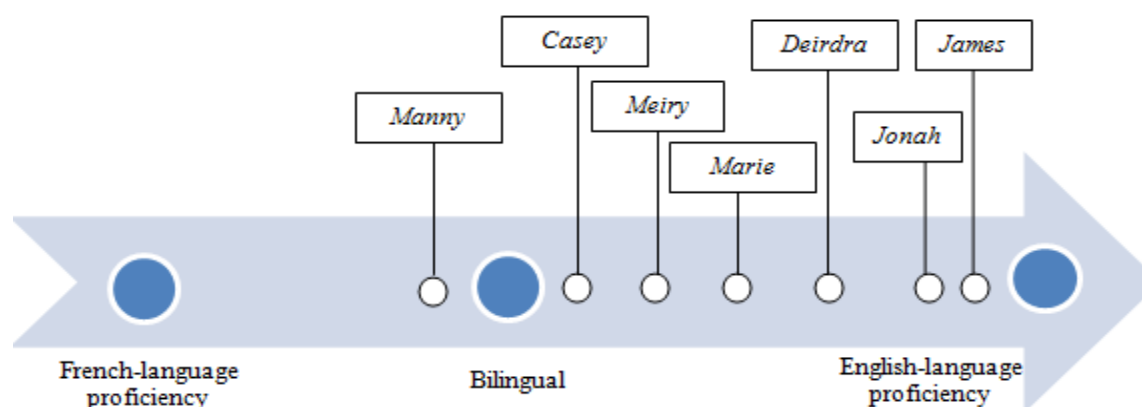
It was a bit of a self-imposed challenge...I was curious to see what it was like to evolve academically in a, in a French setting and I figured that since I was going to be working in Quebec it's likely that I'd be working in French anyway so I kind of wanted to make sure that my education was in the language that I would be using it for so it's why I uh I mean I didn't choose Laval specifically because it was French I chose it because, mostly because it was close uh but the fact that it was French was, was to me a positive thing...

*-Manny*

Manny believed that language of instruction was important because it structured employment opportunities and confirmed his ability to succeed in a French-speaking market. This serves to strengthen the relationship between economic language ideologies and geographic mobility in Quebec City. Language skills are alleged to be valuable, provided that they can be transferred into the marketplace, and language of instruction is perceived as a vehicle capable of ensuring that this transfer occurs. This further allows individuals to develop linguistic capital that is recognized both locally and abroad.

Interestingly, for Manny, the value of French within Quebec's linguistic market influenced his decision to attend a French post-secondary institution. However, the majority of participants, notwithstanding their level of bilingualism, migrated due to their self-perceived linguistic skills. For example, Jonah was born to an Anglophone mother and father. He attended English-language school his entire life and considered himself bilingual according to government standards. When asked about attending a French-language university he replied that: "[Attending the local French-language university] was a thought uhm, however uh it wasn't something that was followed through on. Uhm I think it really comes down to a level of comfort and uhm I guess confidence in being able to achieve uhm at a higher academic standard in a French university." Jonah appeared to be influenced by ethnic language ideologies, whereby the "confidence in being able to achieve at a higher academic standard" is dependent on the speakers ability to speak each language as though one's native language. In turn, academic success was important because it was perceived as a gateway towards economic opportunities.

Figure 3.0: Self-prescribed language proficiency, from monolingualism to bilingualism



Meiry also opted to attend an English-language university. Born to Indian parents who migrated to Canada, Meiry could not determine his mother tongue, yet stated that he did learn French before English. While he considered himself perfectly bilingual, he was reticent to attend a French-language university. "I've always done my education in English, wanted to continue my education in English I mean if I was going to, you know university is where it counts the most, I figured I don't want to put myself too much out of my comfort zone so stayed in English, but I mean I can communicate in French perfectly fine I just feel more at ease in English." While participants expressed varying levels of linguistic comfort, it was rather clear that economic language ideologies, manifested through beliefs about the importance of linguistic skills and the desire for academic success, structured mobility. Although their parents often focused on the benefits of English-language education, this section revealed that, for their kin, education often nourished the perception that their French-language skills were inadequate to succeed in a French academic environment.

### 6.2.3 Summary

In a changing linguistic landscape, Quebec City's ethno-linguistically heterogeneous youth continues to experience categorization according to language of instruction. This coincides largely with Magnan (2009) who observed that the linguistic boundary was very much conceived according to language of instruction. Additionally, however, despite having expressed various levels of bilingualism, participants often felt ill-equipped to succeed in a predominantly French-language marketplace. Interestingly, although their parents generally preached the value of English-language education, it was suggested that this form of instruction structured mobility.

The linguistic market is a set of social structures resulting from political economic processes. Participants revealed that English-language education, as regulated by the state, was one such structure. It is the linguistic market which organizes the perception that certain linguistic skills hold more currency than others (Bourdieu 1992). Framing individual ethnic and economic beliefs about language within the linguistic market further enabled us to explore how participants perceived the "use and value of their linguistic resources (Mariou 2015:2) and "to confront macrosocial constraints on language behaviour" (Woolard 1998:27).

Thus far, results have shown that parents invested in the future of their children through language of instruction. This investment further structured mobility because, within Quebec City, minority ethno-linguistic categories were perceived valuable only if associated with legitimate language competencies and, likewise, language competencies were perceived as valuable only if associated with legitimate ethno-linguistic categories. In the following section, I will demonstrate that, in a post-migratory context, participants mobilized both ethnic and economic language ideologies as a means to reposition themselves within a new linguistic market.

### Section 6.3: Mobilizing language ideologies within a new market

While the preceding section explored how ethnic and economic language ideologies structured geographic mobility, the following pages examine how participants mobilized these language ideologies so as to legitimize their position within a new linguistic market. Below, I provide three distinct examples that highlight how ethnic and economic language ideologies enabled participants to renegotiate their position within a more ethno-linguistically diverse marketplace.

While the majority of participants characterized themselves as linguistically hybrid actors, some mobilized ethnic-based language ideologies to construct two distinct monolingual worlds where the value of linguistic hybridity collided with the perceived monolingual demands of Quebec's economy. One such example is Manny, who noted that the mastery of both languages was an advantage in the labour market.

...Uhm I think it's, it's, it's very clear that someone who, who has mastery of both languages who's, who's you know what you can call I guess a perfectly fluent bilingual is clearly very, very much advantaged. Uhm to the point where if I was a unilingual Anglophone I would want to send my kids to French school to make sure they have access to both. Uhm and, and that's really the crux of it, uh the value is having a foot in both worlds uh and...if you were to, say, make a venn diagram that person is in between it's, it's in that spot where the two bubbles overlap. Yeah uhm and, and so you're fully one and fully the other and being able to easily cross back and forth brings you tremendous amount of value to your sort of local community group and also to the global community group. -Manny

Although the capacity to fit within the two *overlapping bubbles* may be perceived as valuable, the ability to transition freely between languages and language categories was not equally accessible to all social agents. For those participants, however, mobility was used as a mechanism

to renegotiate both the value and legitimacy of their language skills; further allowing them to better position themselves within the marketplace.

Participants expressed concerns over the value of their language competencies in Quebec City, however this was not necessarily the case in Montreal. One such example is James, an Anglophone who did not consider himself bilingual. When asked what it was like growing up an Anglophone in Quebec City, James replied: "I never wanted to go ask for something cause I could, I didn't know how you know...but uh I didn't really, I didn't really feel too handicapped, I guess. I had my friends and my school, and then I knew how to order, order a poutine and stuff like that, like my lines." The French-language was mobilized through a rehearsed performance. Unfortunately, this performance failed to be nominated for an Oscar and his linguistic competencies had little social value outside the confines of school and school-related friends. Interestingly, however, while some language competencies may have confined participants to the English-speaking community and its institutions, the same competencies granted access to both national and global markets.

Within a new marketplace, participants mobilized economic-based language ideologies; thereby escaping some of the localized constraints previously placed on their perceived language competencies. For example, in Montreal, James remarked that his French-language skills were superior to his colleague's and that he was often required to intervene when interacting with French-speaking clients. "Yeah...He's, his, my French is better than his... So if someone comes starting like generally he'll take most of the questions so I'll let him do the thing you know but as soon as it's French and I see him kind of yeah struggling I'll intervene." Economic pressure and cross-border corporate expansion have structured a linguistic market where English-speaking

labour is valued. Within this market, Quebec City's English-speaking minority possessed language competencies that could be converted into valuable linguistic capital. In this sense, the post-migratory context demonstrated one of the processes whereby language may be commodified.

Participants also mobilized ethnic-based language ideologies as a means to legitimize their language competencies and the value thereof. One such example is Deirdra, an Anglophone Quebecer who, unlike James, considered herself bilingual. When discussing language use in her place of internship, I asked whether she was required to write work-related reports in French. Deirdra replied by describing her work-related language practices and explained that her supervisor, because she was a Francophone, never corrected her English written reports.

It depends, I write my notes, if the client is English I'll write in English, if the client's French I'll write in French because the client is allowed to see their own notes, their own files. So uhm, so I mean like even if I write them in English or in French my supervisor has to look them over and approve them, so she corrects them. Uhm, in English she never corrects me because she's Francophone and I'm like almost not better than her, but I'm just, I'm an Anglophone, so yeah, but in French she'll make little corrections yeah... -  
*Deirdra*

It was not necessarily implied that certain categories held more currency than others. However, Montreal is situated within a linguistic market that services an ethno-linguistically diverse population; one which is increasingly bilingual, even trilingual. Accordingly, when language competencies are questioned, and in an especially competitive marketplace, participants mobilized ethno-linguistic categories as a means to authenticate their language competencies.

Other participants mobilized both ethnic and economic-based language ideologies in order to position themselves advantageously within the new marketplace. One such example is

Casey, an English-speaking French Quebecer who, unlike most participants, contested the legitimacy of bilingualism. Specifically, when asked how he identified himself, Casey remarked: ".I'm fortunate to never, I've never had to learn you know, it just happened so that's why somebody who's bilingual I feel you have to try you know it's like trilingual, oh I learnt to speak Spanish." In this sense, the participant distinguished between those language competencies learnt from "outside sources" versus those inherited from parents perceived to "fit" within the conventional Anglophone or Francophone ethno-linguistic categories.

Moreover, during our discussion, Casey described how he and his family members generally interacted in *franglais*<sup>29</sup>. Accordingly, when discussing language use in Montreal, I asked Casey whether he had any friends with whom he spoke *franglais*.

...I think here a lot of people have like some are bilingual, but not to the same extent not to the same comfort level. Uhm but I think it's from outside like influences like the most bilingual person that I know uh in Montreal like who can, who's just as Québécois as me, but like speaks English is actually a Bulgarian [co-worker], his parents, yeah his parents like barely, his father doesn't even speak English or French and his mom speaks French she learned while she was here so he grew up in a private school in French here but speaks English because he plays video games ever since he was a kid and, and yeah he communicates online so the only reason he speaks English is because of video games.- Casey

The value of certain language resources was constructed by authenticating the perceived ethno-linguistic categories from which certain language skills are derived. As such, both the legitimacy and value of bilingualism appeared dependent on the source of the speaker's prescribed ethno-linguistic membership. This highlights how Montreal's diverse marketplace enabled Quebec City's English-speaking minority to mobilize ethnic-based language ideologies in an attempt to

---

<sup>29</sup> A mixture of English and French.

legitimize language competencies according to the “authentic” ethno-linguistic categories with which they identified.

While bilingualism was rendered legitimate according to ethno-linguistic categories, it is interesting to observe how such an ethnic-based ideology transitioned into an economic conception of language. Specifically, when asked about how frequently he used the French-language, Casey proceeded to mention that, at work, he was the only employee capable of transitioning seamlessly between both official languages.

[There are] 15 clients at the front of the store and out of those 15 there's 5 in French and 10 in English and I'm serving everybody English, French, English, French, English, French... I'll switch back and I'll switch again, it's just the way it is but I'm like the only one that could do that you know, I guess it makes me more efficient, I should get a raise (Laughs).- *Casey*

Ethnic-based language ideologies were mobilized so as to further negotiate the more tangible effects of language competency. In this sense, ethnic-based ideologies, structured according to authenticity and mother tongue, enabled participants to construct legitimate language competencies perceived to possess both symbolic and economic capital.

### **6.3.1 Summary**

In a post-migratory context, participants mobilized ethnic and economic language ideologies as a means to renegotiate their position within a more ethno-linguistically diverse marketplace. Ethnic and economic conceptions of language revealed how both politics and economics intersect to structure the value of language in Quebec. However, within the political economy, there exists multiple linguistic markets that delineate different parameters through which actors

can mobilize ideologies as a means to negotiate their position. More specifically, it was not their linguistic competencies that changed, rather it is the different linguistic market that altered the perceived value placed on language competencies. Accordingly, "what guarantees a particular set of hierarchical social relations today may not work tomorrow" (Wallerstein and Balibar 1991:83).

## Conclusion

Within Quebec, relationships of power have altered significantly since The Quiet Revolution, but the tropes of political discourse appear to have remained very much the same. In fact, a recent Radio-Canada article titled "Le CAQ maintient le cap identitaire" emphasized that "l'identité, l'éducation et l'économie sont les principaux thèmes que [le parti d'opposition] entend défendre au cours de la session parlementaire qui s'ouvre à Québec."<sup>30</sup> The opposing party' political agenda, I argue, represents those social phenomenon that have remained central in the majority groups collective consciousness. However, while the focus on identity, education and the economy remain integral to Quebec's society, what has changed is our ability to analyze the relationship between these concepts and better examine how they intersect to create new understandings, research opportunities and sociological contributions.

Organized into six interrelated sections, this study aimed to better understand the localized reality of Quebec City's increasingly bilingual English-speaking minority. In the first section, I demonstrated that the value of language practices have long been rooted within Canada's political economy. More specifically, I argued that Quebec's English-speaking minority is very much a product of political and economic motives that have intersected together to restructure language inequalities in Quebec. Correspondingly, in the second chapter, I attempted to distance myself from structuralist and interactionist approaches that seldom account for existing power relations that structure inequalities. In the third section, I demonstrated that Quebec City's English-speaking minority is increasingly bilingual, yet continues to experience linguistic insecurity in the marketplace.

---

<sup>30</sup>(Radio-Canada 2016).

In response to this latter problem, and as explained in the fifth section, I conducted 15 semi-direct interviews with two generations of English-speaking participants who attended an English-language high school in Quebec City; in the midst of two significant institutional changes, Bill 101 and the shift from religious to linguistic school boards. In the fourth section, and in response to the collected data, I introduced a series of theoretical concepts that enabled me to deconstruct the value of language according to state policies, economic interests and individual beliefs about language. In the sixth and final section, I presented three sub-sections of results which, I argue, help us understand how Quebec City's English-speaking minority is brought to reposition itself within an increasingly bilingual linguistic landscape.

First, parents ideologically reinterpreted language policies as a means to construct the value of English-language education. This occurred when participants boasted the quality of education and its ability to transmit legitimate English, but were ambivalent about its ability to transmit legitimate bilingualism and local employment opportunities. This signifies that not all participants recognized English-language schools as providing both majority and minority legitimate language competencies perceived as transferable into the local marketplace. This reality enables us to argue that beliefs about English-language education are effects of language policies, which represent economic interests, and struggles to justify or dismantle the unequal distribution of resources.

Second, children mobilized language ideologies that structured geographic mobility according to language of instruction. More specifically, Participants perceived the "use and value of their linguistic resources" (Mariou 2015:2) according to ethnic and economic beliefs about language that conceived English-dominant bilingualism as having little value in Quebec City.

This signifies that language skills were alleged to be valuable, provided that they could be transferred into the marketplace. Language of instruction was perceived as a vehicle capable of ensuring that this transfer occurred. This allows us to argue that language ideologies are put into action when they are used to differentiate speakers according to subjective linguistic markers that are rendered all-encompassing of an individual's linguistic identity. In turn, these beliefs become widespread and legitimize the economic interests that inform them.

Third, results demonstrated that, within a post-migratory context, children mobilized language ideologies so as to reposition the value of their linguistic practices. This occurred when participants mobilized ethnic and economic language ideologies as a means to legitimize both the value of their language practices and ethno-linguistic categories with which they identified. As a means to reposition themselves within a more ethno-linguistically diverse marketplace, and by authenticating and commodifying their language practices, participants 'recycled' the very same language ideologies that structured their mobility.

While the linguistic market structures the value of language practices, language ideologies legitimize the institutional processes, state-policies and economic interests that give language practices value. In Montreal's more diverse marketplace, the fundamental dichotomy between ethno-cultural and global perspectives are erased when participants combine ethnic and economic language ideologies to define which language practices hold more value. There, we observe that authenticating discourses related to ethno-linguistic categories and pride conflate with monolingualism, perceived language skills and the commodification of language to construct what is valued.

Accordingly, in an attempt to investigate how Quebec City's English-speaking minority is brought to reposition itself within an increasingly bilingual linguistic landscape, this thesis explored the processes by which language becomes an unevenly distributed resource and how access to this resource structures geographic and social mobility. By mobilizing concepts such as the political economy, language ideologies and ethno-linguistic categories, I examined language according to the political and economic forces that structure Quebec's unique linguistic market; thereby allowing me to better understand the processes whereby language practices are valued. This approach, I argue, further contributes towards the field of sociolinguistics and helps delineate both the fluidity and pervasiveness of language inequalities in Canada's increasingly bilingual landscape.

While this thesis does not account for the localized realities of English-speakers residing in some of Quebec's most significant English-speaking enclaves<sup>31</sup>, it remains significant because a political economy approach, I argue, allows for a different and unique understanding of Quebec's English-speaking minority. Specifically, in late-capitalism, this theoretical approach allows us to understand how local and global demands are disrupting the fundamental divergence between ethnic and economic conceptions of language ideologies that legitimize and contest institutional processes that give certain language practices more value than others.

Although this thesis focuses on those English-speakers who have attended an English-language school, there are many English-speakers, residing in Quebec City, for whom access to English-language education has been restricted. As such, future research exploring the linguistic beliefs of these interprovincial, American and international migrants, many of whom are racialized, may enable us to deepen our understanding of language inequalities in Quebec.

---

<sup>31</sup>e.g. the Gaspésie, Eastern Township and Outaouais region

## **Bibliography**

- Albouy, David Y. 2008. "The Wage Gap between Francophone and Anglophones: A Canadian Perspective, 1970 to 2000." *Canadian Journal of Economics* 41(4):1211–38.
- Allard, Réal and Rodrigue Landry. 1994. "Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality: A Comparison of Two Measures." *International journal of sociology of language* 108:117–44.
- Amit-Talai, Vered. 1993. "Will they go? A study of intentions regarding migration among secondary students in Quebec." *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 25:5-61.
- Arnopoulos, Sheila M. and Dominique Clift. 1984. *The English Fact in Quebec*. Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Bauer, Julien. 1994. *Les minorités au Québec*. Montreal, QC: Éditions du Boréal.
- Behiels, Michael D. 1985. *Prelude to Quebec's Quiet Revolution: liberalism vs. neo-nationalism, 1945-1960*. Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Blommaert, Jan. 2010. *The Sociolinguistics of Globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. "The economics of linguistic exchanges." *Social Science Information* 16(6):645-68.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1992. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourhis, Richard Y., Annie Montreuil, Denise Helly and Lorna Jantzen. 2007. "Discrimination et linguicisme au Québec: Enquête sur la diversité ethnique au Canada." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 39(1-2):31-49.
- Bourhis, Richard and Pierre Foucher. 2012. "The decline of the English school system in Quebec." *Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic minorities*, Moncton, N.B.
- Bourhis, Richard. and Rodrigue Landry. 2008. "Group Vitality, Cultural Autonomy and the Wellness of Language Minorities." In edited by Richard Y. Bourhis. (Ed.), *The vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec from community decline to revival*. *Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities*, Moncton, N.B.
- Breton, Raymond. 1964. "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants." *American Journal of Sociology*, (70)2:193-205.
- Brubaker, Rogers and Frederick Cooper. 2000. "Beyond "Identity."" *Theory and Society* 29(1):1-47.

- Caldwell, Gary. 1978. "L'histoire des "possédants" anglophones au Québec." *Anthropologie et Sociétés* 2(1):167-182.
- Caldwell, Gary. 1994. *La question du Québec anglais*. Quebec, QC: Institut Québécois de recherche sur la culture, Quebec.
- Caldwell, Gary and Eric Waddell 1982. *The English of Quebec: from majority to minority*. Quebec, QC: Institut Québécois de recherche sur la culture.
- Calhoun, Craig. ed. 2002. *Dictionary of the Social Sciences*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cardinal, Linda and Jean Lapointe. 1990. "La Sociologie des Francophones hors Québec: Un parti-pris pour l'autonomie." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 22(1):47-66.
- CBC. 2016. "Hundreds of Students Drawn to Only English-Language CEGEP in Quebec City Area." *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC)*. Retrieved October 1, 2016 (<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/hundreds-of-students-drawn-to-only-english-language-cegep-in-quebec-city-area-1.3727423>).
- Charmaz, Kathy. 2006. *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis*. London: Sage.
- Corbeil, Jean-Pierre, Brigitte Chavez and Daniel Pereira. 2010. *Portrait of Official-Language Minorities in Canada-Anglophones in Quebec*. Statistics Canada, Ottawa, ON. Retrieved January, 2014 (<http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-642-x/89-642-x2010002-eng.pdf>).
- Coupland, Nikolas. 2003. "Sociolinguistic authenticities." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7(3):417-431.
- Couture, Claude and Paulin Mulatris. 2012. *La nation et son double: essai sur les discours postcoloniaux au Canada*. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval.
- CQSB. 2013. "2013-2017 CQSB Strategic Plan." Central Quebec School board. Retrived September 2, 2016 (<https://www.cqsb.qc.ca/en/strategic-plan-and-annual-report>).
- da Silva, Emanuel, Mireille McLaughlin and Mary Richards. 2007. "Bilingualism and the globalized new economy: the commodification of language and identity." Pp.183-206 in *Bilingualism: A Social Approach*, edited by M. Heller. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dickinson, John A. 2007. "The English-speaking minority of Quebec: A historical perspective." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 185:11-24.
- Dickinson, John, and Brian Young. 2000. *A Short History of Quebec*. Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University press.

- Dijk, Van T.A. 2005. "Politics, Ideology, and Discourse." Elsevier Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics. Volume on Politics and Language (Ruth Wodak, Ed.), pp. 728-740.
- Floch, William and Joanne Pocock 2008. "The Socio-Economic Status of English-speaking Quebec: Those Who Left and Those Who Stayed." In edited by Richard Y. Bourhis. (Ed.), The vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec from community decline to revival. *Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities*. Moncton: N.B.
- Forgues, Eric., Beaudin M., Guignard J., and Boudreau J. 2010. *Analyse des tendances Migratoires au Québec entre 2001 et 2006*. Insitute for research on Linguistic Minorities, Moncton, N.B. 1-63.
- Foucher, Pierre. 2008. "Legal Status of Anglophone Communities in Quebec: Options and Some Recommendations." In edited by Richard Y. Bourhis. (Ed.), The vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec from community decline to revival. *Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities*. Moncton, N.B.
- Friedrich, Paul. 1989. "Language, Ideology, and Political Economy." *American Anthropologist* 91(2): 295-312.
- Gal. Susan. 1989. "Language and political economy." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 18:345-67.
- Gauthier, Benoit. 2008. *Recherche sociale, 5e édition*. Quebec: Presses de l'Université du Québec.
- Gauvreau, Michael. 2005. *The Catholic Origins of Quebec's Quiet Revolution, 1931-1970*. Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University press.
- Gérin-Lajoie, Diane. 2010. "Analyse comparative du rapport a l'identité chez les jeunes des communautés de langue officielle au Canada." *Francophonies d'Amérique* 30:109-129.
- Gérin-Lajoie, Diane. 2014. "Identité et sentiment d'appartenance chez les jeunes anglophones de Montréal." *Recherches sociographiques* 55(3):467-484.
- Giles, Howard, Richard Y. Bourhis, and Donald M. Taylor. 1977. "Towards a theory of language in ethnic group relations." Pp. 307-348 in *Language, ethnicity, and intergroup relations*, edited by Howard Giles. New York: Academic Press.
- Gouv, Quebec. 2013. "Instruction in English: Who is eligible to attend English school?" Education et Enseignement superieur. Retrieved August 15,2016 (<http://www.education.gouv.qc.ca/en/parents-and-guardians/instruction-in-english/eligibility/#c1818>).
- Heller, Monica. 1999. *Linguistic Minorities in Modernity: A Sociolinguistic Ethnography*. New York: Addison Wesley Longman.

- Heller Monica. ed. 2007. *Bilingualism: A Social Approach*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Heller, Monica. 2010. "The Commodification of Language." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39:101-14.
- Heller, Monica and Alexandre Duchene. 2012. "Changing Discourses of Language, Capital and Nation-State." in *Language in Late Capitalism: Pride and Profit*, edited by M. Heller and Alexandre Duchene. New York: Routledge .
- Heller, Monica and Lindsay Bell. 2012. "Frontiers and Frenchness: Pride and Profit in the Production of Canada." Pp.161-81 in *Language in Late Capitalism: Pride and Profit*, edited by M. Heller and Alexandre Duchene. New York: Routledge.
- Irvine. Judith. 1989. " When talk isn't cheap: language and political economy." *Journal of American Ethnological Society* 16(2):248-67.
- Irvine. Judith and Susan Gal. 2000. "Language Ideology and linguistic differentiation." Pp.35-84 in *Regimes of language: Ideologies, politics, and identities*, edited by P.V. Kroskrity. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.
- Jedwab, Jack. 2004. *Going Forward: The evolution of Quebec's English-Speaking Community*. Ottawa: Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages.
- Jedwab, Jack. 2008. "Determining Who Is an English-speaking Quebecer and Assessing its Demographic Viability." In edited by Richard Y. Bourhis. (Ed.), The vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec from community decline to revival. *Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities*. Moncton, N.B.
- Labelle, Micheline. 2010. *Racisme et antiracisme au Québec. Discours et Déclinaisons*. Québec: Presses de l'Université du Québec.
- Lamarre, Patricia. 2007. "Anglo-Quebec today: looking at community and schooling issues." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 185:109-132.
- Lamarre, Patricia. 2008. "English Education in Quebec: Issues and Challenges." In edited by Richard Y. Bourhis. (Ed.), The vitality of the English-speaking communities of Quebec from community decline to revival. *Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities*. Moncton, N.B.
- Lamarre, Patricia, Julie Paquette, Sophie Ambrosi and Emmanuel Kahn. 2004. "Dynamiques intergroupes et pratiques linguistiques dans deux cegeps montréalais." *Les Cahiers du Gres* (4)1:23-37.
- Landry, Rodrigue and Réal Allard. 1999. "L'éducation dans la francophonie minoritaire." Pp. 433-443 in *Francophonie minoritaire au Canada : l'état des lieux*, edited by Joseph Yvon Thériault, Moncton, N.B: Éditions d'Acadie.

- Laur, Elke. 2013. "Minorités majoritaires et majorités minoritaires: des oxymorons? L'exemple des minorités de langue officielle au Canada." *Linguistic Minorities and Society* (3):19-40.
- Legault, Josée. 1992. *L'invention d'une minorité: Les Anglo-Québécois*. Les Éditions du Boréal.
- Levine, Marc C. 1990. *The Reconquest of Montreal: Language Policy and Social Change in a Bilingual City*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Lussier, Marie-Hélène. 2012. *The socioeconomic status of Anglophones in Québec: report*. Institut national de santé publique du Québec. Pp 1-29. Retrieved January 29, 2014 ([https://www.inspq.qc.ca/pdf/publications/1494\\_SituationSocioEconoAngloQc\\_VA.pdf](https://www.inspq.qc.ca/pdf/publications/1494_SituationSocioEconoAngloQc_VA.pdf)).
- Magnan, Marie-Odile. 2004. *To stay or not to stay: migrations des jeunes anglo-québécois*. Institut national de la recherche scientifique Urbanisation, Culture et Société. Montreal, QC: 1-68.
- Magnan, Marie-Odile., Madeleine Gauthier and Serge Cote. 2007. *Youth Migration in Quebec. Survey results obtained from Anglophones 20 to 34 years of age*. Institut national de la recherche scientifique Urbanisation, Culture et Société. Montreal:1-160.
- Magnan, Marie-Odile. 2009. "Les frontières linguistiques à Québec : Le rôle des interactions scolaires." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 41/42(3-1):109-130.
- Magnan, Marie-Odile. 2010. "Franchir les frontières scolaires, franchir les frontières identitaires de l'école anglaise vers l'université Francophone au Québec." *Ethnologies* 31(4):289-312.
- Magnan, Marie-Odile. 2012. "La fonction linguistique et identitaire des institutions scolaires: socialisation informelle et transformations des appartenances au fil des transitions scolaires." *La Vie de Recherche au CRIEVAT* (6)4:5-8.
- Magnan, Marie-Odile and Patricia Lamarre. 2013. "Être jeune et anglophone dans un Québec pluraliste." *Vivre Ensemble: Pluralisme culturel, migration, diversité religieuse*, 1-5.
- Mariou, Eleni. 2015. "'My language, my mother tongue': competing language ideologies and linguistic diversity among speakers of standard and non-standard varieties." *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*.
- May, Stephen. ed. 2014. *The Multilingual Turn: Implications for SLA, TESOL, and Bilingual Education*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- McLaughlin, Mireille and Monica Heller. 2011. "'Dieu et patrie': idéologies du genre, de la langue et de la nation au Canada francophone." *Language, genre et sexualité*, edited by Alexandre Duchene and Claudine Moise, 253-274. Quebec: Nota Bene.

- Mongeau, Pierre. 2011. *Réaliser son mémoire ou sa thèse: Côté Jeans & Côté Tenue de soirée*. Quebec: Presses de l'Université du Québec.
- Nadeau, Serge. 2010. "Another Look at the Francophone Wage Gap in Canada: Public and Private Sectors, Quebec and Outside Quebec." *Canadian Public Policy* 36(2): 159-179.
- Neuman, Lawrence W. and Karen Robson 2009. *Basics of Social Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Toronto, ON: Pearson Allyn & Bacon.
- Peirce, Bonny N. 1995. "The theory of Methodology in Qualitative Research." *Qualitative Research ESOL* 29(3):569-576.
- Pilote, Annie, Sandra Bolduc and Diane Gérin-Lajoie. 2008. "English-Language Schools in Quebec: Current Status and New Issues" Report on Round Tables in the Quebec City Region and Greater Montreal. Report prepared for Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities.
- Pilote, Annie, Marie-Odile Magnan and Karine Vieux-Fort. 2010. "Identité linguistique et poids des langues: une étude comparative entre des jeunes de milieu scolaire Francophone au Nouveau-Brunswick et anglophone au Québec." *Nouvelles perspectives en sciences sociales: revue internationale de systémique complexe et d'études relationnelles* (6)1:65-98.
- Radio-Canada. 2016. "La CAQ maintient le cap identitaire" Radio-Canada. Retrieved October 10, 2016 (<http://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelles/politique/2016/09/20/001-quebec-session-parlementaire-coalition-avenir-quebec-identite-immigration-education-economie.shtml>).
- Rudin, Ronald. 1985. *The Forgotten Quebecers: A History of English-Speaking Quebecers, 1759-1980*. Quebec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture.
- Saldana, Johnny. 2011. *Fundamentals of Qualitative Research: Understanding Qualitative Research*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Schieffelin, Bambi B., Kathryn A. Woolard, and Paul V. Kroskrity. ed. 1998. *Language Ideologies, Theory and Practice*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Schmid, Caroline, Brigita Zepa and Arta Snipe. 2004. "Language Policy and Ethnic Tensions in Quebec and Latvia." *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 45(3-4):231-252.
- Scowen, Reed. 1991. *A different vision: The English in Quebec in the 1990s*. Don Mills, ON: Maxwell Macmillan Canada.
- Simon, Roger I. and Donald Dippo. 1986. "On Critical Ethnographic Work." *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 17:198-201.

- Stevenson, Gareth. 1999. *Community Besieged: The Anglophone Minority and the Politics of Quebec*. Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Stevenson, Gareth. 2006. *Parallel Paths: the Development of Nationalism in Ireland and Quebec*. Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Tan, Peter. 2008. "The English language as a commodity in Malaysia: The View through the medium-of-instruction debate." Pp.106-121 in *Language As Commodity*, edited by P. Tan and R. Rubdy. London, New York: Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Wallerstein, E. and Etienne Balibar. 1991. *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*. London: Verso.
- Wimmard, Andreas. 2008. "The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory." *American Journal of Sociology* 113(4):970-1022.
- Woolard, Kathryn A. 1992. "Language ideology: Issues and Approaches." *Pragmatics* 2(3):235-249.
- Woolard, Kathryn. 1998. "Language ideology as a field of inquiry." Pp.3–49 In *Language ideologies: Practice and theory*. Edited by Bambi Schieffelin, Kathryn Woolard, and Paul Kroskrity. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Yin, Robert K. 2011. *Qualitative Research from Start to Finish*. New York, London: The Guilford Press.
- Vaillencourt, Francois, Dominique Lemay, and Luc Vaillencourt. 2007. *The Changed Socioeconomic Status of Francophones in Quebec*. C.D. Howe Institute Backgrounder, No. 103. Retrieved May, 2016 ([https://www.cdhowe.org/sites/default/files/attachments/research\\_papers/mixed/backgrounder\\_103\\_french.pdf](https://www.cdhowe.org/sites/default/files/attachments/research_papers/mixed/backgrounder_103_french.pdf)).
- Vallières, P. 1969. *White Niggers of America*. Oxford: McClelland & Stewart.
- Vieux-Fort, K. 2009. Représentations de la communauté anglophone et positionnements identitaires de jeunes scolarisés en anglais à Québec. (Unpublished Maitrise en administration) Université Laval, Québec.
- Vieux-Fort, K., and Annie Pilote. 2010. "Représentations de la communauté anglophone et identitaire chez des jeunes scolarisés en anglais à Québec: Explorations Méthodologiques." in *GLOTTOPOL, Revue de sociolinguistique en ligne: Minorités linguistiques et francophonies en perspectives* (16):81-99.
- Zuniga, Christian E. 2015. "Defining Bilingualism: The Language Ideologies and Linguistic Practices of Bilingual Teachers from the U.S.-Mexico Border." Ph.D. The University of Texas at Austin.

## **APPENDIX A: Interview guideline**

### **-Participants background:**

- Origins (Info on parents, siblings, ect.)
- Linguistic competencies: which languages were spoken at home and which are now spoken at home, which languages are spoken outside of the home and in which context?
- Education, where and why AND what were/are your career objectives?
- Living arrangements and working arrangements and linguistic practices.
- What are your relationships with friends- English or French? Which languages are spoken and in what context?
- What is your perception of the English community- Are you part of this community? What makes you part of it or not?

### **-Language and children:**

- What was it like growing up Anglophone in Quebec City?
- Has anything changed since then? Why?
- What languages do you speak with your children? Why those?
- When you look at your children do you feel as though they experiencing the same things you were?
- What is the role of English education? Why did you choose to send your children to an English school?
- Do you believe that attending an English High school is advantageous? What about in Quebec City's social environment?
- Will this education result in migration to pursue their studies?

### **-Linguistic competencies:**

- What is your proficiency? Are you able to rate yourself?
- Why this 'grade'? Who helps determine this?
- Are your competencies ever challenged?
- Is it important to be proficient in these languages? Does one matter more than the other? Why?

### **-Linguistic differences:**

- What is all the fuss about language? -Is there anything that encourages linguistic tensions or debates on language? And if so, how is this manifested in your daily life; i.e. at work, during leisure activities etc.
- How do you feel Francophones perceive Anglophones in Quebec City?
- Can you recall any instances where you felt out of place due to language?
- Any experiences of discrimination or ignorant people?

## APPENDIX B: Consent form



uOttawa

Faculté des sciences sociales  
Faculty of Social Sciences

### *Language without boundaries : Bilingualism, labor market and identity*

Principal investigator

Mireille McLaughlin

Department of sociology and anthropology, Social Sciences, University of Ottawa.

Co-investigator

Phyllis Rippeyoung, Ph.D.

*Département de sociologie et d'anthropologie, Faculté des sciences sociales, Université d'Ottawa,*

Research assistants

Daniel Caron

Naomi Garneau

Alexis Hieu Truong

Department of sociology and anthropology, Social Sciences, University of Ottawa

### **Invitation to Participate and purpose of study:**

I am invited to participate in the abovementioned research study conducted by Mireille McLaughlin. The purpose of the study is to understand the role linguistic competences play in my professional trajectories. The study also pays attention to the meaning I attribute to the categories "Anglophone", "Francophone" and "bilingual." This will provide a better understand of the linguistic realities of Canadians.

If I want to, I can invite one of the researchers to follow me for a limited period of time in my place of work. The objective is to allow researchers to better understand my job and the skills required to do it. I will decide how long they may stay. My employer, if need be, will be informed of this and will have given his authorization.

My participation will consist essentially of participating in one 45 minute interview. We will discuss my training and work experiences past, present and planned. The researcher and I will mutually agree on the time and the location of the interview, be it at the University or in a public space. Above all, the time and location will be convenient to me.

I may also, if I wish, fill out a survey on my cultural practices.

**Risks:** My participation in this study will entail that I volunteer personal information about my career trajectory. This may cause me to feel some emotional or psychological distress. I have received assurance from the researcher that every effort will be made to minimize these risks. She agrees that I may decide not to answer questions if I so choose. All I have to do is ask to move on to the next question. I am also free to end the interview at any time.

The research in the work place may also cause me to feel some discomfort. To avoid this, I will only accept to participate to this part of the research if I am absolutely comfortable with it. The researcher and I will decide ahead of time how he or she will be presented to my colleagues. I have also been informed as to what the researcher will pay attention to. At any time during the research, I can ask the researcher to leave. I simply have to say that the job following is done.

**Benefits:** My participation in this study will contribute to a better understanding of the role of language in granting access to employment in the Canadian job market. It will also provide a better understanding of language identities. It will also give me a space where I can talk about the challenges and opportunities I have experienced.

**Confidentiality and anonymity:** I have received assurance from the researcher that the information I will share will remain strictly confidential. I understand that the contents will be used only for academic publications or reports to government agencies charged with economic development. I understand that my confidentiality will be protected. **Anonymity** will be protected in the following manner: all my personal information will be changed if interview excerpts are used in the publications. This includes, for example, my name, my hometown, the names of employers or businesses. My identity will never be revealed to anyone.

**Conservation of data:** The data collected in the form of electronic interviews and hard copies of the transcriptions will be kept in a secure manner. The hard copies will be kept on the secured computer of the principal investigator for 5 years. Afterwards, the electronic data will be transferred to a secured hard disc. Only the PI knows the code to access this computer. The transcriptions will not contain any personal information and will be kept under lock in a file cabinet in the office of the researcher for a period of 5 years. Afterwards, the hard copies will be shredded. Only the researcher and the research assistant, trained in research ethics, will have access to any of the data.

**Voluntary Participation:** I am under no obligation to participate and if I choose to participate, I can withdraw from the study at any time and/or refuse to answer any questions, without suffering any negative consequences. If I choose to withdraw, all data gathered until the time of withdrawal will be destroyed and, therefore, will no longer be used.

**Use of data :**I give the principal investigator and co-investigator the right to use the interview I grant, the observation in the workplace (if agreed upon) and the survey for scientific publications. I also give Daniel Caron, student on scholarship, the right to use the data as part of his research for his master's thesis at the School of sociological and anthropological research at the University of Ottawa.

**Acceptance:** I, \_\_\_\_\_ agree to participate in the above research study conducted by Mireille McLaughlin, Department of sociology and anthropology, University of Ottawa.

If I have any questions about the study, I may contact the researcher at the phone number or email address provided above.

If I have any questions regarding the ethical conduct of this study, I may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 154, Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5  
Tel.: (613) 562-5387  
Email: ethics@uottawa.ca

There are three copies of the consent form, one of which is mine to keep.

Participant's signature: \_\_\_\_\_  
Date: *(Date)*

Researcher's signature: \_\_\_\_\_  
Date: *(Date)*

**Acceptance:** I, \_\_\_\_\_ agree to participate in the above research study conducted by Mireille McLaughlin, Department of sociology and anthropology, University of Ottawa.

If I have any questions about the study, I may contact the researcher at the phone number or email address provided above.

If I have any questions regarding the ethical conduct of this study, I may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 154, Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5  
Tel.: (613) 562-5387  
Email: ethics@uottawa.ca

There are three copies of the consent form, one of which is mine to keep.

Participant's signature: \_\_\_\_\_  
Date: *(Date)*

Researcher's signature: \_\_\_\_\_  
Date: *(Date)*

## **APPENDIX C: Recruitment poster**

**Projet de recherche / Research project**  
**Avez-vous été scolarisé en anglais dans la ville de Québec?**  
**Have you gone to school in English in the City of Quebec**  
**Do you want to participate in a research project?**

Si oui, vous êtes invité à participer à un projet de recherche intitulé:  
***Langues sans frontières : Bilinguisme, marché de l'emploi et identité au Canada***  
Ce projet porte sur les transformations sur la valeur du bilinguisme dans le marché du travail et sur votre sentiment d'appartenance.

### **Qu'est-ce que la participation implique?**

Une entrevue enregistrée d'environ 45 minutes concernant :

- Vos expériences de formation et de travail dans le passé, actuellement, et planifiées
- La place des connaissances des langues et de la culture dans ces expériences

---

If you are, you're invited to participate in a research project called :

### ***Language without boundaries : Bilingualism, labor market and identity in Canada***

This research project is about the value of bilingualism in the Canadian labor market and on the way it could be changing our sense of belonging.

### **What does your participation involve?**

An interview of about 45 minutes :

- Your education, training and work experiences in the past, right now or planned
- The role of language skills and culture in those experiences

### **Interested? Need more information?**

**Intéressé? Vous voulez plus d'informations?**

**Contactez l'assistant chercheur / Contact the assistant researcher:**

Daniel Caron, M.A. Candidate, Université d'Ottawa

## **APPENDIX D: Citations used in Results**

### **Results Section 6.1**

#### **Citation 1:**

Cameron: I think, I think there's, there's a closeness euh to the, I think there's a difference in attitude, there's a closeness because the schools are so small compared to euh compared to French schools euh. So I, I can't say, I think there's, there was a big advantage to St-Mary's or Marymount when, for Francophones to study if one of the parents allowed them to have access.

Daniel: Yeah?

Cameron: Euh it's, it's something, it was certainly, acted as a, as a, euh development of a second language for a lot of students. If you go through hallways of the schools here I'm not sure, you went to school yourself, I don't know if you heard that much English in the hallways.

Daniel: I can't recall.

Cameron: You know, as compared to the students amongst themselves. So euh Francophones today from what I see most of them will opt to send their children, Anglophones will opt to send their children to French school and Francophones, as much as possible, will send them to English schools. So there is obviously a willingness and desire for bilingualism why we're not able to accomplish that in the schools at all is complicated, is something else.

#### **Citation 2:**

Daniel: (?) Should the English school form kids to be bilingual?

Michael: Yeah I think so. I think definitely if you are a Francophone you are coming out of there way better off than if you are in a French school.

Daniel: Okay.

Michael: For sure you are gonna come out of there speaking English.

Daniel: So why wouldn't the Anglophone come way better off going to a,uh French school?

Michael: Because there's too many kids, you're, you're dealing in an environment /

Daniel: So it's not about language anymore?

Michael: It's numbers.

Daniel: It's just about the quality of the education?

Michael: Quality of education, numbers,uh how you feel about your kids, how you treat your kids, uh, and like I said I really could be completely off but I look at say uh Francophone schools tend to be more laissez-faire and Anglophone schools tend to be uh more parent-involved.

Daniel: Okay,

Michael: Unless you are in a private school, if you are in a private school, Francophone school parents tend to be more involved.

Daniel: Okay.

Michael: Uh without a doubt and if, if you have parent involvement you have demands put on you. You have teachers you know we want production from our kids, we want this, we want that, you know if your kid is doing bad, doesn't mean your kid is not going to do bad there but, way more involvement. So, smaller schools, more input, doesn't guarantee it, but it puts the odds in

your favour that, a kid that's uh middle of the road will do better than if a kid is middle of the road in a, in a French school he's gonna be left by the way side for sure.

### **Citation 3:**

Daniel: Pis c'étais tu, est-ce-que vous avez pris une décision de les envoyée en anglais ou c'étais juste automatique, c'étais?

Mehul: Ben, oui je pense que c'étais ca, c'étais anglais.

Daniel: C'étais anglais?

Mehul: Oui, oui, parce que l'anglais tu as beaucoup plus d'ouverture soit pour travailler ou si tu veut voyager tu est moins mal pris.

Daniel: Ouais, okay.

Mehul: Pour moi c'étais, y fallait y'aller en anglais, y vont apprendre le français pareil.

### **Citation 4:**

Daniel: Euhm / so I think you mentioned it, but so do you, I guess you feel like there's an advantage to euh go to school in English in Quebec or, is it not advantageous, what is your perception of.

Karen: I would. Well I wanted them to have, to learn the English language, have perfect English like I do. So there was so many, like the people I work with, for example they are French speaking, they are Francophone, they learnt English, but I mean if you're not raised in English and if you don't go to English school you can't learn the language perfectly. So I wanted that for them, okay, so that if, I probably figured that someday they would move away and they would probably move somewhere where they spoke English you know so, I knew that's it, I knew they would, I wanted their English to be perfect so.

Daniel: Okay.

### **Citation 5:**

Daniel: And your brothers and sisters or you, you have only brothers I believe?

Jim: Only brothers.

Daniel: Okay, they all went to Marymount as well, everybody?

Jim: Every single one went to Marymount.

Daniel: Okay.

Jim: Yeah.

Daniel: And their children too?

Jim: And their children didn't go to Marymount.

Daniel: Okay.

Jim: No, they went to French school.

Daniel: So you're the lone, lone parents who sent their children to English school, or?

Jim: Yeah, that's true we're the only ones.

Jane: We regret it.

Daniel: Do you really?

Jane: In a sense we do. Well I yeah, we do because they, they missed out on learning another language very thoroughly.

Daniel: Yeah?

Jane: And it's harder for them to find work, well you know opportunities and that are, they are limited, they are limited.

#### **Citation 6:**

Daniel: So did you, when you sent him to English school was it, it was no question, it was, I mean it was a reflex, he was?

Maggy: I had to send him to English school because I couldn't help him with his homework if he went to French school.

Daniel: Okay.

Maggy: I would not have been able to help him you know I would not have understood anything.

#### **Citation 7:**

Daniel: I was euh. I, I heard, I don't know if this is true, but I was under the impression that before the Bill 101 there was a large influx of Francophones who sent their kids to English school to get that, that right?

Cameron: Well that, that's why Bill 101, one of the main reasons was to euh, was to limit access to, to English schools and to stop that, but the strange thing is that the Anglophone community couldn't very well, euh it was difficult for us to contest the legislation because the legislation always allowed freedom of choice.

Daniel: Okay.

Cameron: To English, to, to Eng-English-speaking Quebecers who had studied in English there was an acquired right that stayed so we could, we can, we had the automatic choice between English and French.

Daniel: Okay.

Cameron: While Francophones were the ones that were being denied access and they were the ones voting in favour of Bill 101, but when you speak to them individually they'll always tell you: oh gosh it's such a wonderful thing that you have, that you have that choice.

#### **Citation 8:**

Francine: Mais si c'est à refaire je le referais, si un jour mes enfants on des enfants je veux pas mettre de pression là, mais si un jour, j'espère qui vont les envoyer à l'école anglaise aussi.

Daniel: Ça dépend peut-être dans quel contexte? Le contexte de la ville de Québec euh oui? Mais si ils sont à Montréal?

Francine: Ou si ils déménagent aux États-Unis ou ailleurs, mais euh j'espère parce que, bon c'est un droit oui selon la loi mais c'est un privilège aussi.

Daniel: Mais les gens le disent?

Francine: Tellement de gens, il y a même quelqu'un ma dit tu veux tu adopter ma fille sur papier. Là adopter là pour qu'elle aille accès, eeee, il y a tellement de gens qui voudraient que leurs enfants soient bilingue.

## Results Section 6.2

### Citation 1:

Daniel: Okay I understand uhm what is, according to you and maybe you've covered that as, as a member of the VEQ board? I have no, no idea actually, but what's the role of English school is there a role that the English school is supposed to play in Quebec City. Children's education or is there a role outside of, of making them educated or does it serve another purpose for instance?  
Manny: I'd say that's a more specific way of asking essentially a broader question which is what is the role of education in general and I mean we've been having riots about that recently so (Laughs). But uh my personal say on the matter is the primary role of education is to form uh productive and active citizens and by productive and active I don't mean in a strictly monetary economic sense uhm and, and I mean that more in a social civic sense. And I, and I think that having a I don't think it would be healthy if you were to wave a magic stick and suddenly every single student in Quebec City goes to English school that would be very, very bad uh but I think having a contingency, a small amount, not, I wouldn't even say a big minority but at least having a group that, that sort of has access to that Anglophone culture while also having full and complete access to Francophone culture is an extremely important bridge between Quebec's society and uh the rest of the world.

### Citation 2:

Daniel: Okay but you said that, to go back on what you said, she's the only one sort of identifies herself as bilingual?

Casey: Yeah.

Daniel: So what do you identify yourself as?

Casey: Uhm, I, I always described myself as an English-speaking French Quebecer. Yeah, it's not that, I don't particularly take a side you know I don't / . I don't think, yeah I guess maybe I shot myself in the foot saying that (Laughs). I, she's the only one that identifies herself as bilingual because you know I left the English system my last year of high school. I went to French school and I was the English kid, but then when I came, at work, ever since I've been in Montreal I'm the Quebecois, I'm the French kid.

### Citation 3:

Daniel: Okay, so if I ask you quite a general question, (?) as best as you can, but what was it like growing up English speaking in Quebec, like is there something that comes to mind?

Deirdra: Yeah uhm it was, it was tough because it was I mean it was good in a sense because people were always telling me: oh you are so lucky. But then on the other hand you had people always saying oh you're American or oh you know like, you know like store clerks or whatever telling you, you know oh where are you from like and I'm like well I'm from here (Laughs).

What kind of question is that uhm and then you know like when you're a teenager and then you know people from French school telling me esti d'Anglophones nanana.

#### **Citation 4:**

Daniel: When you go, now that you've moved away from Quebec City, when you do go back, cause your parents still live there?

Jonah: Yeah.

Daniel: Are those sentiments still expressed like is it, has anything changed?

Jonah: Uhm I would say uh no I don't feel like anything has changed. I mean it's by far predominantly French and I feel that uhm, I mean if you want to get into I guess uh political views, I feel uh there's a strong support for French nation not nationality I guess or nationalism like it's uh identity for, for them it's very, it's very important and I feel that by me being there as an English speaker it infringes on their / .

Daniel: But how do you, how do you define yourself, are you a Quebecer?

Jonah: Uh I feel that I'm an English speaking Quebecer that's not necessarily accepted being there, but I mean that doesn't change my roots and where I came from you know I'm okay with that, however you know it's kind of like saying you know you're a second class citizen really that's my perception.

Daniel: You don't, you don't feel that in Montreal?

Jonah: I feel that uh Montreal is much more multicultural uhm and, and taking that into consideration, I think asides from you know language there's many more facets. The way people are interpreted so immigration so not only is it what you speak, it's you know what's, what's your religion, where, where you come from, color of your skin, like there's more to it right.

#### **Citation 5:**

Daniel: Okay and uh so, so you decided to go to University Monstrance?

Manny: Yeah.

Daniel: And did language play a role in, in you deciding which school you went to at that point, or did you?

Manny: It, it was a bit of a self-imposed challenge. Uhm I mean honestly I only applied to Monstrance because that's pretty much where I knew I wanted to go then.

Daniel: They have other Civil engineers / .

Manny: Yeah, there, there I mean there are plenty uh some in English some in French uhm, but I, I was curious to see what it was like to evolve academically in a, in a French setting and I figured that since I was going to be working in Quebec it's likely that I'd be working in French anyway. So I kind of wanted to make sure that my education was in the language that I would be using it for so it's why I uh I mean I didn't choose Monstrance specifically because it was French, I chose it because, mostly because it was close uh, but the fact that it was French was, was to me a positive thing it wasn't that I didn't want to do, I really wanted to do it in French if I / .

#### **Citation 6:**

Daniel: And when you finished Saint-Sauveur, you didn't think of going to Monstrance, or?

Jonah: Uhm it definitely was a thought, uhm however uh it wasn't something that was followed through on. Uhm I think it really comes down to a level of comfort and uhm I guess confidence in being able to achieve uhm at a higher academic standard in a French university.

**Citation 7:**

Daniel: Okay uhm did you think of going to Monstrance?

Meiry: No.

Daniel: Not even?

Meiry: No, no, never even crossed my mind.

Daniel: Why?

Meiry: Cause I've always done my education in English, wanted to continue my education in English. I mean if I was going to, you know university is where it counts the most, I figured I don't want to put myself too much out of my comfort zone so stayed in English, but I mean I can communicate in French perfectly fine I just feel more at ease in English.

**Citation 8:**

Daniel: And do you know why your brothers left for Montreal?

James: Uh yeah well my, the oldest brother uh he went first and he went to Redpath there to go to an English University and then it just kind of I think it all followed. Everyone you know went off everyone, it's more English here so it's more opportunities, that's where a lot of youth from Quebec move.

### Results Section 6.3

#### Citation 1:

Daniel: Okay I understand uhm what is, according to you and maybe you've covered that as, as a member of the VEQ board? I have no, no idea actually, but what's the role of English school is there a role that the English school is supposed to play in Quebec City. Children's education or is there a role outside of, of making them educated or does it serve another purpose for instance?

Manny: I'd say that's a more specific way of asking essentially a broader question which is what is the role of education in general and I mean we've been having riots about that recently so (Laughs). But uh my personal say on the matter is the primary role of education is to form uh productive and active citizens and by productive and active I don't mean in a strictly monetary economic sense uhm and, and I mean that more in a social civic sense. And I, and I think that having a I don't think it would be healthy if you were to wave a magic stick and suddenly every single student in Quebec City goes to English school that would be very, very bad uh but I think having a contingency, a small amount, not, I wouldn't even say a big minority but at least having a group that, that sort of has access to that Anglophone culture while also having full and complete access to Francophone culture is an extremely important bridge between Quebec's society and uh the rest of the world.

Daniel: Does that not create a divide between uhm, for instance we may be generalizing here, but you and I who have, I went to English school, but I'm French mother tongue-my parents don't speak English and compared to those Anglophones who went to English school right I mean they're sort of, I, I feel personally and you can comment on this, agree or disagree uhm that Francophones that attend English school are advantaged compared to Francophones that attend French schools or Anglophones that attend English schools?

Manny: Advantaged how?

Daniel: Advantaged linguistically like bilingually, and then we obviously talked about how bilingualism is an advantage on the market. I don't know if you agree with that, so that would relate to how bilingualism eventually becomes an advantage on the job market right I was of the opinion of that's how it works but I don't know?

Manny: Oh I, I completely agree uhm I think it's, it's, it's very clear that someone who's who has mastery of both languages who's, who's you know what you can call I guess a perfectly fluent bilingual is clearly very, very much advantaged uhm to the point where if I was a unilingual Anglophone I would want to send my kids to French school to make sure they have access to both uhm and, and that's really the crux of it uh the value is having a foot in both worlds uh and that's these, these I, I don't like these analogies cause it implies you're not fully one or fully the other uh you know if you were to say make a ven diagram that person is in between it's, it's in that spot where the two bubbles overlap yeah uhm and, and so you're fully one and fully the other and being able to easily cross back and forth brings you tremendous amount of value to your sort of local community group and also to the global community group.

### **Citation 2:**

Daniel: Uhm so what like, what exactly, if I ask you what was it like growing up Anglophone in Quebec City what would you describe it?

James: Uh it's hard to compare you know because I didn't, it's hard to compare because I never got a chance to see what it was like to you know be able to talk to everyone when I was there. I, I can see it more now that It would have been, I don't know, It's more like I remember getting my dad to go ask questions, you know the video store or you know stuff like you know I never wanted to go ask for something cause I could I didn't know how you know. Anything you know but uh I didn't really, I didn't really feel too handicapped I guess, I had my friends and my school and then I knew how to order, order a poutine and stuff like that like my lines.

### **Citation 3:**

Daniel: Uhm yeah so you, you don't write it? / At work that's what I wanted to say, you don't write, you don't write anything, you don't even carry a pencil with you?

James: No, well yeah I write you know.

Daniel: Measurements?

James: Measurements, uh work order, what I used on the job you know, what the problem was but I write it all in English cause it's an American based company so really it's not, you're not, it's not shunned upon to be only English at the company there are complete Anglophones there.

### **Citation 4:**

Daniel: Uhm so we talked about it a bit, but so today when you, when you speak with people, when you interact uh on the job you're co-worker you speak in English is that it?

James: Yeah.

Daniel: But he's bilingual or?

James: He's, his, my French is better than his.

Daniel: Okay.

James: So if someone comes starting, like generally he'll take most of the questions so I'll let him do the thing you know, but as soon as it's French and I see him kind of yeah struggling I'll intervene.

### **Citation 5:**

Daniel: So you spoke English first?

Deirdra: Yeah, yeah, yeah for the first few years uhm and then I kind of I mean you know I went to an English school my whole life so for me University was like definitely English as well. Like I speak very well in French, but just the whole written aspect of it is uhm more difficult for me. So uhm mainly that's why I migrated to Montreal and it was the closest place and I mean it just made sense. So uh so I went to Redpath in 2006. I did a bachelor in Psych uh with a minor in sociology uhm and then I migrated back to Quebec City (Laughs) in 2009 after my bachelor. Uhm I worked for a few years in uhm S.S.O school which is an Anglophone school uhm I was a daycare tech and then I moved back because I decided I did not want to pursue my studies in

Psych and started my bachelor in social work last year uhm yeah so I'm kind of finishing that up so again everything in English uhm.

**Citation 6:**

Daniel: Like at work do you have to write reports in French?

Deirdra: It depends, I write my notes, if the client is English I'll write in English if the client's French I'll write in French because the client is allowed to see their own notes their own files. Yeah so uhm so I mean like even if I write them in English or in French my supervisor has to look them over and approve them so she corrects them. Uhm in English she never corrects me because she's Francophone and I'm like almost not better than her, but I'm just I'm an Anglo-phone so yeah but in French she'll make little corrections yeah.

**Citation 7:**

Daniel: Do you speak English in Quebec [City]?

Casey: That, that's what's hilarious like my parents live you know right in the heart of Quebec where our high school was. Uhm we, they just recently moved back into that neighborhood, but my dad grew up there you know that was his neighborhood ever since he's been nine years old he's been like he knows everybody on that street, but if there's a new employee at one of the stores that he goes to and they, and they ask him where he's from because he's speaking in English to me, oh where are you guys from? He's been on the street, he's sixty-seven years old, he's been there for 58 years in that neighborhood you know he's, everybody knows him, he's lived in half the buildings in the surrounding area and he's still treated like a tourist as if it's like his first time there you know it's just, it's I don't know, in Quebec City like it's foreign, it depends to who, but it's, it's changing but it's still foreign. Like somebody speaking English in that neighborhood they, most people that work one street away don't even know that the high school in their backyard is Saint-Saveur high school that's been there since like the early nineteen hundreds I think and the front of the school in the stone it said 1912 that's how long it's been there you know and people are still like what are you doing speaking English in this neighborhood? The school is right in back and we've been here for longer than your ancestors have been here you know yeah I've always found that funny.

**Citation 8:**

Daniel: Do you have any friends from Montreal that you speak franglais with or any acquaintances?

Casey: From Montreal that are as bilingual as me?

Daniel: Yeah, like other than your friends from Quebec City?

Casey: No, no.

Daniel: So everybody that is like you, is from outside of /

Casey: Is from, yeah well, pretty much all from Quebec City yeah, the same you know fifteen-twenty people like that, that I've known through high school and through that but uh, not it's but I think here a lot of people have like some are bilingual but not to the same extent not to the same comfort level uhm but I think it's from outside like influences like the most bilingual person that I know uh in Montreal like who can, who's just as Québécois as me but like speaks English is actually a Bulgarian, his parents, yeah his parents like barely, his father doesn't even speak English or French and his mom speaks French she learned while she was here so he grew up in a

private school in French here but speaks English because he plays video games ever since he was a kid and, and yeah he communicates online so the only reason he speaks English is because of video games.

**Citation 9:**

Daniel: So what do you identify yourself as?

Casey: Uhm, I, I always described myself as an English-speaking French Quebecer, yeah, it's not that, I don't particularly take a side you know I don't / I don't think, yeah I guess maybe I shot myself in the foot saying that (Laughs). I, she's the only one that identifies herself as bilingual because you know I left the English system my last year of high school, I went to French school and I was the English kid, but then when I came, at work, ever since I've been in Montreal I'm the Quebecois I'm the French kid.

Daniel: You work in an English neighborhood right?

Casey: Yeah, but I think it has to do also with like where your, your working and what your surroundings are, but you know I've never really like had to think about it. I'm just, for me, I'm just think I'm fortunate to never, I've never had to learn you know, it just happened so that's why somebody who's bilingual I feel you have to try you know it's like trilingual, oh I learnt to speak Spanish.

**Citation 10:**

Daniel: And like in your everyday, like right now you use French on a daily basis?

Casey: Yeah.

Daniel: Speaking, what about writing?

Casey: Uh all the time, all the time.

Daniel: Do you think you're comfortable with it?

Casey Yeah, I mean I write emails like at work I get over, I probably get about 100 emails a day, for me to maintain control means that I have to answer at least 90 of them a day so out of 90 probably sixty are in English, thirty are in French but I'm switching all the time, sometimes there is 15 clients at the front of the store and out of those 15 there's 5 in French and 10 in English and I'm serving everybody English, French, English, French, English, French and sometimes people are like wow, I even forget who I am talking to and in what language you know, I get confused, I'll start talking to the girl in English and she's like looking at me like (Laughs) racoon in the headlights you know uhhh what I'm sorry ah, oh shit scuse moi j'te parlais en francais j'suis désolé and then I'll switch back and I'll switch again it's just the way it is but I'm like the only one that could do that you know, I guess it makes me more efficient, I should get a raise (Laughs)