

La stigmatisation des accents au Canada français : Contexte, conséquences,  
et facteurs de résilience

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Thèse soumise dans le cadre des exigences du programme de  
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## Résumé

L'accent, c'est-à-dire la façon de prononcer d'un locuteur, est une variation langagière qui est sujette aux préjugés et à la discrimination lorsqu'elle diverge du standard (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010b). Plusieurs études se sont intéressées aux réactions affectives d'interlocuteurs à l'égard de ceux-ci. Peu d'attention a, cependant, été dévolue au sort du locuteur lui-même. L'objectif de ce programme de recherche, composé d'une étude qualitative et de deux études quantitatives, est d'élucider l'expérience de la stigmatisation liée aux accents. L'analyse se fait selon une perspective psychosociale. Elle se fonde sur la perspective présentant la discrimination comme un processus transactionnel (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984) et sur la théorie de l'identité sociale (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) et ses dérivés. Ensemble, les études examinent les conséquences sociales, psychosociales et affectives de l'accentisme auprès de locuteurs francophones (natifs ou allophones) dans le contexte canadien. De plus, ce programme d'études examine certains facteurs qui exacerbent ou atténuent les conséquences de ces expériences.

D'abord, par l'entremise d'entrevues semi-structurées, la première étude explore en profondeur une gamme d'expériences relatives à la perception subjective attribuée à l'accent, aux contextes dans lesquels l'accentisme se produit, et à la compréhension et au sens donné à la stigmatisation par ceux qui la subissent. Des réponses comportementales, cognitives et affectives sont aussi identifiées. Les expériences sont comparées selon le type d'accent (de locuteurs natifs vs allophones) et la vitalité ethnolinguistique relative des régions d'où proviennent les locuteurs. Cette première étude informe les études subséquentes.

À l'aide de questionnaires, la deuxième étude explore les relations entre la discrimination perçue et des facteurs psychosociaux (confiance langagière et identités francophones réelle et réfléchie) telles que modérées par la légitimité perçue de la discrimination. Les résultats révèlent

que la discrimination perçue est significativement et négativement liée à la confiance langagière pour les locuteurs natifs et allophones. La légitimité perçue modère la relation entre la discrimination perçue et l'identité, mais seulement pour les locuteurs natifs d'une région bénéficiant de vitalité francophone élevée.

La troisième étude, à base de questionnaires et menée auprès de locuteurs francophones natifs, explore les conséquences d'ajustement psychologique (estime de soi et tracas langagiers quotidiens) de la discrimination perçue. Les rôles de l'identité francophone et de la légitimité perçue comme modérateurs sont explorés. Les résultats révèlent que la discrimination perçue est positivement liée aux tracas langagiers quotidiens pour ceux qui perçoivent la discrimination comme étant plus légitime et qui ont une identité francophone moindre. L'identité francophone et l'illégitimité perçue protègent ainsi contre les tracas langagiers quotidiens, mais non l'estime de soi.

Ensemble, ces études suggèrent que l'accentisme est perçu par certains locuteurs francophones natifs et allophones. Alors que certains font l'expérience de conséquences psychosociales et d'ajustement psychologique, d'autres font preuve de résilience. Ce programme de recherche suggère par ailleurs que le statut d'un accent, tel que déterminé par sa nature (de locuteurs natifs ou allophones) et la vitalité ethnolinguistique peuvent influencer sur l'expérience des locuteurs stigmatisés. Des implications théoriques et pratiques sont présentées.

### **Abstract**

An accent, that is, a way of speaking, is a language variation that can be subject to prejudice and discrimination when it diverges from the norm (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010b). Several studies have investigated affective responses towards non-standard accents. However, less attention has been afforded to the stigmatized speakers' experiences of these. The objective of this research program, composed of one qualitative study and two quantitative studies, is to explore the experience of accent stigmatization. A psychosocial perspective is used. Our program of research is rooted in the perspective of discrimination as a transactional process (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984) and in social identity and related theories (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Together, these studies examine the social, psychosocial and affective consequences of accentism among francophone speakers (native and non-native) in a Canadian context. In addition, this program of research examines how certain factors exacerbate or attenuate the consequences of these experiences.

Using semi-structured interviews, the first study explores the range of experiences related to the subjective perception of an accent, the contexts in which accentism occurs, and the understanding and sense given to the stigmatization by those who experience it. Behavioural, cognitive, and affective responses are also identified. Experiences are compared based on type of accent (native vs non-native) and the relative ethnolinguistic vitality of the regions from which the speakers originate. This study informs the subsequent studies.

With the use of questionnaires, the second study explores the relations between perceived discrimination and psychosocial factors (language confidence and actual and reflected francophone identities) as moderated by the perceived legitimacy of discrimination. The results reveal that perceived discrimination is significantly and negatively related to language

confidence for native and non-native speakers. Perceived legitimacy moderates the relation between perceived discrimination and identity, but only for native speakers from a region benefitting from stronger francophone vitality.

The third study also uses questionnaires, and is conducted among native francophone speakers. It explores the psychological adjustment consequences (self-esteem and daily language hassles) of perceived discrimination. Francophone identity and perceived legitimacy are explored as potential moderators of the relation between perceived discrimination and psychological adjustment consequences. Results reveal that perceived discrimination is positively related to daily language hassles for those who perceive discrimination as being more legitimate and for whom francophone identity is weaker. As such, francophone identity and perceived illegitimacy protect against daily language hassles, but not lowered self-esteem.

Together, these studies suggest that accentism is perceived by certain native and non-native French speakers. Whereas some stigmatized speakers experience psychosocial and psychological adjustment consequences, others show resilience. The results suggest that the status of an accent, as determined by its nature (native or non-native) as well as ethnolinguistic vitality, can influence the experience of stigmatized speakers. Theoretical and practical implications are presented.

## Remerciements

Un document comme celui-ci ne s'écrit pas seul.

Merci au professeur Richard Clément, qui m'a prêté son expertise, ses connaissances, sa patience et son soutien au cours des dernières années. Je ne tiens pas pour acquis sa générosité ni ses efforts pour cultiver une atmosphère de travail conviviale et collaborative. Sous sa tutelle, j'ai eu la chance d'explorer librement des intérêts personnels et de naviguer le monde académique. Ça a été un réel honneur.

Merci aux membres de mon comité de thèse, les professeurs John Sylvestre, Luc Pelletier, Jérémie Séror, et Ann Beaton qui ont généreusement offert leur expertise. Leur contribution me permet de soumettre une thèse dont je peux être fière.

Merci aux professeurs Katherine Collins et John Sylvestre, qui ont collaboré sur les projets de recherche, et aux bénévoles du laboratoire, dont Andrea, Hanna, Catherine, Michael, et Evelyn qui ont su prêter leur savoir-faire.

Thanks to my academic sisters, Katie, Sinthujaa and Odilia, with whom I spent more hours than I can count, whether it be in the lab or abroad. I feel fortunate to have worked, laughed, commiserated and grown alongside such interesting, brilliant, and kind women.

Thanks to my work buddies, Leah, Carleigh, Susanna, Meredith, et al., who helped make writing sessions fun. Merci au groupe de Thèsez-Vous avec qui j'ai appris à écrire avec bonheur et de façon efficace. Merci à mes collègues en psychologie clinique qui, par exemple, me rappellent l'importance de l'équilibre vie-travail.

Thanks to Shehan, who tolerated the graduate student lifestyle for perhaps longer than he would have liked. Thanks for reminding me of life beyond grad school, believing in me, and instilling a sense of normalcy throughout it all.

Merci à Eddie et Hugo, qui m'ont accompagnée et divertie à travers de longues heures d'écriture.

Merci à mes parents, Robert et Virginia ainsi qu'à mes frères et sœurs Raphaël, Pierre, Sophie, Geneviève, François et Marco qui m'inspirent à faire ce qui me passionne, et qui m'appuient sans équivoque.

Merci à mes amis et à ma famille ottavienne qui m'ont permis de me sentir chez soi, et qui m'ont poussée à vivre une vie saine en cultivant des loisirs variés.

Enfin, un merci spécial à ceux qui ont participé aux études, ainsi qu'à la communauté francophone qui s'est intéressée au sujet. Vous avez donné un sens à ce programme de recherche. Cette thèse vous appartient.

### **Contribution des auteurs**

Je suis responsable de la conceptualisation du programme de recherche, de la collecte des données, des analyses, et de l'écriture de cette thèse. Je suis l'auteure principale des trois manuscrits. Mon superviseur de thèse, le professeur Richard Clément m'a offert une rétroaction à toutes les étapes de ce projet, depuis la planification du programme de recherche jusqu'à la version définitive. Il apparaît comme auteur sur tous les manuscrits.

J'ai obtenu l'assistance de collègues pour les études 1 et 3. Pour l'étude 1, le professeur John Sylvestre a offert son expertise en méthodologie qualitative en offrant des conseils pour la collecte et l'analyse des données. Il a aussi révisé le manuscrit pour publication. Pour l'étude 3, la professeure Katherine Collins s'est occupée des analyses statistiques, de l'interprétation de celles-ci et de l'écriture de la section résultats. Elle a aussi révisé le manuscrit. Ainsi, ils apparaissent comme coauteurs sur les manuscrits respectifs.

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## INTRODUCTION GÉNÉRALE

### **L'accent en tant que variation langagière stigmatisée**

L'accent peut être défini comme une façon de prononcer une langue qui est particulière à un individu, à un groupe langagier, à une région géographique, ou à une classe sociale (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010b). De façon plus précise, l'accent fait référence au rythme du discours, à l'insistance mise sur certaines syllabes ou lettres, et s'étend à d'autres aspects de la langue (grammatical, syntaxique, morphologique et lexical) qui demeurent plus ou moins comparables au langage standard (Clément & Noels, 1994 ; Giles, 1970). L'âge auquel une langue a été apprise, la fréquence d'interaction avec une langue ou un groupe donné et la connaissance préalable d'autres langues peuvent influencer sur l'acquisition d'un accent (Alario, Goslin, Michel, & Laganaro, 2010 ; Scovel, 2000). Tandis que l'accent tend à être malléable au cours de l'enfance, il a tendance à être plus rigide à l'âge adulte (Scovel, 2000).

L'accent comme caractéristique est sujet à stigmatisation, c'est-à-dire qu'il peut être dévalué. C'est une marque d'infamie qui peut réduire la valeur du locuteur aux yeux de celui qui le juge (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010b). Ainsi, il peut inciter à des préjugés, c'est-à-dire des attitudes négatives dirigées vers un groupe langagier quelconque et manifestées dans l'usage linguistique ou des comportements non verbaux. C'est alors qu'on parle d'accentisme (Office québécois de la langue française, 2017). En outre, les préjugés qu'on entretient envers les membres d'un groupe peuvent provoquer la discrimination, soit des comportements négatifs dirigés contre eux (Bourhis, Montreuil, Helly, & Jantzen, 2007).

Alors que la mobilité accrue favorise l'inévitabilité de la rencontre d'accents variés, à ce jour, peu d'études ont vérifié l'existence de l'accentisme auprès de locuteurs francophones au

Canada. La hiérarchisation des accents francophones et les défis qu'elle pose pour les locuteurs stigmatisés sont documentés dans des œuvres littéraires (par ex.: *Méchante Langue, la Légitimité du Français Parlé au Québec*, 2012 de Chantal Bouchard) comme dans des documentaires (par ex.: *Les Accents*, 2013 de Les Productions Rivard). Néanmoins, outre dans quelques études (Noël et Beaton, 2010 ; Pilote et Canuel, 2013), ce sujet n'a que très peu été exploré dans la perspective de la recherche psychosociale.

Les résultats de l'*Enquête sur la Diversité Ethnique* (2003) de Statistique Canada, analysés en fonction de la langue maternelle du répondant (toutes origines ethniques confondues), révèlent pourtant que pour plusieurs, la discrimination rapportée est souvent tributaire de l'accent et de la langue. Pour plusieurs groupes langagiers, la discrimination est attribuée à la langue et à l'accent plus communément qu'à l'appartenance ethnique, la couleur de la peau ou la religion. Spécifiquement, 68 % des francophones à l'extérieur du Québec, 67 % des anglophones au Québec, 61 % des francophones au Québec et 52 % des locuteurs allophones au Québec ayant rapporté avoir subi de la discrimination relatent avoir été victime de linguicisme, c'est-à-dire la discrimination dirigée contre les membres d'un exogroupe linguistique (Bourhis et coll., 2007). Par ailleurs, 39 % des locuteurs allophones et 25 % des locuteurs anglophones hors Québec, victimes de discrimination, identifient l'accent et la langue comme cause de la maltraitance. De façon similaire, une étude menée auprès d'immigrants au Canada ayant l'anglais comme langue seconde rapporte qu'un tiers des participants dise avoir subi de la discrimination à cause de leur accent alors que 53 % croient qu'ils seraient respectés davantage s'ils parlaient avec un accent de locuteur natif (Derwing, 2003). Alors que peu d'études se sont penchées sur les conséquences de cette forme de préjugé et de discrimination, une

compréhension accrue de celles-ci s'avère cruciale, puisque les attitudes péjoratives envers les accents non standards sont largement perpétuées et acceptées.

Dans les paragraphes qui suivent, nous faisons état de nos connaissances sur la stigmatisation liée aux accents. Les façons dont ces attitudes sont propagées et la nature des attitudes attribuées sont examinées. Ensuite, les conséquences probables de la stigmatisation sur l'identité ethnolinguistique de même que ses répercussions affectives et psychologiques seront explorées. Une discussion de deux facteurs susceptibles de favoriser la résilience face à des attitudes ou des comportements discriminatoires s'ensuivra. Enfin, les trois études propres à ce programme de recherche suivront.

### **Origine et nature des attitudes péjoratives envers les accents**

Les attitudes péjoratives et les comportements discriminatoires envers les accents s'expliquent par leur hiérarchisation qui transmet de l'information sur le statut social du locuteur (Dovidio & Gluszek, 2012). Ce statut social est déterminé par la vitalité ethnolinguistique du groupe langagier, c'est-à-dire, les caractéristiques sociétales (représentation démographique, prestige social, appui institutionnel) qui permettent la survivance d'une communauté langagière (Giles & Johnson, 1987). Cette vitalité permet de distinguer les accents standardisés des accents stigmatisés, de telle sorte que les accents standardisés ont tendance à être ceux qui sont utilisés par les groupes linguistiques natifs qui bénéficient d'une haute vitalité ethnolinguistique. Un cycle alimente cette tendance : la standardisation de l'accent rehausse la vitalité d'un groupe détenant un certain accent. En retour, l'expression langagière d'un groupe à haute vitalité a plus de chance de devenir standardisée (Dragojevic, Giles, & Watson, 2013).

La standardisation et la vitalité dont bénéficie un groupe détenant un accent particulier détermineront les attitudes à l'égard de ses locuteurs. Ainsi, les accents standards, soit ceux

appartenant aux groupes de haute vitalité, bénéficieront d'un plus haut statut et ainsi, d'attitudes plus favorables (Dovidio & Gluszek, 2012). En revanche, ceux employant un accent de plus bas statut, que ce soit un accent de locuteurs natifs ou allophones, mais provenant d'un groupe à basse vitalité, seront stigmatisés (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010b). Certaines études illustrent l'existence d'une hiérarchie des accents de la langue française correspondant à la vitalité de diverses régions (Kuiper, 2005 ; Yzerbyt, Provost, & Corneille, 2005). Par exemple, des études qualitatives au Canada ont observé que des variations du français de régions où il y a plus de contact avec l'anglais (par ex.: plus basse vitalité du français) tendent à être perçues comme étant inférieures, moins plaisantes, ou encore inadéquates pour des contextes professionnels (Boudreau & Dubois, 2002 ; Hallion, 2011 ; LeBlanc, 2010 ; Lozon, 2002 ; Noël & Beaton, 2010 ; Perrot 2006). De plus, une étude menée auprès de jeunes adultes belges et français montre que l'accent français belge est considéré comme inférieur à l'accent français, soit l'accent standard, et que la qualité attribuée à ces accents est considérée être un reflet des compétences langagières de ses locuteurs (Yzerbyt et coll., 2005).

Ainsi, les locuteurs stigmatisés sont dévalués. L'accent est considéré comme une capacité langagière qui peut être acquise avec peu d'effort. Faute de changer son accent, le locuteur est souvent jugé incompréhensible, et comme ayant des capacités mentales inférieures, malgré le fait que l'accent ne soit pas forcément indicateur de compétence langagière (Dragojevic et coll., 2013 ; Kuiper, 2005 ; Rakic & Steffens, 2013). L'accent non standard mène même à l'attribution de caractéristiques négatives qui transcendent les compétences langagières. Les évaluations négatives sont généralisées à d'autres types d'évaluation sociale et de fonctionnement, telles l'intelligence et l'ambition, et le locuteur est jugé moins attrayant ou comme ayant des fautes de caractères (Babel, McGuire, & King, 2014; Cargile, 1997 tel que cité dans Kim, Wang, Deng,

Alvarez, & Li, 2011). L'impression négative laissée par l'accent est robuste, peu importe le niveau d'éducation, la compétence ou la compréhension réelle du locuteur et de sa façon de parler (Dragojevic et coll., 2013). En comparaison, les accents standards, ou ceux de plus haut statut sont perçus comme étant plus désirables, prestigieux et plaisants à l'oreille et ceux qui les parlent sont perçus comme étant plus compétents, mais moins chaleureux (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010b).

Certaines études suggèrent que ces attitudes péjoratives se traduisent en comportements discriminatoires. Une étude auprès d'enfants et d'adolescents ayant des accents non standards asiatiques américains documente, par exemple, le harcèlement et l'exclusion qu'ils subissent en cour d'école à cause de leur parler non standard (Qin, Way, & Mukherjee, 2008). Encore une autre étude menée auprès d'adultes aux États-Unis montre que plus le locuteur perçoit son accent comme étant évident aux autres, plus il rapporte subir de la discrimination (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a).

Toutefois, au contraire d'autres indicateurs d'appartenance groupale qui permettent d'identifier les membres de l'exogroupe de façon claire et consciente, les accents peuvent inciter à un préjugé intergroupe sans que celui qui discrimine en soit conscient (Dovidio & Gluszek, 2012). Assurément, si les accents se remarquent à l'évidence, la façon dont ils sont traités par ceux qui les écoutent se fait souvent de façon subconsciente et automatique (Gasiorek & Giles, 2012). Ce manque de conscience de la présence des préjugés peut faire en sorte que celui qui écoute soit moins porté à corriger ses comportements péjoratifs envers le locuteur stigmatisé. Par conséquent, les locuteurs peuvent faire face à une stigmatisation plus importante (Dovidio & Gluszek, 2012).

La spontanéité avec laquelle ces attitudes et comportements péjoratifs se manifestent s'explique par leurs racines dans les schémas idéologiques. Celles-ci construisent et gèrent des normes langagières et des attitudes envers les variations langagières (Dragojevic et coll., 2013). En effet, les idéologies langagières, soit les croyances au sujet de la langue et de la façon dont elle doit être utilisée, sous-tendent la croyance qu'il n'existe qu'une façon correcte de parler et que cette forme de communication est supérieure aux autres (Shuck, 2006). Les institutions politiques, éducationnelles et médiatiques propagent et renforcent l'idée qu'un certain statut et prestige accompagnent certaines formes de parler standard et que cette croyance est internalisée dès le jeune âge. Une fois idéalisée, la façon standard de parler sert de modèle contre lequel toutes autres formes sont comparées et jugées. Ces croyances relatives aux variations langagières se généralisent à l'individu qui l'utilise, qui est perçu comme transgressant les normes relatives au langage et qui finit par être marginalisé, son appartenance questionnée (Dragojevic et coll., 2013).

### **Conséquences de la stigmatisation des accents**

Ce compte-rendu suggère que les préjugés et la discrimination liés aux accents soient particuliers, répandus, constants et limitants. Certains proposent qu'il soit probable que les locuteurs parlant avec un accent non standard subissent des conséquences sociales, politiques, financières, légales et psychologiques (voir Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010 b ; Lippi-Green, 2011 ; Pantos & Perkins, 2013). Toutefois, à ce jour, peu d'études se sont attardées aux conséquences de la stigmatisation liée aux accents. La recherche sur la discrimination en général informe cependant des conjectures quant à la stigmatisation des accents et son impact sur les locuteurs.

### **La stigmatisation et l'appartenance groupale**

Les attributions négatives envers certains accents sont accompagnées de difficultés reliées directement à la communication lors d'interactions intergroupes (Dovidio & Gluszek, 2012 ; Gluszek, Newheiser, & Dovidio, 2011). Ces jugements demeurent relatifs aux idéologies langagières : l'accent standard reflète la clarté d'expression. Par conséquent, une phonologie ou des intonations qui divergent de la norme représentent une barrière à la clarté, à la compréhension et à l'efficacité communicationnelle (Dragojevic et coll., 2013). À titre d'exemple, une étude par Gluszek et Dovidio (2010a) menée auprès d'adultes aux États-Unis montre que la stigmatisation perçue liée à l'accent est significativement et positivement liée à des difficultés à communiquer. Or, en comparaison à d'autres expériences de discrimination, la stigmatisation liée aux accents engendre des défis particuliers.

En effet, les accents, inséparables du langage et de la communication, outils centraux au processus d'acculturation et d'intégration sociale, entravent l'habileté à communiquer aisément et rend ainsi difficile l'intégration dans un système social (Kim et coll., 2011). Une étude menée auprès d'étudiants universitaires en Allemagne montre que l'accent en soi est un indicateur puissant de la catégorisation d'un locuteur. Lorsque présentés avec de l'information visuelle (apparence) et auditive (accent) indiquant une ethnie, c'est l'accent qui prime en importance et qui incite les participants à identifier l'ethnie d'un locuteur (Rakic, Steffens, & Mummendey, 2011). La stigmatisation associée aux accents mérite donc une attention particulière puisqu'elle peut influencer les évaluations et les jugements de façon plus importante que ne le peuvent la race ou l'ethnicité et peut être plus importante que des traits ou caractéristiques physiques pour appartenir à un groupe social (Dovidio & Gluszek, 2012 ; Dragojevic et coll., 2013 ; Rakic & Steffens, 2013).



Or, la stigmatisation des accents encourage la création de catégories mutuellement exclusives entre le *nous* et le *eux* (Harwood & Giles, 2005). L'attribution d'une identité ou des caractéristiques négatives à ceux qui ont un accent non standard exagère et rationalise les différences entre le soi et ceux qui ont des accents qui divergent de la norme, que l'accent soit de locuteurs natifs ou allophones. Ainsi, ils servent de filtre social qui fait de l'accent un régulateur des membres appartenant à l'endogroupe ou à l'exogroupe. Conséquemment, les accents peuvent devenir un outil subtil d'exclusion (Harwood & Giles, 2005).

C'est ainsi que l'identité ethnolinguistique, caractérisée par des sentiments d'appartenance à un groupe, est inséparable de la langue et de ses variations langagières (Noels & Clément, 1996). D'une part, la façon de parler donne suffisamment d'information au récepteur au sujet du locuteur pour qu'il puisse lui attribuer une identité. En effet, les variations langagières, tels les accents révèlent de l'information sociale au sujet du locuteur : sa provenance géographique, son ethnicité, sa classe sociale et même des stéréotypes attribués à l'accent en question (Dragojevic et coll., 2013). La façon dont une langue est exprimée est donc indicatrice de l'identité du locuteur.

D'autre part, l'identité ethnolinguistique ressentie par le locuteur est formée par la façon dont il parle. Ainsi, si l'identité est généralement considérée comme autodéfinie, elle peut changer à travers le temps et être influencée par des interactions sociales (Noels & Clément, 1996 ; Turner, 1987, tel que cité dans Clément, Noels, & Deneault, 2001). En grande partie, l'identité ethnolinguistique est déterminée par la langue et influencée par l'utilisation et les pratiques langagières (Ender & Straßl, 2009). Ainsi, l'identité est un reflet de la langue parlée. Étant donné leur relation intime, le questionnement de la validité d'une façon de parler est aussi le questionnement de l'identité de celui qui le parle.

Dans des situations de discrimination, le locuteur stigmatisé doit composer avec deux identités : celle qu'il ressent (identité réelle) et celle qui lui est imposée (identité réfléchie) par celui qui l'écoute. Il a été proposé que cette négation par discrimination de l'identité réelle fasse en sorte que le locuteur perçoive son identité comme étant moindre, et à long terme, que le locuteur stigmatisé se dissocie de son groupe langagier (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010 a ; Corrigan & Watson, 2002). Les résultats de certaines études qualitatives appuient ces propos (Jaspal & Sitaridou, 2013 ; Pilote & Canuel, 2013).

### **La stigmatisation et la confiance langagière**

Certaines études portant sur des variations langagières au Canada français ont exploré l'insécurité linguistique, c'est-à-dire des attitudes ou des représentations négatives de la façon de parler, et une perception qu'elle est différente ou inférieure de l'accent standard (Létourneau, 2002 ; Lozon, 2002 ; Remysen, 2005). Certaines études canadiennes conduites auprès de francophones en situations minoritaires suggèrent que l'insécurité linguistique peut émerger d'instances de stigmatisation (FESFO, 2014 ; Noël & Beaton, 2010).

Un construit connexe à l'insécurité linguistique, soit la confiance langagière, n'a pas encore été investigué dans le contexte de la stigmatisation des accents. Toutefois, comme une diminution de la confiance langagière est liée à moins de volonté à communiquer, une identité amoindrie, et moins d'usage d'une langue (Noels & Clément, 1996 ; Sampasivam & Clément, 2014 ; Vincze & MacIntyre, 2016), il serait important de mieux comprendre les facteurs pouvant contribuer à une perte de confiance langagière. Nous proposons que la discrimination liée aux accents puisse en être un.

La confiance langagière est définie comme une croyance dans la capacité à utiliser une langue de façon efficace, de pair avec peu d'anxiété dans des situations spécifiques (Clément &

Kruidenier, 1985). Alors que de nombreuses études montrent qu'un contact fréquent et plaisant avec une langue mène à plus de confiance langagière (voir Sampasivam & Clément, 2014), peu d'études ont vérifié si un contact déplaisant, notamment des instances de discrimination, peut mener à une diminution de la confiance langagière. Une étude hongroise montre, toutefois, que la stigmatisation des accents est significativement et positivement liée à de l'anxiété liée à l'utilisation d'une langue seconde (Vincze & MacIntyre, 2016).

### **Conséquences psychologiques et affectives**

Par ailleurs, certaines études proposent que la stigmatisation mène à des répercussions au-delà de l'identité. Une étude menée dans un milieu de travail aux États-Unis montre que le fait de parler en anglais avec un accent stigmatisant hispanophone prédit la présence de stress vécu au travail, ce qui nuit ultimement au bien-être et à la satisfaction (Wated & Sanchez, 2006). La recherche sur la stigmatisation des variétés langagières en général suggère aussi que la stigmatisation langagière peut réduire le bien-être collectif et mener à un stress psychologique plus élevé (Dragojevic et coll., 2013). De plus, les résultats d'études parmi des immigrants et étudiants internationaux aux États-Unis indiquent que la discrimination langagière prédit des conséquences psychologiques et physiques au-delà du racisme (Wei, Wang, Ku, 2012 ; Yoo, Gee, Takeuchi, 2008). Bref, ces études, de pair avec la recherche sur la stigmatisation en général, suggèrent que la stigmatisation associée aux accents pourrait mener à des problèmes d'ajustement psychologique, social et à des problèmes de santé physique (Lewis, Cogburn, & Williams, 2015; Paradies, 2006; Rintamiki & Brashers, 2010; Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes, & Garcia, 2014).

Enfin, certaines études et les modèles portant sur la stigmatisation en général soulignent les conséquences affectives de la stigmatisation et suggèrent que les personnes stigmatisées ont

tendance à internaliser les évaluations négatives qui leur sont attribuées. Ce sentiment de honte implique des émotions négatives, le sentiment d'être insuffisant (*self-inadequacy*) et des sentiments d'échec (Rintamiki & Brashers, 2010). Ceux qui ressentent des sentiments de honte ont plus tendance à s'autostigmatiser et par conséquent, à vivre une baisse de l'estime de soi, ce qui dans l'ensemble, peut ultimement mener à la dépression.

### **La résilience**

L'analyse des conséquences de la discrimination demeure incomplète sans la prise en compte de facteurs qui pourraient atténuer les répercussions de ces expériences. En effet, être conscient des attitudes négatives et des préjugés envers son propre groupe ne veut pas forcément dire que la stigmatisation sera internalisée ni acceptée (Shih, 2004). Certains réussissent à rejeter et à dénoncer la place péjorative qui leur est accordée et à résister aux conséquences négatives de celle-ci (Shih, 2004). C'est alors qu'on parle de résilience. La résilience résulte de l'influence interactive de diverses caractéristiques psychologiques dans le processus de stress. La résilience psychologique fait appel aux comportements et aux processus psychologiques protégeant un individu stigmatisé des effets potentiellement négatifs d'un stress et promouvant ses forces personnelles (Fletcher & Sakar, 2013).

En présence de résilience, la discrimination peut résulter en un rehaussement de l'identité, de la solidarité ou de la promotion communautaire (Gill, 2006; Leonard, Moons, Mackie, & Smith, 2010; van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004). Étant donné les bénéfices associés à la résilience, il est important d'identifier quels sont ces comportements ou processus psychologiques qui permettent de répondre au stress de façon adaptative. Une telle analyse est particulièrement importante puisque la résistance aux conséquences négatives de la stigmatisation des accents est une question qui a peu été abordée dans la recherche. Nous

proposons que la légitimité perçue de la discrimination et l'identité ethnolinguistique soient deux caractéristiques centrales à la résilience face à la discrimination des accents.

### **La légitimité comme modérateur de la relation discrimination — identité**

Tel que déjà énoncé, certaines études suggèrent que la discrimination peut provoquer un détachement identitaire. Cependant, d'autres chercheurs proposent qu'il y ait exception à la règle et que l'expérience stigmatisante renforce l'identité ethnolinguistique chez ceux faisant preuve de résilience (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999). Une étude menée auprès de femmes en milieu académique et une autre auprès de fumeurs suggèrent que c'est la légitimation accordée à la discrimination qui permet à l'identité de subsister face aux attitudes et aux comportements péjoratifs (Jetten, Schmitt, Branscombe, Garza, & Mewse, 2011). La légitimité perçue dans le contexte de la stigmatisation est définie comme la perception subjective individuelle que le statut de son groupe par rapport aux autres est juste (Rüsch, Todd, Bodenhausen, Olschewski, & Corrigan, 2010). Ce sont des croyances qui font appel à un processus cognitif qui permet d'évaluer une situation discriminatoire. La légitimité perçue s'est avérée être un facteur déterminant clé dans les réponses individuelles à la discrimination perçue. Plus précisément, les résultats des études montrent que l'identité peut être affaiblie en contexte de discrimination lorsqu'elle est perçue comme légitime. La relation négative entre la discrimination et l'identité se produit ainsi surtout lorsque la discrimination est considérée comme légitime. Autrement, la discrimination mène à une plus forte identification au groupe stigmatisé (Jetten et coll. 2011).

### **Identité et conséquences de la discrimination**

Si une expérience discriminante peut avoir un effet sur l'identité d'un locuteur discriminé, il semble aussi que l'identité soit liée aux conséquences affectives et psychologiques de l'expérience stigmatisante. Une méta-analyse portant sur la discrimination souligne le rôle

modérateur de l'identité dans la relation entre la discrimination perçue et le bien-être, mais la nature de cette relation demeure incertaine (Schmitt et coll., 2014). Les résultats de la méta-analyse révèlent que lorsque significatives, les analyses d'identité en tant que modérateur montrent que celle-ci, la plupart du temps, sert plus d'effet protecteur que de facteur exacerbant les conséquences pour le bien-être (Schmitt et coll., 2014).

Le modèle de rejet-identification est pertinent ici. Celui-ci suggère que tandis que globalement, la discrimination a un effet négatif sur le bien-être, une identification accrue au groupe stigmatisé en réponse à la stigmatisation pourrait servir de mécanisme qui, ultimement, aide à protéger le bien-être de celui qui est stigmatisé (Branscombe et coll., 1999). Dans un contexte discriminatoire, s'identifier à l'endogroupe serait une réponse adaptative au rejet de l'exogroupe afin de maintenir un sens d'appartenance et un sentiment d'acceptation, cruciaux au bien-être (Branscombe et coll., 1999). L'identité agirait donc comme facteur de résilience, dans le sens qu'elle influe sur les façons individuelles de percevoir les situations discriminatoires et sur la sélection des stratégies de coping, en poussant un individu stigmatisé à chercher de l'appui auprès du groupe avec lequel il s'identifie (Crabtree, Haslam, Postmes, & Haslam, 2010).

Toutefois, les résultats de certaines études ne concordent pas avec ce modèle montrant plutôt que plus l'identification au groupe stigmatisé est forte ou considérée comme centrale au soi, plus la discrimination perçue est nuisible (Crabtree, Haslam, & Postmes, 2010; Hansen & Sassenberg, 2011; McCoy & Major, 2003). Ainsi, il est probable que l'identité ne représente qu'une partie du mécanisme par lequel l'ajustement psychologique varie en contexte discriminatoire.

#### **Modérateur de la relation entre l'identité et les conséquences de la discrimination.**

Un facteur qui pourrait expliquer cette discordance serait, encore une fois, la légitimité attribuée

à l'attitude ou au comportement péjoratif. Une étude menée auprès d'étudiants universitaires trouva que face à la discrimination, l'identité a un effet protecteur sur le bien-être lorsque la discrimination est perçue comme illégitime, mais que l'identification au groupe discriminé exacerbe les conséquences négatives de la discrimination perçue lorsque celle-ci est considérée comme légitime (Hansen & Sassenberg, 2011). De plus, la recherche sur la stigmatisation en général suggère que la légitimité perçue de la discrimination pourrait différencier les conséquences affectives, soit les réactions affectives autostigmatisantes (la honte) de réactions plutôt résistantes (colère). Certaines études menées auprès d'individus souffrant de problèmes psychologiques ont trouvé que la légitimité perçue de la discrimination est positivement liée aux sentiments de honte, indicateur d'autostigmatisation (par ex.: Rüsç et coll., 2010). Une étude menée auprès de patients à des centres pour services en santé mentale aux États-Unis, montre qu'au fil du temps, l'association des sentiments de honte aux troubles mentaux est significativement et positivement liée à la légitimité perçue de la discrimination (Rüsç et coll., 2010). Enfin, la méta-analyse de Schmitt et collègues (2014), conclue que la légitimité est centrale au bien-être psychologique et à la résistance collective face à la discrimination et ainsi, qu'elle mérite une attention particulière dans l'étude de la discrimination et ses conséquences. Ainsi, nous proposons que l'identité puisse être liée aux conséquences affectives et psychologiques par l'entremise de la légitimité perçue, de telle sorte qu'elle pourrait exacerber ou protéger contre les conséquences selon la légitimité accordée à la discrimination perçue.

### **Études**

Somme toute, si les conséquences possibles de la stigmatisation liée aux accents sont vastes et alarmantes, on n'en est qu'au début de son étude. Le compte-rendu précédent fait ressortir quelques lacunes évidentes dans la recherche sur la stigmatisation liée aux accents.

Premièrement, la plupart des études se sont intéressées à la discrimination et aux préjugés du point de vue du stigmatisateur. Ces études soulignent l'étendue et la persistance de cette forme de discrimination et de préjugés. Néanmoins, peu d'études se sont intéressées à l'expérience du locuteur stigmatisé, soit la portée perçue de la stigmatisation liée aux accents par ceux qui pourraient la subir et le sens qui en est donné. Pourtant, les études portant sur la stigmatisation en général nous indiquent l'importance d'en connaître davantage à ce sujet, étant donné les conséquences psychologiques et sociales qu'il est probable qu'elle engendre. Des études portant sur les conséquences précises de la stigmatisation liée aux accents et sur les facteurs favorisant la résilience face à la discrimination seraient de mise. Quelques pistes ont été présentées. Il semblerait que l'identité soit centrale au vécu de l'expérience stigmatisante associée aux accents. De plus, l'inclusion de variables telles la légitimité pourrait éclaircir notre compréhension de ce qui distingue ceux qui s'auto stigmatisent, de ceux qui sont plutôt résilients face à la discrimination.

Par ailleurs, il serait important d'étudier en quoi l'expérience stigmatisante varie selon le type d'accent. Alors que les études décrites plus haut suggèrent que les préjugés et la discrimination sont dirigés vers un bon nombre de groupes langagiers, les études portant sur la stigmatisation liée aux accents se sont principalement axées sur les conséquences du vécu stigmatisant chez les locuteurs allophones (par ex.: Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010b). Y a-t-il lieu de faire la distinction entre un accent allophone, présent chez ceux ayant une langue comme langue seconde, et un accent de locuteur natif, propre à une région géographique, mais appartenant à ceux qui parlent leur langue maternelle ? Certains auteurs suggèrent que les locuteurs natifs auraient moins tendance à subir les conséquences des problèmes relatifs à la communication engendrée par un parler accentué que ceux parlant avec un accent allophone (par ex.: Gluszek &



Dovidio, 2010a; b). Toutefois, étant donné l'existence d'accents de locuteurs natifs et d'attitudes péjoratives envers ceux-ci (par ex.: Yzerbyt et coll., 2005), l'étude de la stigmatisation liée aux accents de locuteurs natifs serait tout aussi importante. Il est possible, par exemple, que les conséquences liées au parler de locuteurs natifs dérivent davantage de la perception d'avoir vu l'identification à la langue maternelle niée en dépit de l'adhésion à ce groupe. Cela pourrait provoquer des questionnements sur la légitimité de la discrimination ainsi que des conséquences psychologiques, décrites plus haut (par ex.: Noels, Leavitt, & Clément, 2010). Néanmoins, comme très peu d'études se sont attardées à une comparaison des parlars accentués, ces possibilités demeurent exploratoires.

Enfin, nos connaissances de la stigmatisation liée aux accents et des facteurs influençant l'expérience de celle-ci sont limitées. Trois études proposées ci-dessous tenteront d'enrichir nos connaissances à ce sujet.

### **Objectifs de recherche**

Collectivement, les études tenteront d'évaluer (a) comment l'expérience de l'accentisme est perçue par les locuteurs stigmatisés au sein de la francophonie canadienne (b) ses conséquences identitaires, psychologiques, sociales et affectives (c) le rôle de la légitimité perçue de la discrimination et de l'identité ethnolinguistique dans la capacité à résister à l'autostigmatisation.

Étant donné la vitalité diversifiée des communautés francophones et la variété d'accents francophones au Canada, le Canada français offre un riche terrain de recherche pour la stigmatisation liée aux accents. Cela s'avère encore plus exact étant donné les moyens diversifiés pour communiquer à distance et la mobilité accrue dont bénéficient les Canadiens aujourd'hui, permettant une communication facile entre francophones détenant des accents variés. Le

programme d'étude suivant examine donc la stigmatisation liée aux accents dans un contexte canadien, et plus spécifiquement parmi les locuteurs francophones. Dans ce programme de recherche, les locuteurs ayant le français comme langue maternelle (par ex.: accent franco-ontarien) constitueront le groupe de participants détenant un accent de locuteurs natifs et à fin de comparaison, les locuteurs ayant le français comme langue seconde composeront le groupe détenant un accent allophone (par ex.: anglophone ayant appris le français).

Trois études sous-tendent cette analyse. La première est une étude qualitative qui a comme but d'explorer à quoi ressemble la stigmatisation liée aux accents, et comment les locuteurs stigmatisés réagissent à cette discrimination et à ses conséquences. La deuxième est une étude quantitative qui explore la relation entre la discrimination perçue et l'identité francophone (réelle et réfléchie), ainsi que la confiance langagière, telle que modérée par la légitimité perçue de la discrimination. Les deux premières études sont des études comparatives, en fonction du type d'accent (natif vs allophone). Enfin, la troisième étude a comme but de vérifier si la discrimination perçue est associée à des conséquences au niveau de l'ajustement psychologique, en particulier à l'estime de soi et au stress langagier. Le rôle modérateur de facteurs protecteurs, en particulier la légitimité perçue de la discrimination et l'identité ethnolinguistique, est exploré.

**STUDY ONE**

**A Qualitative Investigation of the Experience of Accent Stigmatization Among Native and  
Non-Native French Speakers in Canada\***

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\* **Freynet, N.**, Clément, R., & Sylvestre, J. (2018). A qualitative investigation of the experience of accent stigmatization among native and non-native French speakers in Canada. *Journal of Language and Discrimination*, 2.1, 5-31. DOI 10.1558/jld.32226

### **Abstract**

Decades of research on language attitudes has documented that general negative affect towards nonstandard accents translates into negative evaluations of nonstandard speakers who are considered to be less competent, intelligent or attractive (see Dragojevic, Giles, & Watson, 2013; Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a). However, few studies have investigated the experience of stigmatization from the perspective of the nonstandard speaker. It is this dimension of intergroup interaction that this study addresses. Specifically, this study offers a descriptive analysis of the prevalence of stigmatization among nonstandard French speakers in Canada, the perceived nature of accent discrimination, and the ways in which stigmatized speakers respond to these events. The inclusion of native and non-native speakers (N = 36) from across Canada is done with the objective of capturing the ways in which ethnolinguistic vitality and type of accent nuance the experience of accent stigmatization. Practical and theoretical implications for future studies are discussed.

Keywords: accent stigmatization; native accent; non-native accent; ethnolinguistic vitality; nonstandard accent

## Introduction

Despite our exposure to people of different backgrounds and ways of speaking, accents remain socially significant. In fact, some would argue that increased globalization and contact between speakers of different languages with different accents only exacerbate the challenges that non-native speakers of a particular language currently face (Gluszek, Newheiser, & Dovidio, 2011). Decades of research on language attitudes have documented that generally negative affect towards nonstandard accents translates into negative evaluations of nonstandard speakers who are considered to be less competent, intelligent or attractive (see Cargile, 1997 in Kim, Wang, Deng, Alvarez, & Li, 2011; Dragojevic, Giles, & Watson, 2013; Giles, 1970; Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a; Pantos & Perkins, 2013). However, fewer studies have investigated the experience of stigmatization from the perspective of the nonstandard speaker (Derwing, 2003; Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a). It is this dimension of intergroup interaction that this study addresses. Specifically, this study explores the prevalence of stigmatization among nonstandard French speakers in Canada, the perceived nature of accent discrimination, and the ways in which stigmatized speakers respond to these events.

An accent is more than just a way of speaking. It is a tool for social categorization and a meaningful means to organize the social world around us. Accents are characterized by a mode of language pronunciation, specifically a series of traits such as intonation, rhythm, and speech rate, that are often associated with a geographic region, language group or social class (Clément & Noels, 1994; Giles, 1970; Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a). As such, accents convey social information about a speaker that may be linked to stereotypes about groups sharing that accent. When these pertain to negative attributes, a way of speaking becomes devalued and stigmatized (Dragojevic et al., 2013; Goffman, 1963).

Studies looking at the devaluation of speech, or speech criticism, more broadly, give interesting insight into how receiving negative evaluations of one's manner of speaking can be experienced. In a study conducted among Hawaiian Creole English speakers in Hawaii, Marlow and Giles (2010) found that language criticism can be experienced in a variety of contexts (i.e. employment, familial, educational, social, community). Participants were found to cognitively become more aware of their speech and engage in sense-making strategies (e.g. explain the motivation for the criticism). Emotionally, some participants reported feeling upset, while others described feeling indifferent or understanding the positive intention behind the criticism. Furthermore, participants were found to respond to criticism with avoidance, apology, humour, accommodation, assertiveness, or aggression. Follow-up studies replicated and refined the authors' findings on response styles, and developed and validated the Receiver Speech Criticism Response Scale (ranging from avoidance to aggression) (Marlow, 2010 as cited by Marlow, 2016). Furthermore, in her Model of speech criticism and feedback (Marlow, 2016), the author suggests that responses to criticism and consequences vary based on a number of factors including, among others, the manner in which criticism was delivered, opportunities to respond to it, the nature and interpretation of criticism, the relational context, as well as broader factors (e.g. historical and cultural contexts where interactions occur). In the following paragraphs, we explore two factors that we propose may affect responses to and consequences of negative evaluations of accents: objective ethnolinguistic vitality and type of accent.

### **Ethnolinguistic Vitality and Language Status**

The standardization of language variations, like accents, occurs at a societal level, and we learn of its hierarchy from a very young age (Giles & Rakic, 2014; Price, Fluck, & Giles, 1983). In turn, the hierarchy of accents transmits information on the social status of a speaker (Dovidio,

Gluszek, John, Dittmann, & Lagunes, 2010). It has been proposed that this social status is determined by the objective ethnolinguistic vitality of a language group, that is, social characteristics (demographic representation, social prestige and institutional support) that permit the survival of a linguistic community (Dragojevic et al., 2013; Giles & Johnson, 1987). Consequently, the standard accent is typically that of native speakers from high vitality regions, who often constitute a majority in their own geographical area. Conversely, nonstandard accents come from regions in which the speakers of a language constitute a minority (Dragojevic et al., 2013). Qualitative studies in Canada that have looked at variations in perception of speech based on geographical regions support this notion (e.g. Boudreau & Dubois, 2002; Hallion, 2010; Leblanc, 2010). Specifically, these studies have observed that French vernaculars from regions where there is more contact with English (i.e. lower French vitality) tend to be perceived as inferior or less standard.

In intergroup interactions, members of minority and majority status are faced with distinct challenges. The concerns of members of majority status groups typically involve being perceived as prejudiced by minority status members, while the concerns of minority members comprise being the target of prejudice from majority status members (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). This appears to be the case in accent stigmatization as well, with nonstandard accents and speakers typically being devalued (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010b). Results from Statistics Canada's Ethnic Diversity Survey (2003) illustrate this. Survey findings indicated that of all Canadians who reported experiencing discrimination, 25% - 68% reported linguicism, that is, discrimination attributable to language or one's accent. The proportion of respondents experiencing linguicism varied as a function of first language and province. Tellingly, it was Canada's two official minority language groups, Francophones outside of Quebec (68%) and Anglophones in Quebec

(67%), who most commonly reported linguicism. In contrast, among Anglophones outside of Quebec, the majority language group in Canada, only 25% reported experiencing this as a form of discrimination (Bourhis, Montreuil, Helly, & Jantzen, 2007).

This brings support to the notion that minority groups are typically most commonly targets of prejudice. However, to date, it remains unclear how the experience of accent stigmatization varies based on the relative ethnolinguistic vitality of a group — that is, whether the degree to which one's group constitutes a minority plays on the experience of stigmatization. As accents and linguistic experiences vary as a function of the vitality of the speaker's language group, this would be an important factor to consider in seeking to better understand variations in experiences of accent stigmatization (Landry, Allard, & Deveau, 2013).

### **Types of Accent**

Accents vary geographically as a function of vitality, but also as a function of the speaker's relation to the language spoken; that is whether the speaker is a native or non-native speaker. A native accent refers to ways of speaking specific to first language speakers, while non-native accents refer to a second-language speaker's way of speaking. With accent standardization occurring as a function of the vitality or status of a language group, both non-native and nonstandard or regional native accents can be negatively evaluated (Lippi-Green, 1997). Nevertheless, some studies suggest differences by which the stigmatization experience varies between both types of accent, making the distinction worthwhile.

Notably, some studies suggest that non-native accents interfere more with listeners' comprehension than native accents, making the speakers of the former particularly sensitive to communication problems (Adank, Evans, Stuart-Smith, & Scott, 2009; Floccia, Goslin, Girard, & Konopczynski, 2006; Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a). For instance, a survey of non-native



English speakers found that 55% of respondents perceived their accent as a problem in communication (Derwing & Rossiter, 2002). In a comparative (native/non-native speakers) study among adults in the United States, these perceived problems, as well as stigma consciousness, were found to relate to a weaker sense of belonging to the United States, but only for non-native speakers (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a). Specifically, for non-native speakers, while accent strength and perceived problems communicating were correlated, accent strength alone was only marginally related to a weaker sense of belonging. For regional native speakers, possessing a regional accent was not related to feelings of not belonging in the United States. This was presumed to be because of a lack of association between regional accents and foreignness, leading to fewer problems communicating.

Nevertheless, some studies suggest that nonstandard native speakers are aware of the stigma associated with their accents to a similar degree as non-native speakers, and face unique challenges. Jaspal and Sitaridou's (2013) qualitative study of stigmatized Andalusian Spanish speakers found that many of the participants were aware of the stigma related to their way of speaking. Furthermore, the study suggested that the experience of linguistic stigmatization occurs as a function of the subjective interpretation of vitality. Specifically, the authors propose that perceiving the vitality of one's community as weak contributes to the perception of linguisticism and of a threat to one's ethnolinguistic identity. The study found that for some stigmatized speakers, this perceived threat to identity leads to negative outcomes, such as reduced self-esteem and decreased feelings of self-efficacy.

Additionally, a number of qualitative studies have looked at the epilinguistic speech, that is, perceptions of language and ways of speaking, of Francophones in Canada (e.g. Hallion, 2011; Leblanc, 2010; Lozon, 2002; Perrot, 2006). These studies have found that nonstandard

native speakers' vernacular was often simultaneously valued and devalued. Specifically, regional ways of speaking were often described by participants as adequate for informal settings (e.g. with family, social). They were described with affection, pride, or praised for the ease with which they could be spoken. In contrast, they were also described as "bad", inferior, or less beautiful than standard French, and considered inadequate for certain settings (e.g. academic, work). Beyond self-representations of one's own way of speaking, a study by Noël & Beaton (2010) among adolescents in New Brunswick, reported instances in which participants perceived that their speech had been denigrated by French speakers from Quebec (a higher vitality region). In all studies, these experiences and perceptions were found to be associated with linguistic insecurity.

Together, these studies suggest that accent stigmatization and linguicism occur among both native and non-native speakers and may lead to negative consequences in both instances. However, comparative studies in stigmatization experiences based on types of accents are needed, as results from prior studies suggest that the psychosocial processes for native and non-native speakers might differ.

### **Current Study**

The following study seeks to offer a descriptive analysis of what it means to have a nonstandard accent for French speakers in Canada. The inclusion of native and non-native speakers from across Canada is done with the objective of capturing the ways in which type of accents and objective ethnolinguistic vitality nuance the experience of accent stigmatization.

This study aims to explore the following questions:

1. What perception do speakers hold of their accents?
2. What does perceived accent discrimination look like?

### 3. How do stigmatized speakers respond to discriminatory experiences?

To gain a rich understanding of the experiences of accent stigmatization, a qualitative approach is favored. Because of the inductive nature of the interpretation of qualitative data, no hypotheses are proposed.

## Method

### Participants

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 36 French-speaking participants in Canada to study French accent stigmatization among native (n=18) and non-native speakers (n=18) (see Appendixes A and B). The native speakers were Francophones who were born in Canada, who had French as a first language and who still spoke French regularly at the time of the interview, and lived the majority of their lives outside of Quebec. The non-native speakers had French as a second language, English as a first language, were able to maintain a conversation in French, and had experience speaking French with Francophones.

In total, seven males and 31 females participated in the study. The participants ranged from 17 to 42 years of age, with an average age of 21.74. Twenty-five participants reported speaking French daily, nine weekly, two monthly, and one participant reported rarely using French. Of those who had French as a second language, three learned it under the age of five, 12 participants started learning it at five years of age, and the final five learned it between seven and 12 years of age.

**Sampling and recruitment.** To allow for the comparison of experiences based on a broad range of nonstandard accents, a purposeful sampling strategy was employed (Maxwell, 1998). As such, participants were selected from three regions in Canada for each group (native and non-native). These regions were used to capture varying levels of relative language statuses

as determined by objective vitality, defined as a combination of shared social characteristics that permit the survival of a linguistic community (i.e. social prestige, institutional support, and demographic representation) (Giles & Johnson, 1987). For analytic and comparative purposes, for the native accent group, participants were equally sampled from New Brunswick, a province in which Francophones benefit from relatively high vitality, Ontario, a comparatively medium vitality region, and other provinces and territories outside of Quebec, in which Francophones generally tend to live in lower vitality regions (Freynet & Clément, 2015). To assess the experiences of non-native speakers, Anglophones from Quebec were recruited to account for those living in a region in which French holds a clear majority. Another set of participants was from the medium Francophone vitality area, Ontario, and a final set were from the low Francophone vitality area (i.e., the rest of Canada, excluding New Brunswick) (Freynet & Clément, 2015). As such, in this paper, geographic areas are defined by the relative vitality of French within them. Quebec corresponds to ‘very high vitality’, ‘high vitality’ corresponds to New Brunswick, ‘medium vitality’ refers to Ontario and ‘low vitality’ corresponds to the rest of Canada. All participants currently resided in or near Ottawa, Ontario or Gatineau, Quebec. As such, all participants resided in a medium to high vitality area at the time of the study.

Participants were considered to be from the province or region in which they spent the majority of their lives. Six participants were recruited from each subgroup (region x language) as six participants per group is generally considered to be sufficient to attain saturation (Guest, 2006).

To be eligible for the study, participants needed to have lived the majority of their lives outside of Quebec, have been born in Canada, and to have either French or English as a first language. Participants were recruited in two ways. Twenty-seven participants who met the criteria for the study were first recruited through University of Ottawa’s integrated research

participation system (ISPR). The ISPR allows students enrolled in undergraduate psychology courses at the university to participate in a study in exchange for one percentage point to be credited to their overall course grade. The study was open to participation for two academic semesters. Two participants were excluded from the analyses, as they did not meet criteria (i.e., was born outside of Canada; did not have English as a first language). Despite best efforts, a remaining three non-native participants from the very high vitality area, one non-native speaker from the medium vitality area, one non-native speaker and five native participants from the low vitality regions, and one native speaker from the high vitality area needed to be recruited. A dozen of the researchers' acquaintances that met the requirements received a standard e-mail describing the study and eleven were selected on a first come, first serve basis. All of these participants, except one, were either undergraduate or graduate students. As compensation, their names were entered in a draw for a \$50 iTunes gift card.

**Procedure.** Semi-structured, audio-recorded interviews were conducted among all participants at a research laboratory on the university campus. Open and closed questions were used to inquire about sociodemographic information, psychosocial constructs (i.e. identity (e.g. 'Do you identify with a language group?'), confidence (e.g. 'How confident do you feel in your ability to speak French'), and perception of accent (e.g. 'What do you think of your accent?')), intergroup communication (e.g. 'Describe a typical interaction with a [higher status member]'), and accent stigmatization experiences (e.g. 'Have you ever felt stigmatized or limited by your accent?'). While the interviewer followed the interview guide, follow-up questions or minor modifications to questions could be made to improve the understanding of the participant's experiences. For example, participants could be asked to elaborate on an answer or a thought when it was related to the topic at hand. Furthermore, words that were used by the participants

could be used by the interviewer in follow-up questions (e.g. using the word ‘discrimination’ if the word was used by the participant). As recommended by Rubin and Rubin (1995), after the first few interviews, the interview guide was re-assessed and adapted. Questions that had shown to be repetitive or unclear were removed. Additionally, questions were clarified or added as necessary throughout to ensure an in-depth understanding of stigmatization experiences (e.g. ‘If you could speak with a different accent (e.g. like a [higher status member]), would it change anything?’). The interviews ranged in length from 20 minutes to one hour. The length of the interviews ranged as a function of how much the participants had to share on the topic. Five undergraduate students were trained to do verbatim transcriptions of the interviews via Express Scribe by NCH Software.

As the general aim of the study was not to make definitive statements about relations between variables, but to explore participants’ experiences, a methodological approach based on a more interpretative theoretical perspective was favoured (King & Horrocks, 2010). To this end, Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña’s (2014) pragmatic approach to qualitative research was used for analysis to gain an in-depth understanding of the experience of accent stigmatization. This analytic sequence offers strategies, from data collection to report writing, to draw inferences about participants’ range of experiences. Their approach allows for a goal-directed purposeful selection of analytic strategies. As such, Miles and colleagues’ (2014) two cycle coding method was utilized to analyze the data. First cycle coding involved applying codes and subcodes to sets of words, phrases, or paragraphs that were pertinent to the study’s research questions (Miles et al., 2014). To facilitate the first cycle of coding, an initial coding guide, centered on the main research questions, was developed following a detailed read-through of three transcripts (Appendix C). Two types of codes were used for the final analyses. First, dramaturgical codes

were used which allow for the exploration of intrapersonal and interpersonal participant experiences, power relationships and actions (Miles et al., 2014). These codes captured various aspects of the stigmatizing experience, such as its nature, actors, emotional and cognitive responses, and strategies used to counter these. To adequately identify other components considered essential to the study (i.e., confidence, identity, perceptions of accent, frequency of discrimination, consequences) and topics frequently brought up by participants (e.g., pride, solidarity), descriptive codes were also used. These provide an inventory of topics for indexing and categorizing (Miles et al., 2014). As recommended by Saldaña (2009), recoding and re-categorization occurred throughout the coding process when data did not fit codes or categories, or when familiarity with data suggested different ways of coding or categorizing. QDA MINER (software developed by Provalis Research to aid in organizing and recuperating data) was used to assist in the coding process.

Three research assistants who had participated in the transcription of interviews assisted in the coding. They participated in a three-hour training session on qualitative coding, and on research on accent stigmatization. The codes that were applied to the first three transcripts by each research assistant were reviewed, by the first author, in a timely manner, to ensure a uniform understanding of the application of codes, and to identify any issues with the guide or process. Differences in opinion were resolved through negotiation and consensus. Through collaborative discussion, it was determined whether discrepancies were due to confusion in guidelines or an error in category attribution, and the code was corrected in consequence. Throughout the process, regular communication was maintained with each research assistant to modify the coding guide as needed and identify misunderstandings and issues that arose. Consistency was checked through an ongoing process of comparison. Ultimately, every code was

verified by both the first author and a research assistant, and modified as needed with the help of a consensus-based approach.

The second cycle of the coding involved the identification of broader themes and patterns and served the purpose of deriving meaning and gathering summative results from the data. A few strategies suggested by Miles and colleagues (2014) were used to help with this process, notably clustering and counting. Specifically, units of data with similar characteristics were grouped together and conceptualized. In addition, the number of participants who responded in a specific way was counted to assess the consistency of results. Finally, to position the findings within the existing literature, meaning was derived from the results by using an inductive process of analysis. That is, the data was interpreted using theoretical frameworks and results from prior studies. Specifically, on occasion, when results reflected those from prior studies, similar words were used for the presentation of the results (i.e. accommodating, avoidant, assertive from Marlow & Giles, 2010). Moreover, relations between results and prior studies and theoretical frameworks are included in the discussion of this paper (e.g. Jaspal & Sitaridou, 2013, Gross, 2014).

Strategies employed to ensure analytic rigour and the validity of the findings included triangulation by verifying if the findings were common across a number of participants, seeking negative cases (alternative explanations, disconfirming evidence, and constantly comparing evidence to new data throughout the process), and audit trails (documentation of origins of data for verification of information) (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Maxwell, 1998; Miles et al., 2014). Furthermore, reflexivity was exercised throughout the process. Reflexivity refers to self-awareness and continual evaluation of subjective responses and interpretations, of the research process and the researcher's biases, assumptions and values (Finlay, 2002). All members of the



research team used journals to document hypotheses (including thoughts and hunches), possible limitations to or challenges with the study, problematic codes (e.g. unclear definition), interesting points or observations, and justifications for the use of certain codes that required more interpretation (e.g. perceived frequency of discrimination) (Appendix D). The journals were consulted throughout the analysis to aid in the interpretation of the data, for example to help identify themes and patterns.

It is to be noted that the first and third authors are French speakers from outside of Quebec. The second author is a French speaker from Quebec. Strategies employed for analytic rigour, described above, helped ensure that the authors' own experiences did not lead them to assume that participants had the same experiences as them.

## **Results**

The presentation of the results consists of an examination of: 1) the perception that nonstandard speakers hold of their accents, 2) what perceived accent discrimination looks like and, 3) how stigmatized speakers respond to discriminatory experiences. Throughout the process of analysis, data was grouped and compared by type of accent (native or non-native) and geographic region. When group patterns emerged, they were noted.

### **What Perception do Speakers Hold of Their Accents?**

The first research question sought to investigate how participants perceive their own accents. Throughout the interviews, it was apparent that their ways of speaking held meaning for participants, whether or not they had experienced discrimination. Native speakers explained that their accent was central to their regional Francophone identities (par ex.: Acadian, Franco-Manitoban), with one participant explicitly expressing that losing her accent would signify losing her identity. To some native participants, pride was related to specific aspects of their French

identity. Two participants from the low vitality group said that their way of speaking was a proud reminder of being able to speak French, despite living in a minority setting. One other participant from the low vitality group expressed that her accent was a reminder of her francophone roots, of which she was proud. While most native participants expressed pride in their Francophone identity and way of speaking, two participants from the medium vitality group perceived that their accent reflected an identity incongruent with their own, one that is influenced by English rather than ‘purely’ being French.

For non-native French speakers, the pride in their accent mostly revolved around their ability to speak both of Canada’s official languages, allowing them to connect with more Canadians. Many expressed that their accent was reflective of their Canadian and bilingual identities. A few participants from the non-native very high and low vitality regions even expressed an affiliation to the regional francophone groups. Said one: ‘I feel more Canadian because I know how to speak two languages well—French and English’ (NNM01<sup>12</sup>). Two participants from the medium vitality non-native group expressed that they are not always proud of their French accent, because they believe it reveals a lack of fluency in French or intelligence.

Finally, the perceived strength of accents varied with all language and regional groups. Across all groups (region x type of accent), some claimed to perceive their accents as being somewhat or very pronounced, while others claimed that they had no accent or one that is barely noticeable. Some explained that they only notice their accents in specific contexts. Stated one: ‘When I am with people who don’t speak like me (. . .) I notice my accent. If everyone speaks like me, it’s a different story’ (NM01).

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<sup>1</sup>Code names for participants can be interpreted as follows: N = native speakers, NN = non-native speakers; VH = very high vitality region; H= high vitality region; M = medium vitality region; L = low vitality region

<sup>2</sup> All quotes from native speakers have been translated from French.

In summary, for many participants across groups, accents vary in perceived intensity. They appear to be tied to feelings of belonging (most frequently regional Francophone for native speakers and Canadian or bilingual for non-native speakers) and language competency. These attitudes towards one's accent often appear to reinforce or diminish pride in one's way of speaking.

### **What Does Perceived Accent Discrimination Look Like?**

The second research question aimed to investigate the nature of the discriminatory experiences. Specifically, we examined who perceived they had experienced discrimination, the contexts in which perceived discrimination occurred, and the content of these experiences.

**When and with whom does perceived discrimination occur?** Participants from all groups reported perceiving they had experienced discrimination because of their accent (see Table 1). While 10 participants reported never or very rarely having experienced accent discrimination, most reported perceiving they had experienced discrimination on more than one occasion at some point in their lives. Eight native speakers and four non-native participants reported it occurring on a monthly to a weekly basis. Those who reported accent discrimination rarely or never occurring often attributed it to having an imperceptible accent.

Table 1

*Frequency of Perceived Discrimination*

	Never / very rarely	Rarely	Regularly (weekly- monthly)
Native			
Low vitality	0	2	4
Medium vitality	2	2	2
High vitality	4	0	2
Non-native			
Low vitality	1	5	0
Medium vitality	2	2	2
Very high vitality	1	3	2

*Note:*  $n = 6$  for each subgroup.

Discriminatory experiences appeared to be instigated by a wide range of sources. Specifically, many reported perceiving experiencing discrimination in a context in which they were interacting with someone with authority or superiority (i.e., professor in an academic context, employer, supervisor, border guard). Said one: ‘If I want to have a role in a play, and I audition, my accent will influence how they see me (...). In Montreal, they would definitely

point it out' (NL01). Others reported perceiving experiencing stigmatization with community members or people with whom participants did not have a particularly close relationship, and in which no hierarchical relationship was perceived (i.e., clients, strangers, acquaintances, servers) (e.g. 'When I go to a restaurant, I speak French, and they respond to me in broken English' (NH01)). Participants also identified that this happens with people they are related to, feel close to, or that they interact with on a regular basis, namely family, friends, roommates, romantic partners, and co-workers. For example: 'My roommates from France make fun of me like "wow, you really don't sound good when you speak in French. This is how you pronounce it"' (NNM01).

Table 2

*Perceived Discrimination Contexts*

	Authority	Community	Family and friends
<hr/>			
Native			
Low vitality	2	3	2
Medium vitality	1	3	1
High vitality	2	3	2
Non-native			
Low vitality	1	3	0
Medium vitality	1	2	4
Very high vitality	5	4	1

*Note: n = 6 for each subgroup.*

Discriminatory situations with authority as well as in the community were most prevalent in the non-native very high vitality group, where the majority of participants reported these types of discriminatory experiences. Conversely, discriminatory experiences with family and friends were most common among the non-native medium vitality group. For all other groups, discrimination in the community was the most common context for perceived accent discrimination (see Table 2).

Across all groups, those who were considered to have discriminated against participants' accents were most commonly identified as French-language speakers from higher vitality areas (especially from Quebec and France). However, members of all groups described that some of those who engaged in perceived discriminatory behaviours were French speakers (both native and non-native) from other areas as well. These were generally described as speakers with a particularly strong affinity for French.

**What does perceived discrimination look like?** Participants highlighted three main types of perceived discriminatory experiences. First, some types of perceived discrimination involved a denial of French identity and competence. Many participants described situations in which they felt as though their competence in French or their French identity was being questioned or denied. Such experiences include: people switching to English, being labeled as an Anglophone, invalidation of one's ability to speak French or to be Francophone (i.e. being told that you don't speak 'real' French or that you speak badly), pronunciation being corrected, and 'paternalistic' comments towards one's accent.

Other types of discrimination involved differential treatment in which participants perceived they were treated differently because of the way they speak. These include: being ignored, being treated with less attention or with less respect, being verbally attacked, being

made fun of, being excluded from places or activities, being considered less for employment.

Finally, participants described situations in which they felt as though they were singled out and treated as a novelty. They reported being met with curiosity, astonishment, amusement, or disbelief about their way of speaking and their origins.

Table 3

*Content of Perceived Discrimination*

	Differential		
	Denial	treatment	Novelty
<hr/>			
Native			
Low vitality	6	1	5
Medium vitality	4	1	4
High vitality	4	2	4
Non-native			
Low vitality	5	2	1
Medium vitality	6	0	0
Very high vitality	6	1	1

*Note:*  $n = 6$  for each subgroup

Across all groups, denial was the most common form of perceived discrimination, reported by all low vitality native participants as well as all non-native participants from very high and medium vitality regions. Being treated as a novelty was more common for the native group, and was rarely reported by the non-native group. While still present across all groups, except the non-native medium vitality group, relative to other types of discriminatory experiences, differential treatment because of one's accent appeared to be a rare occurrence (see Table 3).

In sum, most participants perceived experiencing accent discrimination when speaking French on more than one occasion at some point in their lives, with it occurring most frequently for the low vitality native speakers and least frequently for the non-native speakers from low vitality areas. Participants expressed perceiving discrimination in hierarchical contexts, in the community, as well as with family and friends.

Discriminatory experiences in contexts of authority and in the community were most common among the non-native speakers from the very high vitality region. Discriminatory experiences with family and friends were most common among non-native medium vitality speakers. As for the content of the discriminatory experiences, many participants described situations in which they felt as though their competence in French or French identity was being questioned or denied. Some described situations in which they were treated differently because of the way they spoke, and other situations in which they felt as though they were being singled out. Denial was the most commonly reported experience, with differential treatment being rare and feeling singled out or as though one is treated as a novelty tending to be more specific to the native group.



### **How do Stigmatized Speakers Respond to Perceived Discriminatory Experiences?**

The third research question aimed to investigate how participants responded when faced with the situations described above. Behavioural and cognitive responses to perceived discrimination were identified in the analysis, as were affective, psychosocial, and personal consequences.

**Participants' actions.** When faced with accent criticism or perceived discrimination, several behavioural responses were described: First, *assertive responses* were identified in which participants described affirming or defending their way of speaking by continuing to speak French, persisting to speak French with a nonstandard accent, or by verbally defending their way of speaking (e.g., by educating on Francophone minorities, by expressing discontent or disagreement with perceived discrimination).

I always have to say: “no, this is how I speak, and that’s ok”. I even purposefully use expressions that would make my Quebecois family say: “what did you just say?!”  
(NL02).

Second, *accommodation responses* were identified in which participants attempted to modify their way of speaking French by adapting their accent (including mimicking others' accents), or by correcting ‘errors’ in their speech. Said one: ‘I can be a chameleon for a job interview and speak a more standard French on command’ (NH02).

Finally, *avoidant responses* were characterized by switching to English, by avoiding situations in which speaking French was required, by escaping the discriminatory situation, by distancing oneself from French-speakers, or by pretending that the participant could not speak French. For example, a participant said: ‘I just shut down completely. I stop the conversation’ (NH03).

Table 4

*Reported Behavioural Responses to Discrimination*

	Assertive	Accommodation	Avoidant
Native			
Low vitality	5	3	2
Medium vitality	5	2	0
High vitality	5	2	1
Non-native			
Low vitality	3	1	5
Medium vitality	3	1	4
Very high vitality	1	3	4

*Note:*  $n = 6$  for each subgroup

Whereas across all native groups, assertive responses were the most common, across all non-native groups, the most common response was to avoid or escape the discriminatory experience. Furthermore, non-native speakers in the very high vitality group more commonly used accommodation responses. Non-native speakers in the medium and low vitality groups more commonly responded in assertive ways (see Table 4).

**Making sense of perceived discrimination.** Participants from all groups described a variety of ways in which they interpreted or made sense of discriminatory events. Some participants (1-5 per group) described externalizing blame for making sense of discriminatory

situations by attributing the experience to contextual factors. For instance, they attributed the experience to a clash in personalities, to the other person's lack of education, to the other's discomfort with French, or to curiosity. Said one: 'For the vast majority (of Quebecois), there's ignorance regarding Francophones outside of Quebec' (NL03). Said another:

With (French-speaking) Europeans, it's different because it (discrimination) doesn't come from the same place. There's a type of discovery there, curiosity. Whereas with the Quebecois, I know them, but they don't know me. And they will project an image on me that is not me (NL04).

Others (2-5 per group) appeared to have evaluated the stigmatizers by attributing qualities to them or to their way of speaking. These attitudes were sometimes generalized to entire groups of people (e.g., Quebecois). Said one: 'I probably don't like them (Quebecois) very much' (NNVH01). Specifically, participants most frequently adopted negative attitudes towards those who had discriminated against them (e.g. considering others as non-accommodating, ignorant, arrogant; or describing the accents of others as unpleasant). One participant stated: 'When I listen to a Quebecois film, I don't like hearing the way they speak, they swear, I don't know (NH04)'. However, some participants attributed positive attributes to those who discriminate (e.g. expressing that others' accents are more beautiful, or reflective of superior competency in French). As one participant said: '(A Quebecois) is someone who speaks a proper language, compared to us who sound more like (...) we don't exactly speak the right language' (NM02).

Other participants appraised the legitimacy of the discriminatory situation. Some participants (1-4 per group) legitimized perceived discriminatory experiences (e.g. believing that one's pronunciation is bad and that as such, it was a fair judgment or action), while others (1-5 per group) considered the discriminatory experiences as illegitimate (e.g. believing that one's

accent is just as good as others, feeling as though the treatment is unfair given their efforts to speak French). For example, one participant said: 'If (my accent) is that bad that you insult it, then obviously it's pretty bad (. . .). I would assume that it would be me that would have something to work on' (NNM02). In contrast, another participant stated:

(. . .) we adapted to our reality, and it's a great strength to still be speaking French despite being in the current (minority) situation that we are, so no I don't think it's legitimate that you think that my French is less good than yours, like you can think that it is different, and that's fine, but to say that it's less good, that's not right (NH05).

**Consequences of perceived discrimination.** Consequences of perceived discrimination emerged as relevant during the coding process. Overall, three main types of consequences were identified: affective, psychosocial, and limitations to personal fulfilment.

*Affective.* In terms of affective responses, across most groups, one to three participants expressed that the stigmatizing experiences had little to no effect on them. Others, in all groups (one to two participants per group) articulated sometimes being amused by the interactions: 'You know family, they're there just to tease. They'll tease me and it doesn't bother me, it just makes me laugh' (NH06). Some (1-3 per group) reported feeling grateful for learning from mispronunciations or for being given the option of speaking English (i.e. when the stigmatizer switches to English). Across all groups, many participants (3-5 per group) reported feeling offended and irritated or disappointed towards others. They expressed feelings of anger, annoyance, exasperation and frustration. For example, one participant said:

It happens so often that they'll say 'oh you speak French so well for someone for whom (French) is a second language'. You know, it's not even that it hurts my confidence. I'm

just so tired of needing to correct people who assume these types of things (. . .). So yeah, with the Quebecois, there's a bit of insecurity (NL05).

Others reported emotions towards their own perceived or anticipated shortcomings such as shame, embarrassment, self-inadequacy, incompetence and feeling intimidated. Ultimately, many (3-5 per group) reported feeling self-conscious or stressed about their way of speaking French. Said one:

I felt stressed (to speak French) because (. . .) I was slightly self-conscious over my accent, 'cause you know how bad it's going to sound like when you hear someone with a really strong accent (. . .) (NNL01).

*Psychosocial.* Many participants across all groups (2-5 per group), reported that their confidence in their use of French, as well as their willingness to communicate in French decreased because of their accent. Some described facing a 'psychological block' when speaking French, feeling discouraged from speaking or being particularly critical of the way in which they spoke French.

I feel confident (in French) (...) but I am going to school in Quebec at the moment, and it's not a problem, but I think the only moment when I don't feel confident is when we always accuse me of being an Anglophone and I am not and I always need to mention it (. . .). It makes me self-conscious when they mention it because I realize that maybe I am lacking competency (NL06).

Stigmatization also appeared to affect identity (2-5 per group). Some reported a weakened francophone identity, while others stated that it had been strengthened. For instance, one participant stated: 'I feel less Francophone when I am hanging out with Quebecois, yes,

because they often remind me that I am not French or Francophone' (NL07). In contrast, another participant said:

I think that, it maybe takes some time, but that (discrimination) just reinforces, and maybe even hones the identity (. . .). It's like a defense mechanism that makes you think a little and it makes you say "No! I speak French as much as you, I work harder in French than you" (NL08).

Feelings of belonging occasionally appeared to translate into group affinity and affiliation. Nearly all native and non-native speakers described that their nonstandard way of speaking or experiences with perceived accent discrimination led to feelings of solidarity or comfort, most often with ingroup members or other nonstandard speakers. Three native speakers also reported feelings of belonging to Francophones from Quebec or France. Said one:

I think that our realities are similar, there's so many things on which we can connect. Like yeah maybe most Francophones outside of Quebec don't speak exactly like me but they understand right away when I speak. They understand the amalgamation of Anglophone and Francophone culture, the reality of being bilingual. Like I feel very comfortable speaking with them (NH07).

Said another:

I feel more comfortable around them (other second language speakers) because chances are they have a bit of an English accent when they're speaking French too. I had no problem speaking French with them 'cause we all kinda sounded the same when we were talking (NNM03).

Conversely, participants from various groups reported that discriminatory experiences made it difficult to feel a connection with some French-speakers, or made them feel as though they don't 'fit in'.

As a kid it was hard. It was traumatic. Like I never wanted to learn new things or participate in activities because I didn't feel welcome (. . .). It was just, I felt I didn't fit in and I started enjoying activities more when I was in more contexts that were more English or more like accepting (NNVH02).

***Personal fulfilment consequences.*** Some (1-5 per group) perceived accent stigmatization to lead to limitations in their ability to achieve academic, professional or leisurely aspirations (e.g. being considered less for a job, being taken less seriously). For example, one non-native speaker from the very high vitality region described quitting sports as a child because of the perceived accent discrimination he experienced on his team.

In summary, when faced with perceived discrimination, three main behavioural ways of responding were reported. Some participants asserted or defended their way of speaking, others attempted to accommodate or adapt it, while others avoided or escaped potential discriminatory situations. Across all native groups, the most common response was to assert one's way of speaking. In contrast, across all non-native groups, the most common response was avoidance. Cognitively, participants responded in a variety of ways. Some externalized the blame by attributing the discriminatory situation to contextual factors. An appraisal of the stigmatizer (positive or negative) and an evaluation of the legitimacy of the perceived discrimination were other common cognitive responses. Finally, there were affective consequences to perceived discrimination, with some reporting a neutral affect, amusement or even gratefulness, others reporting irritation or discontent with others, and some reporting feeling emotions pertaining to

their own perceived or anticipated shortcomings (e.g. self-inadequacy, stress, etc.). There were also psychosocial consequences (decreased language confidence and willingness to communicate, decreased or increased identity and group affinity) and limitations to personal fulfilment (academic, professional, leisurely).

### **Discussion**

The results of this study give a detailed account of accent stigmatization among native and non-native Canadian French speakers, its psychological and psychosocial consequences, and the ways in which the ethnolinguistic vitality of groups of interactants affects this process. First, the results of this study support findings from previous studies in Canada suggesting that perceived linguicism, and specifically perceived accent discrimination is a reality for many native and non-native speakers (e.g., Bourhis et al., 2007). Additionally, the findings that accents can at once be a source of pride or shame support results from prior qualitative studies among French speakers in Canada that found that vernaculars could be at once valued and devalued (e.g. Hallion, 2011; Leblanc, 2010; Lozon, 2002; Perrot, 2006).

Our findings on contexts in which perceived discrimination occurs, are similar to those of the study on language criticism of Hawaiian Creole English speakers in Hawaii. The latter reported the presence of speech criticism in situations (e.g., employment, educational) in which one is a subordinate, as well as familial, social and community interactions (Marlow & Giles, 2010). In the current study, the finding that perceived discrimination in contexts of authority is more common for the non-native group in the very high Francophone vitality group (i.e., Anglophones from Quebec), may be a reflection of the institutional ethnolinguistic status of that particular group. French language policies in Quebec, aiming to maintain French as the dominant language, sometimes lead to what could be deemed intergroup discrimination involving



institutional practices and policies that undermine the English minority (Bourhis et al., 2007; Wright & Bougie, 2007). Along the same lines, the results of this study bring support to the notion that the ethnolinguistic vitality of a regional linguistic group determines the relative status (i.e. standard or nonstandard) of one's accent. Specifically, speakers from higher vitality areas most commonly stigmatize the speech of groups from lower vitality areas (Dragojevic et al., 2013; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005).

In the case of the content of discriminatory experiences, as well as consequences related to identity, the type of accent appeared to be most important. While differential treatment was not frequent, feeling singled out or as though one is treated as a novelty occurred much more frequently among native speakers. This could be because, despite knowing that Anglophones in Canada learn French, many may not be aware of the existence of native French speakers outside of Quebec. Furthermore, the association between identity and accent proposed by native speakers is of note, because previous studies had concluded that the identity of native speakers was not significantly affected by accent stigmatization (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a). This study nuances those findings by suggesting that, while national identity may be more relevant for non-native speakers of a language that is central to the national identity of a country, ethnolinguistic identity may be more relevant to native speakers. Ultimately, these results reflect ways in which identity is shaped, it being self-defined and developed in relation and in differentiation with those who surround us (Clément, Noels, & Deneault, 2001; Wright & Bougie, 2007).

With accents being a reflection of one's identity, it is unsurprising that accent stigmatization is often perceived as a direct threat to one's identity or sense of competence. Interestingly, experiences in which participants feel as though their French identity and competence are denied or questioned represent the most common form of perceived

discrimination reported by participants. Psychosocial consequences (i.e. reduced language confidence, French identity) reflect this. For some speakers, however, perceived accent discrimination occasionally reinforced their identity and sense of belonging. In fact, many participants from all groups described feelings of solidarity, affiliation or comfort with ingroup members or other nonstandard speakers. Some explicitly stated that shared minority struggles were what strengthened their feelings of affiliation. This affirmation of one's minority identity was reflected in speakers' behavioural responses to stigmatization, with asserting or defending one's way of speaking being the most common behavioural response to stigmatization for native speakers. Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) would suggest that in choosing to reaffirm one's identity, stigmatized speakers allow themselves to upkeep their collective and personal self-esteem, protecting oneself from the negative consequences of perceived discrimination. In this way, identity could be considered a factor for resilience that is necessary to maintain a positive sense of self in the context of perceived discrimination.

Others would suggest that identity also acts indirectly as a factor for resilience, by pushing one to engage in coping strategies to alleviate the threat to one's identity (Breakwell, 1986 as cited in Jaspal & Sitaridou, 2013). The results of this study, like those of Marlow and Giles (2010) and Marlow (2016), indicate that these might include behavioural strategies like avoidance or accommodation. They may also involve cognitive strategies like externalizing blame, appraising the stigmatizer or evaluating the legitimacy of the situation. Similarly, Jaspal and Sitaridou's (2013) study among Andalusian-Spanish speakers found that stigmatized speakers employed various coping strategies, mainly cognitive or 'intrapsychic' in nature (e.g., focusing on group distinctiveness, reframing stigma with humour, finding external explanations for stigma) to help protect their identity when faced with stigma.

The relation between participants' cognitive and behavioural responses to perceived discrimination and consequences of discrimination goes beyond the scope of this study. However, the variations in affective consequences to stigmatization highlighted in this study suggest that looking at behavioural and cognitive responses as a means to regulate one's emotions may be of use. The expansive body of literature on emotion regulation and affect regulation more broadly (including coping and mood regulation) offers a theoretical framework for how people respond, both behaviourally and cognitively, to emotions. This theoretical framework highlights how different responses, some more adaptive than others, lead to different affective, cognitive, and social consequences immediately and in the long term (see Gross, 2014, for a review).

### **Limitations and Conclusion**

The scope of this study offers a rich understanding of accent stigmatization, its process, and how the experience of it can differ based on the type of accent and status of one's group. Granted, results should be interpreted with caution, as the qualitative nature of this study allows for the observation of patterns specific to the sample studied, but does not allow for a verification of the statistical significance nor a generalization of the results. Furthermore, differentiating stigmatization specific to one's accent versus other aspects of communication (e.g., use of regional expressions) proved challenging for both the researchers and the participants who often confused the two. This appears to be a common challenge in the study of accents. For instance, Derwing's (2003) study among immigrants found that while most participants felt that pronunciation played a role in communication problems, many had difficulty specifying what the problems were. Future studies should attempt to measure linguistic constructs with more precision. Additionally, although this study was limited to Canadian-born native and non-native

French speakers, it would be interesting for future studies to investigate the ways in which the experiences of foreign-born speakers may differ.

Nevertheless, this study addressed many questions that had been left unstudied and highlights important considerations for future studies on accent stigmatization. While accent discrimination has been well documented (Dragojevic et al., 2013; Giles, 1970; Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a; Pantos & Perkins, 2013) this study is one of the first to take a comprehensive look at nonstandard speakers' experiences of accent stigmatization in French Canada.

Furthermore, while most studies on perceived stigmatization focus on a single, often staged, discriminatory event, this study allowed for a better representation of the numerous types of discriminatory experiences that people encounter in real life (Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes, & Garcia, 2014).

Finally, the results of this study reveal the complex implications of a rather common phenomenon. Indeed, the frequency at which perceived accent discrimination is reported to occur, affecting both native and non-native speakers across Canada, is notable. Ultimately, the consequences of accent stigmatization were as expansive as the settings in which they occurred, reportedly affecting social, leisurely, academic, and professional potential. Furthermore, many participants described internalizing discriminatory attitudes with accounts of feelings of self-inadequacy manifested in this case, by linguistic insecurity, and self-stigmatization. This study has, therefore, highlighted the potential repercussions of accent discrimination on factors for language maintenance, including identity. It appears that an accent not only reflects one's identity, but becomes a way to express group membership, and to reinforce a social identity (Gallois, Ogay, & Giles, 2005). As such, it would seem that identity can be affected by

stigmatization while also being a factor for resilience, necessary to maintain a positive sense of self in a context of discrimination.

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**STUDY TWO**

**Perceived Accent Discrimination: Psychosocial Consequences and Perceived Legitimacy as  
a Factor of Resilience\***

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\*Freynet, N., Clément, R. (in press). Perceived accent discrimination: Psychosocial consequences and perceived legitimacy as a factor of resilience. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*.

### **Abstract**

Prior research has documented that non-standard ways of speaking can be subject to discrimination, and that non-standard speakers are aware of the biases towards their accents. However, few studies have investigated the consequences of this for the stigmatized speaker. The objectives of this study are to explore the relation between perceived accent discrimination and the following factors, as moderated by perceived legitimacy of discrimination: (a) situated francophone identity (actual and reflected); and (b) French language confidence. Non-native (n=113) and native (n=225) French speakers completed questionnaires. Moderated regression analyses were conducted using PROCESS. For both native and non-native speakers, these revealed that language discrimination is significantly and negatively related to language confidence. For native speakers from a high vitality region, legitimacy was found to moderate the relation between language discrimination and identity. When discrimination was perceived to be less legitimate, the relation between perceived discrimination and actual situated identity was positive.

## Introduction

Few words are needed to communicate an abundance of social information about oneself. In fact, an interlocutor's accent alone suggests where they are from, what group they may identify with and their social status. An accent, or a way of speaking refers to aspects of pronunciation, a series of traits such as rhythm, intonation, and speech rate found in certain geographical regions or among members of specific social groups (Giles, 1970; Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a; Vuckovic, 2015). Beyond its linguistic particularities, an accent leads to complex interpersonal interactions and is an integral part of the way we define and present ourselves to others (Freynet, Clément, & Sylvestre, 2018; Gasquet-Cyrus, 2012).

What happens then, when the value of a way of speaking is questioned? Using Canada as a terrain for investigation, this paper seeks to explore the ways in which the use of non-standard accents in diglossic contexts shapes and defines one's relation to their language. We explore the consequences of accent stigmatization among native and non-native French speakers, specifically relating to various dimensions of ethnolinguistic identity and language confidence. We also examine whether the perceived legitimacy of discrimination can moderate these relations.

### **What Is the Meaning of an Accent?**

Research on language attitudes has well documented the fact that attitudes towards a way of speaking are generalized to its speakers. Those who speak with a non-standard accent are considered to be less intelligent, competent or attractive (e.g., Cargile, 1997 as cited in Kim, Wang, Deng, Alvarez, & Li, 2011). These perceptions find their roots in language ideologies, specifically societal ideas or attitudes about the use of a language, notably, the perception that there is one superior, or a single true way of speaking a language (Ayres-Bennett & Jones, 2007;

Blanchet, 2016; Devitt, 1989; Milroy & Milroy, 1985; Shuck, 2006). Educational and political institutions, and the media often promote the idea that prestige accompanies certain forms of speaking, and this is internalized from a young age (Dragojevic, Giles, & Watson, 2013; Escudé, 2013). Idealized, or standard ways of speaking therefore most often come from regions that benefit from higher levels of ethnolinguistic vitality, that is, the social characteristics (institutional support, demographic representation, social prestige) that permit the survival of a linguistic community (Dragojevic et al., 2013; Giles, 1970). Conversely, non-standard, and therefore stigmatized accents tend to be spoken by members of communities with lower levels of ethnolinguistic vitality or non-native speakers. In French Canada, a study by Bourhis and colleagues (2007) found that it is Canada's two official minority language groups, Francophones outside of Quebec and Anglophones in Quebec who most commonly reported language discrimination in survey interviews on ethnic diversity (Statistics Canada's Ethnic Diversity Survey, 2003). Similarly, qualitative studies have observed that non-standard French variations in regions where there is more contact with English (i.e. lower French vitality) tend to be perceived as inferior or less standard (Boudreau & Dubois, 2002).

While much research has documented the attitudes that people hold towards others' accents, few have investigated what this means for the stigmatized speakers themselves. However, Hallion (2011) suggests that the minority setting prompts strong linguistic awareness and metalinguistic reflection among non-standard speakers and self-representations of ways of speaking have been documented. Epilinguistic speech or linguistic representations refer to the way one situates their own way of speaking among other language variations present in the environment (Calvet, 1999). Non-standard speakers in both France and Canada, have been observed to show ambivalence towards their own way of speaking, expressing both positive and

negative attitudes towards it (Gasquet-Cyrus, 2012; Hallion, 2011; LeBlanc, 2010; Lozon, 2002; Perrot, 2006). In the context of these studies, regional accents are often described with affection and pride and considered to be adequate for informal settings. However, they are simultaneously also described as « bad », inferior, or less pleasant than more standard ways of speaking, and are often devalued in the context of more professional settings. The tendency to differentiate and denigrate a way of speaking while valuing the more « clear » and « pure » standard accents reflect the perceived division in status of francophone communities, and this status appears to align with ethnolinguistic vitality (Noël & Beaton, 2010).

As language is socially shared, it is clear that language attitudes and representations are shaped in relation to those with whom one interacts (LeBlanc, 2006). Thus, while some studies have documented the self-representations of non-standard ways of speaking, other studies illustrate that non-standard speakers perceive others' attitudes as well, and that they are aware of others' biases towards their ways of speaking (Derwing & Rossiter, 2002; Gasquet-Cyrus, 2012; Jaspal & Sitaridou, 2013; Marlow, 2016; Marlow & Giles, 2010; Vuckovic, 2015). In French Canada specifically, a study by Noël and Beaton (2010) found that Acadian youth perceived that francophones from Quebec (a higher vitality region) evaluated their ways of speaking as unacceptable, faulty, or shameful to the French language. In a qualitative study among French speakers from regions of varying levels of ethnolinguistic identity, both non-native and native participants were found to have perceived experiencing accent discrimination in a broad range of settings (Freynet et al., 2018). This included differential treatment (e.g. being excluded, less considered for employment, and treated with less respect), being singled out, or the perceived denial of French identity and competence. This last form of discrimination was also documented in a study among minority native francophone speakers who migrated to Quebec from other



provinces to complete their post-secondary education (Pilote & Canuel, 2013). Participants reported feeling as though their non-standard way of speaking prompted Quebecois to deny their French identity, or to identify them as “Anglophones”. Finally, a report documented the perceived occurrence of “linguistic intimidation” in school, at home, in communities, and in extracurricular activities among Franco-Ontarian youth. Linguistic intimidation was defined as behaviours, interventions, or comments targeted at a way of speaking that threatens, hurts, humiliates or frustrates (Fédération de la jeunesse franco-ontarienne (FESFO), 2014).

There is a need for more knowledge about how non-standard speakers manage this social and linguistic pressure, notably perceived discrimination. This is of importance as it has been suggested that linguistic representations influence among other factors, language practises, language performance and ultimately, the survival of minority language communities (Boudreau et Dubois, 2008; LeBlanc, 2006; Lozon, 2002). Of particular interest is whether perceived accent discrimination has consequences for language confidence and ethnolinguistic identity. Prior research has shown these to be important for minority language maintenance – and therefore the upkeep of language variations as well (e.g. Freynet & Clément, 2015; Sampasivam & Clément, 2014). However, to our knowledge, no quantitative study has systematically assessed whether perceived accent discrimination has consequences on language confidence and ethnolinguistic identity for native and non-native French speakers in Canada. Thus, this study aims to contribute to our knowledge of how perceiving accent discrimination affects non-standard speakers.

### **Language Confidence and Perceived Discrimination**

Studies of language variations of French in Canada have touched upon the topic of linguistic insecurity. This involves negative attitudes or linguistic self-representations of one's own way of speaking, and the perception that it is different or inferior from the standard accent

(Létourneau, 2002; Lozon, 2002; Remysen, 2005). Linguistic security, on the other hand, occurs when a speaker does not feel vulnerable in their way of speaking, and is comfortable in using the language variety without discomfort vis-à-vis linguistic abilities (Calvet, 2009). Studies among Francophones in minority settings in Canada suggest that some French speakers experience linguistic security, while others express insecurity, and that the security with which a language is used can fluctuate from context to context (Lozon, 2002). For example, one may feel secure in their use of a language at home but not in professional settings. Certain studies have suggested that linguistic insecurity can emerge from settings in or groups with which stigmatization occurs (FESFO, 2014; Noël & Beaton, 2010).

Fewer studies have looked at the consequences of intergroup contact on a related construct—that of language confidence. Language confidence can be defined as the belief in one's ability to use a language efficiently, combined with a lack of anxiety in specific situations (Clément & Kruidenier, 1985). Clément's socio-contextual model, often applied to second language learning, posits that frequency and quality of contact with a language lead to increased language confidence, which subsequently is related to increased ethnolinguistic identity (Clément 1980; Clément & Kruidenier, 1985). Over the past several years, many studies have documented that pleasant and frequent contact with members of the language group tends to be related to increased language confidence in that language (e. g. Clément, Baker, & MacIntyre, 2003; Gaudet & Clément, 2005; Noels & Clément, 1996; Sampasivam & Clément, 2014). However, few studies have looked at whether unpleasant contact, notably instances experienced by the speaker as discrimination, can lead to decreased language confidence. Language anxiety has, however, been suggested to follow negative language experiences and to depend on the social context (Sampasivam & Clément, 2014). A study among minority Hungarian speakers

learning Slovak as a second language in Slovakia supports this notion — it found that accent stigmatization was significantly and positively related to second language use anxiety (Vincze & MacIntyre, 2016). Among non-native and native language speakers in French Canada, some described experiencing a decrease in their language confidence as a consequence of perceived discrimination (Freynet et al., 2018). As reduced language confidence has previously been found to be related to unwillingness to communicate, weakened identity, and less language motivation, proficiency, and use of a language (Noels & Clément, 1996; Sampasivam & Clément, 2014; Vincze & MacIntyre, 2016), it is important to further understand factors that could lead to a loss of confidence in the use of a language.

### **Identity and Perceived Discrimination**

Ethnolinguistic identity, the other psychosocial variable of interest, is typically considered to be subjective. It can change through time and is influenced by linguistic practices (Ender & Straßl, 2009). As language is used in social contexts, interpersonal exchanges shape ethnolinguistic identity (Clément, Noels, & Deneault, 2001; Noels & Clément, 1996; Pilote & Canuel, 2013). Interactions with members of other groups bring speakers to confront and compare categories by which they define themselves. Ethnolinguistic identity then, reflects an active negotiation of the relationship with language and its characteristics, namely accents. It is continuously shaped and defined at individual and collective levels (Mendoza-Denton, 2002; Noël & Beaton, 2010). Thus, to understand the ethnolinguistic identity of minority Francophones, it is important to take into consideration characteristics of intergroup contact that may lead to this negotiation. We propose that perceived accent discrimination may precisely be one of these.

Accent discrimination encourages the creation of mutually exclusive groups. Whether the accent is native or non-native, the attribution of social characteristics to a manner of speech accentuates and rationalizes differences between self and others. It, therefore, serves as a social filter for members of the endo- or exogroup, and can push to social exclusion and stigmatization (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010b; Harwood & Giles, 2005; Vuckovic, 2015). When an accent diverges from the standard, a standard speaker may classify the non-standard speakers as different, as part of an outgroup. When non-standard speakers experience this, they construe it as a denial of their identity, and perceive being categorized by others (Freynet et al., 2018; Pilote & Canuel, 2013). Consequently, in instances of perceived accent discrimination, a non-standard speaker must deal with an identity that is imposed (reflected situated identity “You are not francophone”), but also their subjective sense of belonging (actual situated identity: “I am francophone”).

In fact, it has been proposed that the negation of one's identity brings the non-standard speaker to perceive their identity as being lesser, and in the long run, lead to a weaker sense of belonging to the language group (Corrigan & Watson, 2002; Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a). This aligns with Taylor's theory of the self (1997), which posits that social disadvantage renders it difficult for a collective identity to manifest itself. Without a clear cultural or collective identity, there is no available reference group through which someone can construct their personal identity, and by extension self-esteem. Conversely, the more a collective identity is deemed clear, the more a personal identity is well defined (Noël & Beaton, 2010; Osborne & Taylor, 2010). The results of some studies on accent stigmatization are congruent with Taylor's model. For example, a study among adults in America found that stigma consciousness relates to a weaker sense of belonging to the United States, but only for non-native speakers (Gluszek &

Dovidio, 2010a). Jaspal and Sitaridou's (2013) qualitative study among Andalusian Spanish found that stigmatized speakers perceived a threat to their ethnolinguistic identity. Qualitative studies among native and non-native French speakers in Canada show that some non-standard speakers report weakened French identity in relation to occurrences of French criticism or denial of their identity (Freynet et al., 2018; Pilote & Canuel, 2013).

On the other hand, social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) suggests that when faced with discrimination, the choice to reaffirm identity results in up keeping collective and personal self-esteem. In line with this, qualitative studies conducted in French Canada have also reported a strengthened regional francophone identity in the face of perceived language discrimination among some participants (Freynet et al., 2018; Pilote & Canuel, 2013). While intergroup interactions can entice non-standard speakers to reconsider the intensity of certain dimensions of their identity, notably a stronger sense of being francophone, it can also instigate affirming differences. It, therefore, appears that perceived accent discrimination can lead to varied consequences for identity — sometimes weakening identity, other times strengthening it. These varied identity responses have been observed in studies on other forms of perceived discrimination as well (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999).

### **Legitimacy as a Moderator of the Relation between Perceived Discrimination and Psychosocial Factors**

The varied responses to discrimination suggest that, for some, the response to discrimination is one of resilience in that they will not be affected as much as others. A factor that has been proposed to moderate this relation between perceived discrimination and psychosocial factors is its perceived legitimacy. Perceived legitimacy is defined as a subjective, individual perception that the status of one's group, as contrasted to that of others, is fair (Rüsch,

Todd, Bodenhausen, Olschewski, & Corrigan, 2010). It is a cognitive strategy by which perceived discrimination is appraised in order to protect from its potential negative effects. It is a vector of resilience, which more broadly refers to the interactive influence of psychological characteristics that allows for coping in the context of the stress process (Fletcher & Sarkar, 2013).

Studies support the use of perceived legitimacy as a protective factor against the consequences of discrimination. Among women in academic settings and among smokers, it was found that identity can be weakened in contexts of discrimination when it is legitimized. Otherwise, discrimination leads to a stronger identification with the stigmatized group (Jetten, Schmitt, Branscombe, Garza, & Mewse, 2011).

In the context of perceived accent discrimination, perceived legitimacy is likely reflected in the linguistic self-representations described above. In qualitative interviews, Pilote and Canuel (2013) as well as Freynet and colleagues (2018) observed that stigmatized speakers report that the experience of discrimination encouraged them to further reflect on their identity, on the status of their accent in relation to others, and ultimately on the legitimacy of perceived discrimination. These reflections tapped into the linguistic self-representations, in that their ways of speaking could be valued or devalued in relation to that of others (e.g. Hallion, 2011; LeBlanc, 2010; Lozon, 2002; Perrot, 2006). These resemble the cognitive coping strategies prompted by instances of accent discrimination and observed by Jaspal and Sitaridou (2013). We propose then, that perceived legitimacy of discrimination would moderate the psychosocial consequences of perceived accent discrimination.

### **Current Study**

In summary, research to date suggests that accent stigmatization is perceived by both native and non-native speakers of a devalued language variety. Several qualitative studies have documented the possible consequences of negative self-representations of a way of speaking. However, few studies have systematically examined its psychosocial consequences, and factors that may influence these responses, in contexts of perceived discrimination.

Consequently, using a quantitative approach, this study proposes to explore the relation between perceived accent discrimination and psychosocial factors, as moderated by perceived legitimacy. As proposed above, these include French language confidence and situated francophone identity – both actual and reflected.

In congruence with the existing literature, we hypothesize that there will be a significant and negative relation between perceived accent discrimination and all psychosocial factors assessed when the perceived discrimination is considered more legitimate. When the perceived discrimination is considered to be less legitimate, we expect a significant and positive relation between perceived discrimination and these psychosocial factors.

As prior research has suggested that accent stigmatization occurs for various types of accents, these hypotheses will be tested among both non-native and native speakers (see Freynet et al., 2018). The differences between native and non-native groups will remain exploratory. In addition, previous studies have suggested that psychosocial experiences of language variations may vary based on gender and ethnolinguistic vitality (Cheshire, 2002; Freynet et al., 2018; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002). When appropriate, these will be included in the analyses as covariates.

## **Method**

### **Participants**

English is the language of majority in all provinces of Canada, except Quebec, where French is more widely spoken. Nevertheless, throughout the country, Canada comprises a mosaic of diverse French communities, all with varying levels of vitality and multiple regional accents (Freynet & Clément, 2015; Noël & Beaton, 2010; Statistics Canada, 2017). In the context of this study, these include native accents, specifically those belonging to people who have French as a first language, and non-native accents, or those of people who have French as a second language. Our sample reflected this reality. Participants were required to have French as a first or second language, be able to maintain a conversation in French, and be born in Canada. A total of 404 undergraduate students participated in the study. Those who responded to less than 50% of the questionnaires, did not meet study criteria, had more than one first language, or did not respond correctly to three questions aiming to assess their attention while completing the online study were removed from the sample. A total of 338 participants remained (see table 1). Due to the small sample size of non-native participants from Quebec, only non-native participants from outside of Quebec were retained for analyses.

### **Materials**

A combination of scales assessing our constructs of interest was used to collect data: the Perceived Devaluation and Discrimination Questionnaire, a questionnaire measuring the perceived legitimacy of discrimination, the Situated Ethnic Identity Scale (SEIS) (for situated actual and reflected francophone identities), and a language confidence scale (Appendix E and F). The SEIS and language confidence scales were readily available in both French and English. All other questionnaires were translated into French using Chang, Chau & Holroyd's (1999)



Table 1

*Sociodemographic characteristics*

	Native speakers (n = 225)	Non-native speakers (n = 113)
Age	19.76 (17-36)	18.88 (16-25)
Gender		
Male	36	13
Female	189	100
Province lived in longest		
Quebec	112	7
ROC	113	106
Language most used		
French	168	6
English / Other	58	107

back-translation methods. Unless otherwise indicated, all questionnaires used a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree). When appropriate, participants were instructed to think of their accent when speaking French or of their use of French.

The *Perceived Devaluation and Discrimination Questionnaire* has 12 items, and measures perceived discrimination towards the speakers of one's accent. This questionnaire was adapted from Link (1987) to account for accent discrimination. Six of the questions were reverse scored. The questionnaire is shown to have good validity and good internal consistency ( $\alpha=.85$ , Rüsçh et al., 2009). In the context of this study, the Cronbach's alpha for the French version was .83, and .87 for the English version.

*Perceived Legitimacy of Discrimination* was assessed with five items, three of which are adapted from Schmader, Major, Eccleston, and McCoy (2001). A higher score on these items indicated a stronger belief that the perceived discrimination experienced is legitimate (i.e. that one's accent should be devalued). In the context of this study, Cronbach's alpha for the French questionnaire was .77, and .86 for the English version.

The *Situated Ethnic Identity Scale*, adapted from Clément and Noels (1992), is a 10-item measure of participants' situated francophone identity – that is their identity in various contexts and settings (e.g. at home, while interacting with university personnel, when participating in culture activities, etc.). The items aim to assess the strength of identification in different situations in which it may vary. Participants responded to two versions of the scale. The Actual Situated Ethnic Identity subscale corresponds to the participant's subjective identity. The Reflected Situated Ethnic Identity subscale corresponds to the way they believe other francophone speakers perceive them. The participants were required to indicate their impression of the degree to which they feel, or are perceived to be francophone using a 7-point scale (1 = not at all like a francophone and 7 = very much like a francophone). A high score on the scale indicates a stronger francophone identity. This questionnaire has good reliability with a test-retest coefficient of .67 (Clément & Baker, 2001) and good internal consistency ( $\alpha=.93$ ; Gaudet

& Clément, 2005). In the context of this study, the Actual Situated Identity subscale, showed a Cronbach's alpha of .84 for the French version and of .85 for the English version. The Cronbach's alpha for the Reflected Situated Ethic Identity subscale in French was .90 and .85 in English.

*Language confidence* was assessed using a combination of adapted versions of the French Use Anxiety questionnaires and the French Language Confidence questionnaires (Clément & Baker, 2001). The anxiety questionnaire, which consists of eight items, assesses self-reported levels of anxiety when using French in a variety of contexts. The confidence questionnaire, consisting of six items, measure perceived language abilities. The combination of both questionnaires has been shown to form a reliable measure of language confidence (Gaudet & Clément, 2005). Higher scores indicate more confidence in using French. The language confidence score was obtained by calculating the mean of all items (confidence and anxiety items combined) after all reverse-coded items were appropriately recoded. Cronbach's alphas for language confidence using the French and English questionnaires were .75 and .90 respectively.

### **Procedure**

The University of Ottawa is a bilingual university, which made it an ideal setting for participant recruitment. Data was collected through the Integrated System of Participation in Research (ISPR). All participants were enrolled in a first-year course and received one point towards their final grade in return for participation in the study. Data was collected through Qualtrics (Qualtrics, 2018), a secure online platform. It was estimated that participation would require 30 to 45 minutes. Upon enrolment in the study "Identity and Intergroup Communication", the participants were presented with the option of responding to the questionnaire in French or in English. Once consent to participate was obtained, the scales

described above were completed, along with sociodemographic information (e.g. age, gender, province most lived in, etc.). The actual situated identity subscale was presented first, followed by the sociodemographic questionnaire, the reflected situated identity subscale, and all other scales. These questions were presented in a randomly generated order. To assist with online navigation, instructions were provided throughout. A list of psychological resources was provided at the end of the study, should it have provoked discomfort or distress.

Upon completion of data collection, they were downloaded and the datasets were cleaned. We ensured that the data was properly entered into SPSS, we added descriptive information to the dataset, deleted empty variables and cases, and prepared the data for analysis. The datasets from both English and French language questionnaires were then merged. Two separate datasets were created for analyses – one for native speakers and another for non-native speakers.

## **Results**

The objectives of this study were to explore the relation between perceived accent discrimination and the following psychosocial factors, as moderated by perceived legitimacy: (a) situated francophone identity (actual and reflected) ; and (b) French language confidence. The analyses were conducted separately among non-native and native speakers

### **Preliminary Analyses**

Descriptive statistics regarding means and correlations are presented in Appendix H. In addition, a one-way multivariate analysis of variance was run to determine the effect of region in which one spent the majority of their lives (Quebec versus the rest of Canada (ROC)) on all variables for native speakers. As no data from participants from Quebec was retained for non-native speakers, no analyses were conducted for that group. The differences between the regions

on the combined dependent variables was statistically significant for all variables,  $F(6, 217) = 7.32, p < .001$ ; Wilks'  $\lambda = .73$ ; partial  $\eta^2 = .27$ . Participants from the ROC scored significantly lower than those from Quebec on legitimacy, language confidence and actual and reflected situated identity (see Table 2).

Table 2

*Native speakers: One-way multivariate analysis of variance of the effect of region (Quebec vs ROC) on predictor, moderating, and dependent variables.*

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>F</i> (1, 223)	<i>p</i>	Partial $\eta^2$
Perceived discrimination	QC : 1.82	.69	2.73	.10	.012
	ROC : 1.99	.84			
Legitimacy	QC : 2.09	1.13	11.08	<.001	.047
	ROC : 2.67	1.38			
Actual Situated identity	QC : 5.13	.98	18.79	<.001	.078
	ROC : 4.51	1.18			
Reflected Situated identity	QC : 5.08	1.22	41.71	<.001	.16
	ROC : 4.03	1.23			
Language confidence	QC : 6.59	.48	20.58	<.001	.08
	ROC : 6.24	.66			

### Main Analyses

To test the hypothesis that the perceived legitimacy of accent discrimination moderates the relationship between perceived discrimination and various dependent variables, a series of moderated regression analyses were conducted using PROCESS, a macro operating within

SPSS. The variables were centered and interaction terms were created through that procedure. It uses a simple moderation model, in which all variables are simultaneously entered. It computes the proportion of the variance in the dependent variable uniquely attributable to the moderation of the independent variable's effect by the moderation variable (Hayes, 2013).

First, the analyses were run with the inclusion of covariates (gender and region where the participant spent most his or her life). As gender and region are categorical variables, dummy variables were created. For region, this compared participants from Quebec (coded as 0) to those from the ROC, including Ontario<sup>3</sup> (coded as 1). For gender, this compared male (coded as 0) from female (coded as 1) participants. If no covariate was found to be significant, the moderated regression was re-run without the inclusion of covariates. When a covariate and an interaction between the independent and moderator variables were found to be significant, a follow-up analysis in PROCESS, specifically a moderated moderation, was conducted to verify the conditional effect of perceived discrimination on the predictor at values of both legitimacy and the significant covariate (see Appendix H for tables).

**Native speakers.** In terms of covariates, only region was significant, for actual situated identity ( $b = -.49$ , 95% CI [-.78, -.21],  $t = -3.37$ ,  $p < .001$ ), reflected situated identity ( $b = -.87$ , 95% CI [-1.20, -.54],  $t = -5.22$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and language confidence ( $b = -.21$ , 95% CI [-.35, -.07],  $t = -2.98$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Therefore region, but not gender, was retained as a covariate.

Applying this model, the relation between perceived discrimination and language confidence ( $b = -.26$ , 95% CI [-.37, -.15],  $t = -4.67$ ,  $p < .001$ ) was significant and negative. This showed that the more one perceived discrimination to have occurred, the less they were confident in their language.

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<sup>3</sup> Preliminary analyses compared three regions: Quebec, Ontario, and other provinces and territories. This subdivision of ROC groups was not found to give distinct results. As such, to simplify the interpretation of analyses, only two regions were compared for the native group – Quebec and the rest of Canada. For the non-native group, participants from all ROC provinces were grouped into one.

Furthermore, there was a significant negative relation between perceived legitimacy and reflected situated identity ( $b = -.32$ , 95% CI  $[-.47, -.16]$ ,  $t = -4.09$ ,  $p < .001$ ), language confidence ( $b = -.13$ , 95% CI  $[-.20, -.06]$ ,  $t = -3.80$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and actual situated identity ( $b = -.10$ , 95% CI  $[-.34, -.05]$ ,  $t = -2.62$ ,  $p = .01$ ). This suggested that as perceived discrimination was considered to be less legitimate, language confidence, as well as reflected and actual situated identities increased.

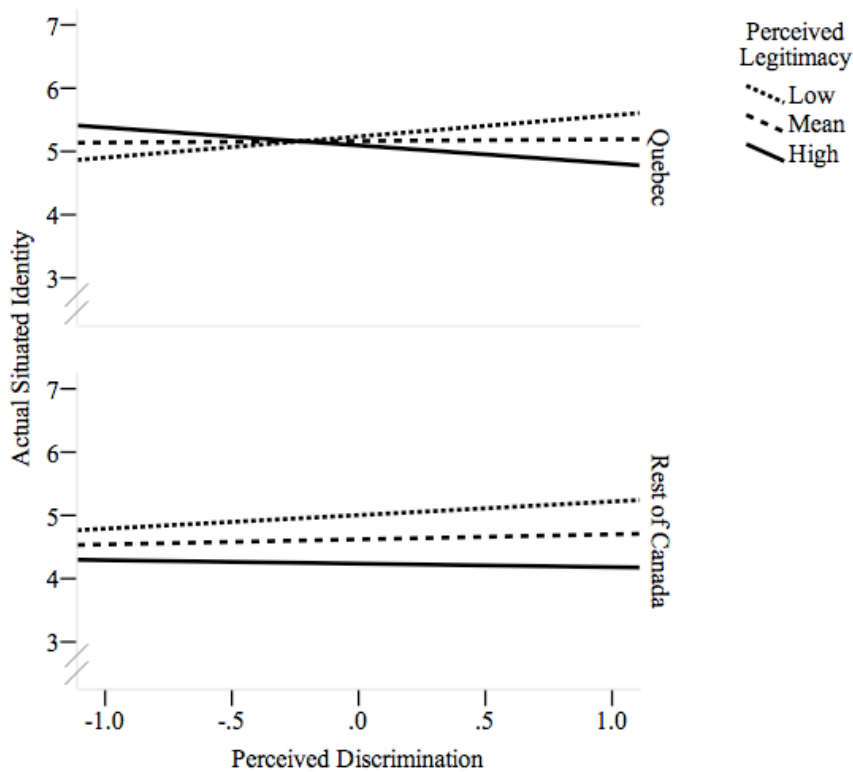
The interaction term between legitimacy and perceived discrimination was not significant for language confidence and reflected situated identity. However, when added to the regression model, the interaction term accounted for a significant proportion of the variance in actual situated identity ( $b = -.14$ , 95% CI  $[-.27, -.02]$ ,  $t = -2.26$ ,  $p = .03$ ). An examination of the simple slopes suggests that when legitimacy was low (i.e. perceived discrimination is considered less legitimate), there was a significant positive relation between perceived discrimination and identity,  $b = .23$ , 95% CI  $[.004, .47]$ ,  $t = 1.94$ ,  $p = .05$ .

As follow up, as the region covariate had been found to be significant, a moderated moderation was run, with region as moderator of legitimacy. This analysis revealed that these results were only significant for participants from Quebec: when legitimacy was low, there was a significant positive relation between perceived discrimination and actual situated identity ( $b = .33$ , 95% CI  $[-.01, .68]$ ,  $t = 1.93$ ,  $p = .05$ ) (see figure 1). The results were not significant for participants from the ROC.

In summary, perceived legitimacy of discrimination was found to moderate the relation between perceived discrimination and actual situated identity. Specifically, the results showed that when perceived discrimination was considered less legitimate, actual situated identity increased as perceived discrimination increased. However, this was only significant for

participants from Quebec. Although the interaction between perceived discrimination and legitimacy was not found to be significant for reflected situated identity and language confidence, perceived legitimacy was found to be negatively and significantly related to these variables, as well as with actual situated identity. Furthermore, perceived discrimination was negatively and significantly related to language confidence.

Figure 1: Native Speakers: Effects of Region on Moderation Analysis of Perceived Legitimacy on the Relation between Perceived Discrimination and Actual Situated Identity



**Non-native speakers.** In a first run of the main analyses for non-native speakers, neither gender nor region was significant. Analyses were re-run without the inclusion of these covariates. There was a significant negative relation between perceived discrimination and



language confidence ( $b = -.49$ , 95% CI  $[-.68, -.30]$ ,  $t = -5.00$ ,  $p < .001$ ). The interaction term between legitimacy and perceived discrimination was not significant for any of the criterion variables. No significant results were found for reflected or actual situated identities.

In summary, for non-native speakers, the interaction between perceived discrimination and legitimacy was not found to be significant for any of the criterion variables. However, perceived discrimination was found to be significantly and negatively related to language confidence.

### **Discussion**

The results of this study add to the findings suggesting that perceived accent discrimination can lead to negative psychosocial consequences, namely weakened language confidence for both native and non-native speakers. In line with social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), perceived discrimination led to stronger actual situated identity, but only when the discrimination was considered to be illegitimate, and only for native speakers from Quebec. Thus, our results partially support the hypothesis that in the context of perceived discrimination, perceived legitimacy can contribute to variations in psychosocial responses. However, our analyses suggest that this may only be relevant for native speakers from Quebec, a high vitality Francophone region. It is possible that their secure status allows for recourse to this cognitive strategy when faced with devaluation of their speech. This is consistent with results from prior studies on various forms of discrimination. These had found that the experience of being a target of prejudice is different for members of high-status versus low-status groups (Major, Quinton, & McCoy, 2002; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002). The status of a group is said, for example, to play on access to resources and coping strategies, with members of higher-status groups, like the Québécois, having more at their disposal, as shown by the initial means analyses reported in table 1.

Beyond perceived instances of discrimination, there appeared to be a direct relation between perceived legitimacy of discrimination and psychosocial factors for all native speakers. Perceptions of legitimacy reflect the representations that one makes of their way of speaking, specifically their appraisal of the status of their accent in a context of perceived discrimination. This study suggests that, for native speakers, while a negative appraisal of a way of speaking can have detrimental consequences for their relationship with the French language, positive appraisals of these can be protective and lead to strengthened identity and language confidence. This supports qualitative studies that had observed that linguistic representations appear to be tied to language insecurity and francophone identity (e.g. LeBlanc, 2006; Perrot, 2006; Remyson, 2005).

Perceived legitimacy did not, however, appear to be related to identity nor language confidence for non-native speakers. This is reflective of Hallion's suggestion that it is a minority context that instigates metalinguistic reflection. It is possible that reflections on a language status in relation to others are less prompted for non-native speakers, who benefit from majority status with their first language, English. Rejection or negative evaluations from the minority francophone community would likely not carry implications for exclusion from the wider Canadian Anglophone culture with which they may further identify (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002). Perceptions of the status of their French accent may thus, not be at the forefront of their preoccupations. However, in future studies, it could be interesting to verify whether perceived legitimacy or discrimination would be further related to psychosocial factors for Anglophones who strongly identify to francophone communities.

### **Limitations and Future Studies**

Despite the significance of some of the results, perceived discrimination itself was not found to be related to all assessed forms of identity, and was not found to be significantly related to any forms of identity for Francophones outside of Quebec. A study done in the context of a dissertation among non-standard English speakers in Kentucky, had also found no relation between perceived accent discrimination and social identity (Mills, 2015). While this may simply indicate that consequences for identity do not always accompany perceived accent discrimination, it is also possible that these results are due to methodological limitations. For example, in a number of the studies reviewed in this paper, Francophones often alluded to regional identities, or identity profiles that involved their affiliations with other groups in their surroundings as well (e.g., Noël & Beaton, 2010). For minority Francophones, bilingual identities have been found to be the predominant form of ethnolinguistic identification, reflecting their reality — that of affiliating with both the French and English communities (Freynet & Clément, 2015; Landry, Allard, & Deveau, 2013). As such, future studies may want to investigate whether accent discrimination affects identity profiles beyond the single original membership group.

While we attended to perceived legitimacy as a possible factor, numerous other possibilities—including behavioural strategies — exist. Future studies may look at other plausible moderating factors, including coping mechanisms, the frequency of contact with French, and the contexts in which perceived discrimination was experienced (see Freynet et al., 2018; Lozon, 2002; Marlow, 2016).

Finally, our descriptive data suggested that the means for perceived discrimination was relatively low in our sample, which consisted of people who had not necessarily experienced accent discrimination. In the future, conducting studies specifically among people who report

experiences of accent discrimination may be helpful in gaining more insight as to the ways in which the consequences of discrimination manifest themselves.

### **Conclusion**

This study, nevertheless, adds to our current knowledge of perceived accent discrimination. Some would argue that the use of language variations, such as non-standard accents, is best analysed while taking into account the history of the political and social rapport between members of two linguistic groups (LeBlanc, 2006). This was evident from the results of our study, which offered interesting insight into the consequences of the devaluation of non-standard forms of speaking in different diglossic contexts. It brought support to the notion that ideologies relating to the superiority of certain ways of speaking and its subsequent behaviours, are not without consequences for native and non-native speakers, nor, in this case, for the maintenance of French. Understanding the dynamics and consequences of this process is of particular importance for minority language survival.

The results of this study also highlighted the importance of the ways in which accents and perceived discrimination are appraised. Thus, it is important to acknowledge the linguistic representations among minority language speakers and foster positive appraisals of language variations. Social institutions should promote language diversity to create a context that is favourable to the maintenance and revitalization of minority languages, including French in Canada (Perrot, 2006).

Ultimately, it is clear that the promotion of language variations, such as accents, has societal, interpersonal, and individual implications. By communicating social information about the speaker, an accent also shapes one's social experience. While it can lead to shared or polarizing experiences, it propels interlocutors to reaffirm their bond with their language, and

ultimately shapes their sense of belonging and the very fabric of society.

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**STUDY THREE**

**Consequences of Perceived Accent Discrimination for Psychological Adjustment and  
Resilience Effects**

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### **Abstract**

This study examines an element of intergroup interaction – perceived accent discrimination – that is proposed to be related to negative psychological outcomes, along with personal characteristics with which they are managed. Specifically, the objectives of this study are to explore whether ethnolinguistic identity and perceived legitimacy of discrimination interact to moderate the relation between perceived accent discrimination and daily language hassles as well as self-esteem. First language French speakers who were students at the University of Ottawa (n=132) completed a series of questionnaires. Moderated moderation analyses were conducted using PROCESS for SPSS. These revealed that perceived discrimination is positively and significantly related to daily language hassles for those who have a weaker francophone identity and who perceive discrimination as being more legitimate. Francophone identity and perceived illegitimacy of discrimination were therefore found to protect against perceived daily language hassles, but not self-esteem.

## **Introduction**

A minority language status can pose challenges and bring stress to the day-to-day interactions of its community members (Bouchard & Desmeules, 2011). In fact, research on indicators of well-being such as self-esteem, stress, and depression has reported that minority group members experience psychological distress and may experience difficulty accessing services to cope with these (e.g., Abouguendia & Noels, 2001; Benoit, Bell, & Lavoie, 2018; Bouchard, Batista, & Colman, 2018; Clément, Noels, & Deneault, 2001; Noël & Beaton, 2010). This study examines an element of intergroup interaction that is related to negative psychological outcomes, along with the personal characteristics with which it is managed. Specifically, we investigate whether perceived accent discrimination is a predictor of psychological maladjustment, particularly daily language-related stress, and weakened self-esteem, among first language French speakers in Canada.

## **Consequences of Perceived Discrimination**

Accent discrimination corresponds to the devaluation of one's way of speaking. In numerous studies, negative evaluations of non-standard accents have been found to be generalized to non-standard speakers who are considered to be less competent, intelligent or attractive (see Dragojevic, Giles, & Watson, 2013; Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010; Pantos & Perkins, 2013). While a wealth of studies continues to nuance our understanding of the ways in which one's way of speaking can lead to discriminatory behaviours and attitudes, fewer studies have investigated how stigmatization is experienced by the non-standard speaker (Derwing, 2003; Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010). The studies that have, however, find that non-standard speakers can be aware of the stigma associated with their way of speaking (Derwing & Rossiter, 2002; Gasquet-Cyrus, 2012; Marlow, 2016; Marlow & Giles, 2010; Pilote & Canuel, 2013; Vuckovic,



2015). In addition, some studies suggest that this can lead to practical and psychosocial consequences (e.g. Freynet, Clément, & Sylvestre, 2018; Jaspal & Sitaridou, 2013; Lee & Rice, 2007; Wei, Wang, & Ku, 2012).

More broadly, research on perceived discrimination has established that discriminatory experiences are likely to be accompanied by consequences for physical and psychological health. Prior reviews summarizing research on the question across a wide range of stigmas have consistently found that perceiving discrimination is most often negatively related to a variety of well-being measures (e.g. Paradies, 2006; Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009; Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes, & Garcia, 2014; Williams, Neighbours, & Jackson, 2003). While the literature on discrimination has mainly focused on racial discrimination, some studies on language discrimination suggest that it can predict negative psychological and health outcomes over and above racial discrimination (Wei et al., 2012; Yoo, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2009). This underscores the importance of better understanding the psychological consequences of language-based discrimination, including accent discrimination. Nevertheless, this constitutes one of the first studies systematically assessing the psychological adjustment consequences of perceived accent discrimination along with factors that can lead to variations in these responses.

**Consequences for psychological adjustment.** Stigmatized speakers have been shown to feel alienated, ignored, limited, or disrespected (Lee & Rice, 2007; Qin, Way, & Mukherjee, 2008; Vanegas Rojas et al., 2016) and a few studies on perceived accent stigmatization or discrimination specifically support the notion that this is not without psychological consequences. A study among Spanish-accented English speakers who live and work in the United States found that accent-based perceived discrimination predicted less job satisfaction and increased work tension even when controlling for other work stressors (Wated & Sanchez,

2006). In a qualitative study among minority first-language French speakers in Canada, negative affect (e.g. shame, frustration), self-inadequacy and language-related stress were reported following instances of perceived accent discrimination (Freynet et al., 2018). Moreover, the results of a study among English-speaking Kentuckians found that recall of perceived accent stigmatization was significantly and negatively related to self-esteem (Mills, 2015).

It appears that experiences with discrimination relate to both positive (e.g. self-esteem) and negative (e.g. stress) constructs of well-being. In the context of this study, we are interested in two specific measures of well-being: daily language hassles and self-esteem. Daily hassles entail stress, frustration or distress occurring as a result of problematic everyday transactions with the environment (Gaudet, Clément, & Deuzeman, 2005; Kanner, Coyne, Schaefer, & Lazarus, 1981; Lay & Nguyen, 1998). Greater experienced personal discrimination has been found to be associated with increased daily acculturative hassles (Gaudet et al., 2005).

Self-esteem, a measure of self-worth, has frequently been investigated as an indicator of psychological adjustment in studies on perceived discrimination (see Major & Dover, 2016; Paradies, 2006; Schmitt et al., 2014). We consider self-esteem to be particularly pertinent for this study as, in contexts of intergroup relations, self-esteem has been shown to be relevant to both well-being and identity – a variable that is introduced below as central to the proposed hypotheses (e.g., Major, Quinton, & McCoy, 2002 ; Rintamiki & Brashers, 2010; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Taylor, 1997).

### **Ethnolinguistic Identity and Lower Perceived Legitimacy of Discrimination as Protective Factors**

Although psychological consequences of discrimination have been well documented, not all who perceive having experienced discrimination will suffer consequences (Crocker & Major,

1989; Major et Dover, 2016). From a stress and coping perspective, discrimination occurs in a transactional manner. The natural transaction that occurs between personal and situational characteristics means that there can be many differences in the way in which speakers experience, cope with and are affected by discrimination (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). In employing behavioural or cognitive efforts, one can manage the stress that derives from taxing demands in their environment and show resilience (Fletcher & Sarkar, 2013; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). In the context of this paper, we investigate two factors that together, are proposed to buffer the psychological consequences of perceived accent discrimination, specifically ethnolinguistic identity and the perceived legitimacy of discrimination.

**Ethnolinguistic identity.** Studies of acculturation have shown the standalone importance of the maintenance of identity, or one's sense of belonging, for psychological adjustment. Specifically, stronger ethnic or ethnolinguistic identity has often been found to be significantly related to measures of psychological adjustment such as elevated self-esteem or less stress (Clément et al., 2001; Gaudet & Clément, 2005; Lay & Verkuyten, 1999; Noels, Pon, & Clément, 1996; Ryder, Alden, & Pauhus, 2000). In the context of discrimination, studies tend to show that identity is most often a key buffer against its harmful effects. In fact, reviews of the moderating effect of group identification have found that it most often reduces the impact of discrimination on well-being ( Mossakowski, 2003; Neblett, Shelton, & Sellers, 2015; Schmitt et al., 2014). This is coherent with Branscombe and colleagues' (1999) rejection-identification model, based on social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), which suggests that while discrimination is accompanied by psychological consequences, it also encourages one to further identify with their minority group. This sense of belonging in turn, positively affects well-being.

Nevertheless, some studies rather suggest that group identification or its centrality to the self can lead to more harmful effects (McCoy & Major, 2003). Taylor's (1997) theory of the self proposes that social disadvantage makes it difficult for a collective and thus also a personal identity to form (Usborne & Taylor, 2010). This deficit, in turn, leads to poor psychological well-being. Five studies conducted among a variety of minority groups support this hypothesis (Usborne & Taylor, 2010). While the rejection-identification model and the theory of the self suggest that discrimination leads to opposite outcomes for both identity and well-being, they are not necessarily contradictory. In a study among minority Acadian youth, Noël and Beaton (2010) showed that these are rather two possibilities for minority youth who can develop complex identity profiles in the face of discrimination.

**Perceived legitimacy.** The existence of divergent predictions suggests that there are other factors at play. One particular cognitive strategy is the perceived legitimacy of discrimination, that is, the perception that the status of one's accent is fair (Rüsch, Todd, Bodenhausen, Olschewski, & Corrigan, 2010). Perceived legitimacy of discrimination has been found to be a key determinant of personal responses to discrimination. Higher perceived legitimacy of discrimination has been associated with less likelihood of fighting stigma, more self-blame, shame, less self-efficacy, fewer feelings of empowerment, lower self-esteem, and a weaker sense of belonging (Corrigan & Watson, 2002; Jetten, Schmitt, Branscombe, Garza, & Mewse, 2011; Jost & Major, 2001; Rüsch, Lieb, Bohus, & Corrigan, 2006; Rüsch et al., 2010; Watson, Corrigan, Larson, & Sells, 2007). It has also been found to be related to lower participation in collective action against stigma, poorer social performance, and more social distance from ingroup members (Jetten et al., 2011; Rüsch et al., 2009). As such, it appears that when discrimination is appraised as legitimate, members are discouraged from developing an ingroup

collective sense of belonging and this deprives them of social support and resources to maintain well-being in the face of discrimination (Jetten et al., 2011).

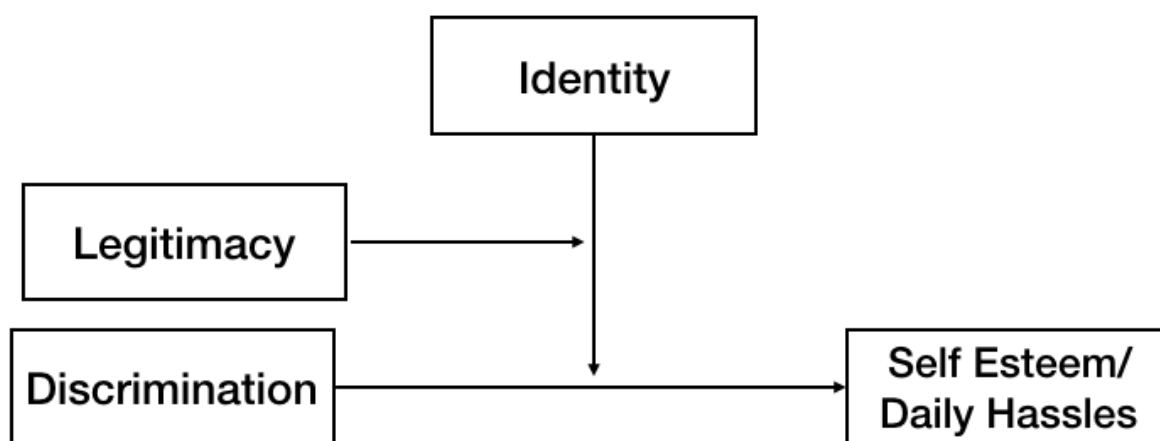
In line with this, perceived legitimacy of discrimination has been used to explain the paradoxical findings of the relation between identity and well-being. Specifically, Hansen and Sassenberg (2011) have proposed the legitimacy-identification hypothesis. This suggests that perceived legitimacy moderates the effects of social identity on affective responses to discrimination. Two studies in which undergraduate students were exposed to discriminatory scenarios supported this hypothesis. Specifically, they found that group identity had a buffering effect when negative treatment was considered as illegitimate, and an exacerbating effect when it was considered to be legitimate (Hansen & Sassenberg, 2011).

### **Current Study**

In sum, this study seeks to better understand whether there are psychological consequences to perceived accent discrimination, and how this plays out. The objectives of this study are twofold. First, we explore whether ethnolinguistic identity and perceived legitimacy interact to moderate the relation between perceived accent discrimination and indicators of well-being, particularly perceived daily language hassles and self-esteem. Specifically, we will be assessing whether perceived legitimacy moderates the moderating effects of ethnolinguistic identity on the proposed psychological adjustment consequences of discrimination (figure 1). In line with prior studies, we hypothesize that when perceived discrimination is considered to be more legitimate, group identity will have an exacerbating effect on the relation between perceived accent discrimination and psychological consequences, such that increased perceived discrimination will be significantly and positively related to daily language-related stress. and significantly and negatively related to self-esteem. However, when perceived accent

discrimination is considered to be less legitimate, group identity will have a buffering effect, such that the relation between perceived discrimination and daily language hassles will be significant and negative, and the relation with self-esteem will be significant and positive.

*Figure 1.* Conceptual model of moderated moderations showing the effects of identity and legitimacy



## Method

### Participants

The study was conducted in Canada among non-standard first language French speakers. Participants were selected from regions in which French has a minority status. Prior studies have documented perceptions of accent or language discrimination among these groups (e.g.: Bourhis, Montreuil, Helly, & Jantzen, 2007; Freynet et al., 2018; Noël & Beaton, 2010; Pilote & Canuel, 2013). Participants were required to have French as a first language, be able to maintain a conversation in French, be born in Canada, and have spent the majority of their life outside of

Quebec, a French-majority province. A total of 180 undergraduate students participated in the study. Those who did not meet study criteria, responded to less than 50% of the questionnaires, or did not respond correctly to two questions aiming to assess their attention while completing the online study were removed from the sample. A total of 132 participants remained (mean age = 19.18 (17-34); 95 female, 34 male, 2 unspecified gender). Of the participants, 112 had identified Ontario as the province in which they lived the longest, and 19 had specified they had lived longest elsewhere in Canada (outside of Quebec).

### **Materials**

For the purpose of our study, a series of scales was selected: the Perceived Devaluation and Discrimination Questionnaire, a scale to assess the perceived legitimacy of discrimination, the Three Factor Model of Identity adapted to measure francophone identity, Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale and a daily hassles questionnaire that was modified to assess daily language hassles (Appendixes E and G). Unless otherwise indicated, all questionnaires used a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree) and were translated into French using Chang, Chau & Holroyd's (1999) back-translation methods. When appropriate, participants were instructed to think of their accent when speaking French or of their use of French.

The *Perceived Devaluation and Discrimination Questionnaire* is a 12-item measure of the perception that one is discriminated because of their accent. It was adapted from Link (1987) to account for accent discrimination. Six of the questions were reverse scored so that a higher score revealed greater perceived discrimination. The questionnaire is shown to have good validity and good internal consistency ( $\alpha=.85$ , Rüsç, Todd, Bodenhausen, Olschewski, & Corrigan, 2010; this study,  $\alpha = .87$ ).

*Perceived legitimacy of discrimination* was assessed with five items, three of which are adapted from Schmader, Major, Eccleston, and McCoy (2001). A higher score on these items indicated a stronger belief that the perceived discrimination experienced is legitimate (i.e. that one's accent is of lesser value;  $\alpha = .84$ ).

*Francophone identity* was measured using an adapted version of Cameron's (2004) 12-item *Three Factor Model of Identity*. The scale uses a tripartite model of identity, measuring affect, centrality, and ties. A higher score on the scale indicates a stronger francophone identity. A confirmatory factor analysis supported the acceptability of the tripartite model, and the scale was found to have a good discriminant and convergent validity (Cameron, 2004). Six of the questions were reverse scored before analyses. For this study, the Cronbach's alpha was of .82.

*Self-esteem* was measured using a French version of Rosenberg's (1965) 10-item Self-Esteem Scale. The questionnaire was translated and validated in a study by Vallières and Vallerand (1990). Five items were reverse coded so that higher scores indicate higher self-esteem. In the context of this study, the Cronbach's alpha was of .91.

*Daily language hassles* was assessed using an adapted version of the daily hassles questionnaire used by Gaudet and colleagues (2005), which included questions on cultural hassles and the extent to which they caused concern over the past month. These were modified to pertain to language- or accent-related hassles. A total of 6 items were included and a 5-point Likert scale (1 = not at all an annoyance and 5 = major annoyance) was used. A high score reflected high levels of experienced daily language hassles. The scale had a Cronbach's alpha of .82.



## **Procedure**

Data were collected at the University of Ottawa through the Integrated System of Participation in Research (ISPR). All participants, who were enrolled in a first-year course, received one point towards their final grade as compensation for their participation in the study. Data was collected through Qualtrics, a secure online platform. It was estimated that participation would require 30 to 45 minutes. Upon enrolment in the study “Speaking the same language, but differently”, consent to participate was obtained. French versions of the scales described above were completed, along with sociodemographic information (e.g. age, gender, province most lived in, etc.). The francophone identity and perceived legitimacy of discrimination questionnaires were presented first. These questions were presented in a randomly generated order. This was followed by the self-esteem and daily hassles questionnaires, which were also presented in a randomly generated order. The questions on perceived discrimination were presented last, along with the sociodemographic questionnaire. To assist with online navigation, instructions were provided throughout. A list of psychological resources was provided at the end of the study. When the data collection was complete, the data was downloaded and the dataset was cleaned.

## **Results**

The objectives of this study are to explore whether ethnolinguistic identity and perceived legitimacy interact to moderate the relation between perceived accent discrimination and indicators of well-being, specifically perceived daily language hassles and self-esteem.

### **Moderated Moderation Analyses<sup>4</sup>**

In line with our objective, two moderated moderation analyses were conducted to verify the conditional effect of perceived discrimination on self-esteem and then on daily language hassles as a function of both ethnolinguistic identity and perceived legitimacy (Figure 1 above), using the PROCESS add-on to SPSS (model 3; Hayes, 2013). A moderated moderation tests whether the moderation of one variable's effect by another is itself moderated, in this case by perceived legitimacy. In PROCESS, variables are centered, the interaction terms are created, and all variables are simultaneously entered. PROCESS computes the proportion of the variance in the dependent variable uniquely attributable to the independent variable's effect as a function the moderation variables (Hayes, 2013).

**Self-esteem.** The overall model was not significant,  $R^2 = .105$ ,  $F(7, 123) = 2.064$ ,  $p = .052$ . An examination of the results revealed that for self-esteem only one simple main effect was significant. Specifically, the relation between perceived discrimination and self-esteem ( $b = -.23$ , 95% CI  $[-.43, -.03]$ ,  $t = -2.247$ ,  $SE = p = .026$ ) was significant and negative suggesting that the more discrimination was perceived to occur, the weaker the self-esteem. None of the interaction terms were significant, indicating that the latter relationship was moderated by neither legitimacy nor identity.

**Daily language hassles.** The overall model was significant,  $R^2 = .294$ ,  $F(7, 124) = 7.393$ ,  $p < .001$  (Figure 2), indicating that it accounted for a significant portion of the variance in daily language hassles. In terms of simple main effects, there was a significant positive relation between discrimination, perceived legitimacy, and daily language hassles ( $b = .22$ , 95% CI  $[.10,$

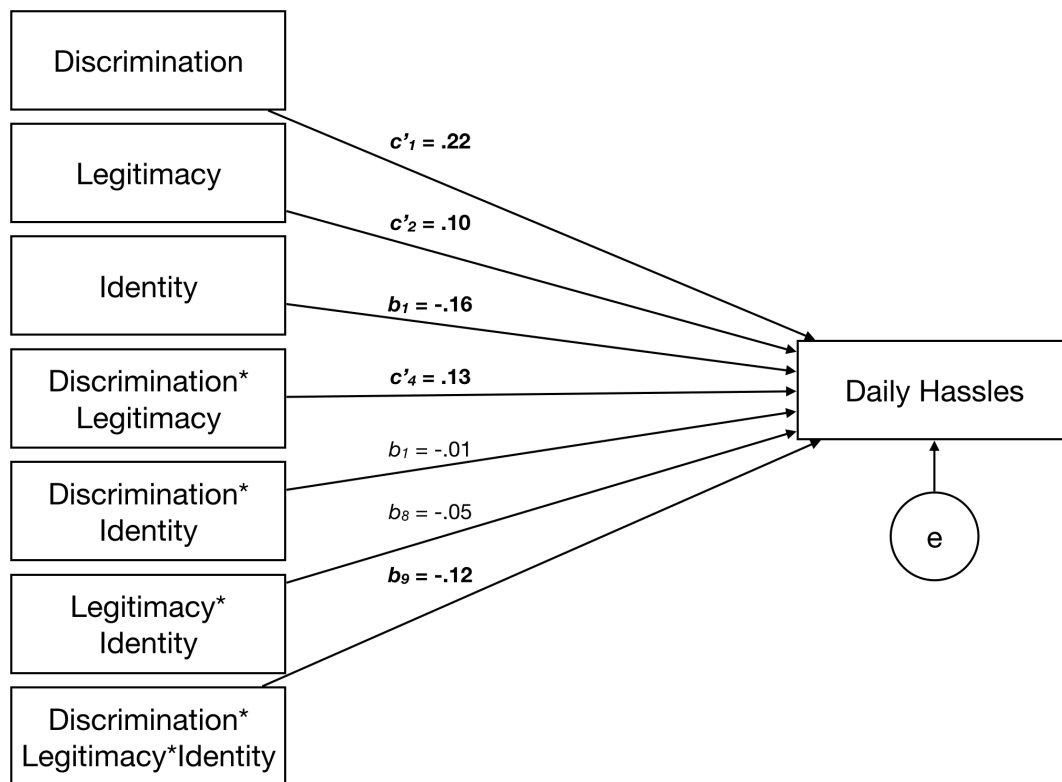
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<sup>4</sup> Initial analyses with gender and province of origin as covariates showed that these did not significantly contribute to the models. The final analyses were, therefore, completed without the addition of covariates. Means of variables and correlations between variables can be found in Appendix I.

.35],  $t(124) = 3.599$ ,  $SE = .06$ ,  $p < .001$  and  $b = .10$ , 95% CI [.01, .18],  $t(124) = 2.238$ ,  $SE = .04$ ,  $p = .027$ , respectively). In addition, there was a significant negative relation between francophone identity and daily language hassles ( $b = -.16$ , 95% CI [-.31, -.02],  $t(124) = -2.220$ ,  $SE = .07$ ,  $p = .028$ ).

The interaction term between perceived discrimination and legitimacy was significant ( $b = .13$ , 95% CI [.05, .21],  $t(124) = 3.171$ ,  $SE = .04$ ,  $p = .002$ ). Superseding this two-way interaction, a significant three-way interaction was obtained between perceived discrimination, francophone identity, and perceived legitimacy ( $b = -.12$ , 95% CI [-.21, -.03],  $t(124) = -2.582$ ,  $SE = .05$ ,  $p = .011$ ) and accounted for a significant proportion of the variance of daily hassles,  $R^2 = .038$ ,  $F(1, 124) = 6.671$ ,  $p = .011$ .

Figure 2. Results of moderated moderation analysis on daily hassles, including main effects and interactions. Significant effects are bolded.



The three-way interaction was visualized using the pick-a-point data generated by PROCESS (Hayes, 2013; Figure 3a, b, c). This data generates figures that show the conditional interaction between perceived discrimination and francophone identity at low (-1.44 or one standard deviation below the mean; Figure 3a), mean (zero; Figure 3b), and high (1.44 or one standard deviation above the mean; Figure 3c) levels of perceived legitimacy.

Figure 3a. Conditional interaction at low perceived legitimacy.

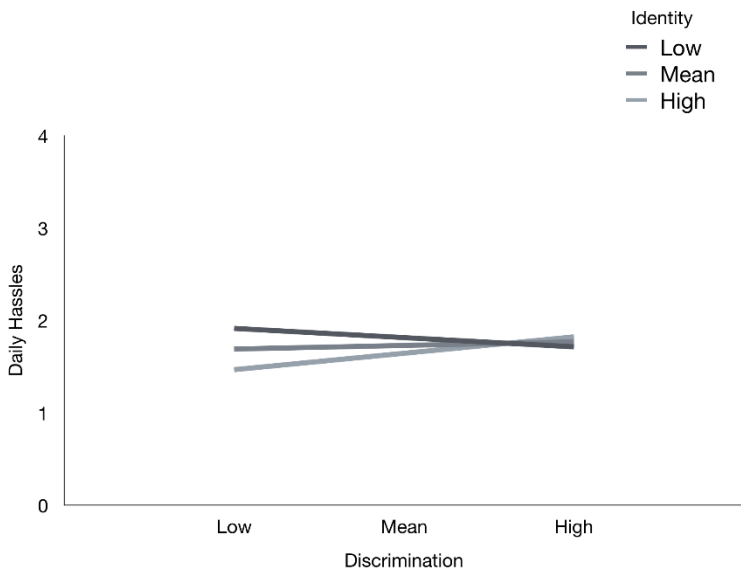
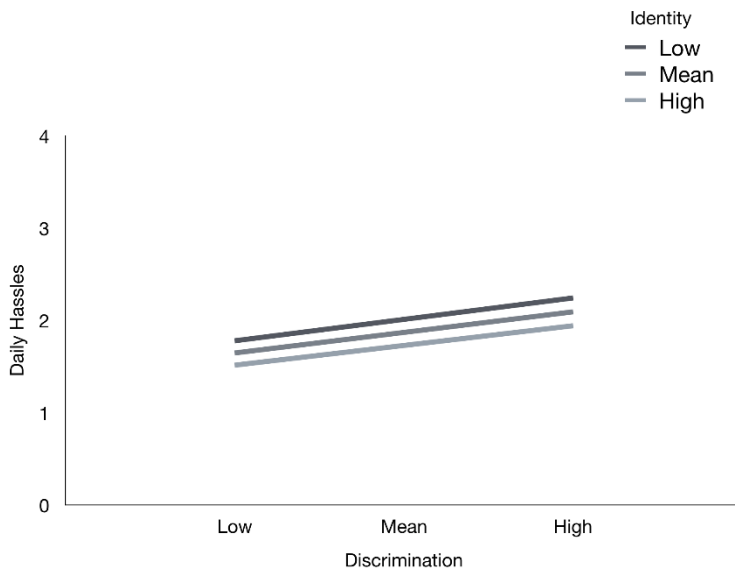
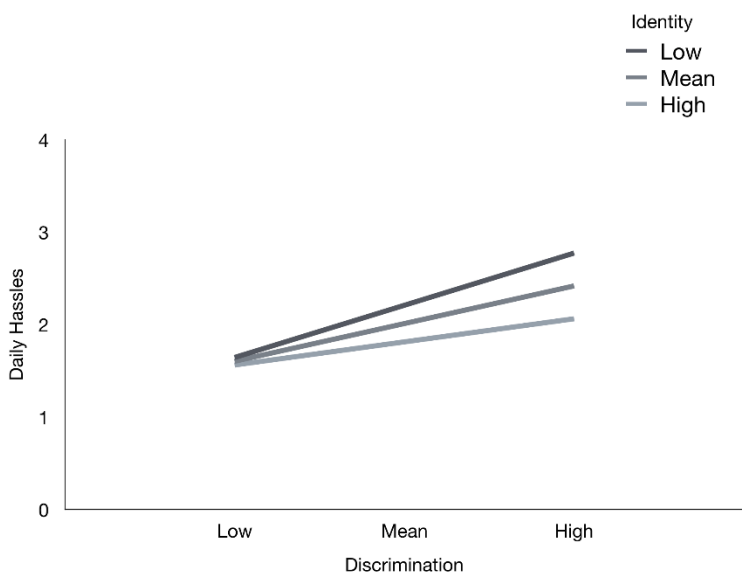


Figure 3b. Conditional interaction at mean levels of perceived legitimacy.



The tests of these conditional tests were not significant ( $p = .127$ ,  $p = .883$ ,  $p = .052$ , respectively), but tended towards significance at higher levels of perceived legitimacy. An examination of the Johnson-Neyman significance regions revealed that the conditional interaction between perceived discrimination and francophone identity reached significance only at values higher than 1.47 of perceived legitimacy (i.e. when discrimination is perceived to be more legitimate). Thus, the pick-a-point data generated by PROCESS did not actually plot the region of significance. Given this and our interest in the nature of the significant conditional interaction, we re-ran the model and set perceived legitimacy equal to 3, which, according to the Johnson-Neyman data, is well within the region of significance. The significant conditional interaction is plotted in Figure 4.

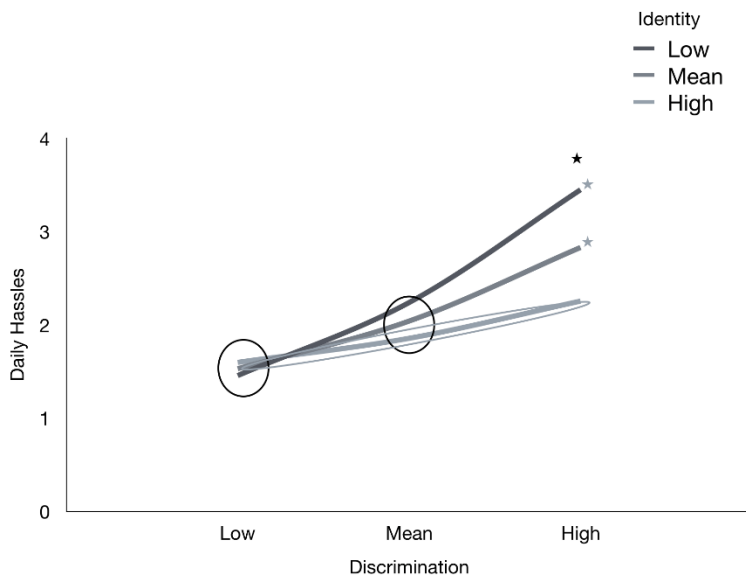
*Figure 3c.* Conditional interaction at high perceived legitimacy.



The next step was to probe the interaction between perceived discrimination and francophone identity within the significance region. An examination of simple slopes revealed that the effect of perceived discrimination on daily language hassles was only significant at low

( $b = .90$ , 95% CI [.52, 1.27],  $t(124) = 4.704$ ,  $SE = .19$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and mean ( $b = .58$ , 95% CI [.33, .83],  $t(124) = 4.621$ ,  $SE = .13$ ,  $p < .001$ ) values of francophone identity.

*Figure 4.* Daily language hassles as a function of the interaction between perceived discrimination and francophone identity at high levels of perceived legitimacy (3).



*Note:* The figure depicts the conditional interaction between perceived discrimination and francophone identity with perceived legitimacy equal to 3. Stars indicate significant effects while ovals indicate non-significant effects. Dark grey stars and ovals represent the conditional effect of francophone identity within each level of perceived discrimination, while light grey stars and ovals represent the conditional effect of perceived discrimination within each level of francophone identity.

To further examine the conditional effect of francophone identity on daily language hassles at various levels of discrimination, another moderation analysis was conducted with francophone identity as the focal predictor, again with higher perceived legitimacy equal to 3. This revealed that francophone identity had a significant negative relation to daily language

hassles only when levels of discrimination are high ( $b = -.73$ , 95% CI [-1.17, -.28],  $t(124) = -3.225$ ,  $SE = .23$ ,  $p = .002$ ).

In summary, the three-way interaction revealed that francophone identity acted as a buffer against the negative effects of perceived discrimination on daily language hassles, when perceived legitimacy was high. Specifically, when there was a strong francophone identity, there was no significant relation between perceived discrimination and daily language hassles. However, when francophone identity was not high, there was a significant positive relation between perceived discrimination and daily language hassles, such that higher perceived discrimination led to more daily language hassles. If perceived discrimination was high, then those with low or mean levels of francophone identity experienced significantly more daily language hassles than those with high francophone identity. In contrast, when perceived legitimacy was lower, the interactions were not significant, meaning that there were no significant differences in daily language hassles between varying levels of ethnolinguistic identity. However, simple main effects suggest general tendencies such that there are more daily hassles as perceived discrimination is increased, but less daily hassles as perceived legitimacy decreases. Simple main effects also revealed that as francophone identity increases, daily hassles tend to decrease.

### **Discussion**

This study adds to our understanding of the stress that is experienced by minority members by showing that intergroup dynamics can affect the well-being of non-standard speakers. Specifically, our results support the notion that perceived discrimination is associated with psychological maladjustment, in particular increased language-related stress and weaker self-esteem. This replicates many findings evoked in the introduction. However, our quantitative

study is among the first few to have found psychological consequences for perceived accent discrimination. Taking it a step further, our study also explored two possible protective factors. The results nuance our understanding of the consequences of perceived discrimination and more broadly adds to our understanding of social stigmas.

Specifically, for daily language hassles, our findings suggest that resilience in the face of perceived discrimination is likely for those who strongly identify with their ingroup and perceive discrimination to be less legitimate. Conversely, daily language hassles are likely to be experienced by those who consider perceived discrimination to be legitimate and who have weaker ethnolinguistic identity. As ethnolinguistic identity was found to act as a buffer against perceived discrimination, even when it is considered to be legitimate, our results do not bring support to the legitimacy-identification hypothesis. Nevertheless, they support Hansen and Sassenberg's (2011) suggestion that lower perceived legitimacy can be protective, and align with prior studies suggesting that higher perceived legitimacy is associated with negative outcomes (e.g. Jetten et al., 2011 ; Rüsçh et al., 2009). In addition, they support the conceptualization of ethnolinguistic identity as a protective factor in the face of discrimination (Schmitt et al., 2014).

As to how lower perceived legitimacy and ethnolinguistic identity work together to buffer against discrimination, it has been suggested that stronger identity allows for a psychological connection with the ingroup, such that it propels one to make sense of, and cope with discrimination in an adaptive way. Notably, memories of instances of discrimination may focus on blaming the perpetrator and on the illegitimacy of the perceived discrimination. These representations of discrimination, and thus, the status of one's way of speaking, may be shared with other ingroup members, and this may result in recourse to a wider range of coping strategies (Crabtree, Haslam, & Postmes, 2010; Major et al., 2002; Wright & Bougie, 2007). On the other



hand, those who have a weaker sense of belonging may not benefit from such a process and could be left vulnerable to perceiving discrimination as legitimate. Discriminatory treatment could then be seen as deserved, with blame directed towards the self, leading to the internalization of negative evaluations, self-stigmatization, and ultimately negative psychological effects (Crocker, Cornwell, & Major, 1993; Major et al., 2002; Rintamiki & Brashers, 2010).

In the context of this study, we expected to observe a process of resilience for both of our indicators of psychological adjustment, including self-esteem. However, self-esteem was not moderated by ethnolinguistic identity and perceived legitimacy as hypothesized, such that consequences appear to occur no matter one's sense of belonging to their ingroup, and no matter their appraisal of their way of speaking. Although these results were not expected, they are not unusual. Prior reviews show that particular aspects of well-being, in particular positive outcomes such as self-esteem, might be affected differently by discrimination than negative outcomes, namely stress. Paradies (2006) reported twice as many significant harmful effects for negative outcomes than for positive outcomes, and Schmitt and colleagues (2014) found that positive outcomes produced weaker effects. This study further suggests that self-esteem may not respond to protective factors in the same way as negative outcomes, like daily language hassles. Future studies should attend to the mechanisms by which these differences occur.

Prior studies and theories offer avenues for further studies. Major and colleagues (2002) propose that in the context of perceived discrimination, self-esteem outcomes can differ as a function of situational, personal, and structural factors that affect cognitive appraisals and coping processes. For example, the absence of clear situational cues that justify attributing negative events to prejudice, as opposed to oneself, has been found to be related to poorer self-esteem (Major et al., 2002; Major & Dover, 2016). This attributional ambiguity – that is, the uncertainty

about whether perceived discrimination is deserved or due to social prejudice – is more likely to be experienced by members of lower status than higher status groups (Crocker & Major, 1989). In line with this, studies show that disadvantaged individuals may be likely to attribute negative feedback to their own behaviours or shortcomings, while hesitating to blame negative outcomes on perceived discrimination (Ruggiero & Taylor, 1995; 1997).

As such, group status would be an important factor to consider in better understanding the relation between perceived discrimination and self-esteem. In fact, perceiving oneself to be the victim of discrimination has been found to be more psychologically harmful for members of disadvantaged groups than for members of privileged groups (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002). In the context of this study, all participants were from regions in which French constitutes a minority and are therefore members of disadvantaged groups. It would be interesting to verify whether, contrarily to the findings of this study, for members of more privileged groups faced with discrimination, identity and lower perceived legitimacy could be effective buffers for self-esteem. Their higher status may afford them easier access to these coping resources, as they may be able to perceive discrimination as due to situational circumstances, rather than their own shortcomings (Major et al., 2002).

In addition, it would be interesting for future studies to verify whether greater variation in perceived discrimination would lead to divergence in responses. The means for perceived discrimination were relatively low in our sample (see Appendix I), and as such, results should be interpreted with caution. In subsequent research, a more targeted sample – for example, one in which all participants recruited experienced discrimination – might allow for a clearer understanding of the ways in which perceived discrimination affects components of well-being.

Finally, despite these methodological limitations, this study suggests that accent discrimination is not without consequence. Thus, it adds support for calls to view perceived accent discrimination as a relevant contributor to stress for minority groups (Wated & Sanchez, 2006). In addition, it underscores the importance of a better understanding of factors that can protect against the detrimental effects of perceived discrimination. Further studying the factors that may affect the stigmatized speaker would allow to better address and understand their experiences, and also encourage minority group survival. If identity is an important predictor of how individuals think, feel and act in intergroup situations, strategies for its maintenance are crucial to help minority members weather challenges associated with intergroup dynamics and ultimately maintain psychological well-being (Hansen & Sassenberg, 2011). Indeed, if ethnolinguistic identity is a vital buffer against the detrimental consequences of perceived discrimination, language use is key to ingroup identification (Wright & Bougie, 2007). Using a language with pride, no matter its variation, may be the most important buffer of all.

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## DISCUSSION GÉNÉRALE

### L'accent en tant que variation langagière stigmatisée

L'accent, en tant que variation langagière, tend à être stigmatisé et source de discrimination (voir Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010a ; b ; Lippi-Green, 2012 ; Yzerbyt et coll., 2005). Alors que plusieurs études font état de cette réalité, moins d'études se sont attardées à l'expérience vécue du point de vue du locuteur stigmatisé. Pourtant, les études portant sur d'autres types de discrimination suggèrent qu'ils peuvent être accompagnés de répercussions importantes pour ceux qui en sont victimes. L'exploration de cette question dans le contexte théorique de l'identité sociale était l'objectif de ce programme de recherche. Particulièrement, nous avons comme buts d'examiner (1) les caractéristiques de la stigmatisation des accents au sein d'un segment de la francophonie canadienne ; (2) ses conséquences identitaires, psychologiques, sociales et affectives ; (3) le rôle de la légitimité perçue de la discrimination et de l'identité ethnolinguistique dans la capacité à résister à l'autostigmatisation.

### Résumé des résultats

*Étude 1.* La première étude visait à explorer de façon générale quelle était l'expérience des locuteurs francophones détenant un accent non standard au Canada et, ainsi, à informer les études subséquentes. Des francophones natifs et allophones de partout au Canada ont été recrutés afin de capturer la façon dont le type d'accent et la vitalité ethnolinguistique peuvent influencer l'expérience de la stigmatisation ou de la discrimination liées aux accents. Les résultats de l'étude ont montré que l'accent tend à être perçu comme étant lié à des sentiments d'appartenance (d'identité francophone pour les locuteurs natifs et canadiens ou bilingue pour les

locuteurs allophones) ainsi qu'à la compétence langagière. Ces attitudes envers l'accent propre semblent renforcer ou diminuer la fierté associée avec la façon de parler.

De plus, la plupart des participants ont rapporté avoir fait l'expérience de la discrimination liée à leur accent plus d'une fois au cours de leur vie. La discrimination perçue a été décrite comme se produisant en contextes hiérarchiques, communautaires, ainsi qu'avec des amis ou de la famille. Elle prenait plusieurs formes. Les participants ont rapporté des situations dans lesquelles ils avaient l'impression que leur identité francophone était niée ou mise en doute. D'autres ont décrit des situations dans lesquelles ils avaient l'impression d'être traités différemment ou encore de se faire singulariser, c'est-à-dire être observés avec curiosité ou divertissement, à cause de leurs façons de parler. Les résultats ont aussi capté diverses façons de réagir à la discrimination perçue, que ce soit sous la forme de comportements (affirmation, évitement, ou accommodation), de réponses cognitives (externalisation de la discrimination, évaluation de l'interlocuteur ou de la légitimité perçue de la discrimination) ou affectives (émotions neutres, positives ou négatives). Des conséquences psychosociales, notamment une perte de la confiance langagière et une volonté réduite de communiquer ont aussi été rapportées. Par ailleurs, certains ont également évoqué le fait que leur identité ethnolinguistique avait été renforcée ou amoindrie à la suite d'une instance de discrimination. Enfin d'autres se sont sentis limités dans leur épanouissement professionnel, académique, ou personnel à cause de la stigmatisation de leur variété langagière.

La fréquence de la discrimination, le contexte dans lequel elle se produit et sa forme semble varier selon le type d'accent et la région d'origine des locuteurs stigmatisés. Notamment, la discrimination était rapportée comme étant plus fréquente par des francophones natifs de régions de basse vitalité francophone et moins fréquente pour les locuteurs allophones de ces

mêmes régions. Les locuteurs allophones de régions ayant une très haute vitalité francophone relative rapportent plus d'expériences discriminatoires en contextes hiérarchiques et dans la communauté. En contraste, la discrimination provenant de la famille et d'amis est plus commune chez les participants allophones de régions à vitalité moyenne. L'impression de se faire singulariser était surtout observée auprès des locuteurs natifs. Enfin, l'évitement était plus commun comme réponse comportementale des participants allophones, alors que l'affirmation était plus commune chez des locuteurs natifs.

Les résultats de cette étude guident les études subséquentes. Ils indiquent que les réponses émotionnelles, comportementales et affectives peuvent être variées, et soulignent ainsi la pertinence de l'analyse de l'expérience de l'accentisme sous une perspective du stress et du coping (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). En particulier, ils nous informent sur la nature transactionnelle de la discrimination, en illustrant que l'affiliation groupale (par ex. : natif vs allophone) et la vitalité ethnolinguistique peuvent servir de caractéristiques qui forment l'expérience de la discrimination perçue. Les résultats illustrent aussi le lien étroit entre accent et identité, encourageant l'utilisation de la théorie de l'identité sociale (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) comme cadre théorique pour études subséquentes.

*Étude 2.* La deuxième étude avait comme but d'explorer la relation entre la discrimination perçue et (a) l'identité située francophone (réelle et reflétée) et (b) la confiance langagière, telle que modérée par la légitimité perçue. Il s'agissait d'une étude comparative entre locuteurs natifs et allophones. La région d'origine a été utilisée comme variable contrôle pour les analyses auprès des locuteurs natifs.

Il en ressort que, pour les locuteurs natifs, la légitimité perçue modérait significativement la relation entre la discrimination perçue et l'identité située réelle. Lorsque la discrimination

perçue était considérée comme étant moins légitime, plus la discrimination était perçue, plus l'identité située réelle était forte. Toutefois, ces résultats n'étaient significatifs que pour les participants du Québec. Alors que l'interaction entre la discrimination et la légitimité perçues n'était pas significative pour la confiance langagière ni l'identité située reflétée, la légitimité perçue était négativement et significativement liée à ces variables, ainsi qu'avec l'identité située. De plus, la discrimination perçue était négativement et significativement liée à la confiance langagière.

En contraste, pour les locuteurs allophones, l'interaction entre la discrimination et la légitimité perçues n'était pas significative pour aucune des variables d'intérêt. Toutefois, la discrimination perçue était significativement et négativement liée à la confiance langagière.

Cette étude s'est insérée dans la perspective selon laquelle la discrimination est transactionnelle. Elle s'est axée sur deux facteurs personnels (légitimité perçue, type d'accent) et une caractéristique situationnelle (vitalité ethno linguistique) pour comprendre en quoi l'accentisme affecte l'identité et la confiance langagière. Ainsi, les résultats ont appuyé la théorie de l'identité sociale selon laquelle l'identité peut être renforcée en contexte discriminatoire (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), et ont rajouté qu'un facteur cognitif (légitimité perçue) contribue à ce résultat. Toutefois, l'étude a précisé qu'une réponse adaptative pourrait être limitée aux membres de groupes bénéficiant d'une plus haute vitalité linguistique. L'étude a donc illustré l'importance de la prise en compte de la vitalité ethno linguistique (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977) dans notre interprétation de la théorie de l'identité sociale.

*Étude 3.* La dernière étude avait comme objectif d'explorer si l'identité ethno linguistique et la légitimité perçue interagissent pour modérer la relation entre la discrimination perçue et des indicateurs du bien-être, particulièrement des tracas langagiers quotidiens et l'estime de soi.



Les résultats ont révélé que, lorsque la discrimination et la légitimité perçues étaient élevées, l'identité francophone protégeait des effets négatifs de la discrimination sur les tracés quotidiens. De façon plus précise, lorsqu'il y avait une identité francophone forte, il n'y avait pas de relation significative entre la discrimination perçue et les tracés quotidiens. Toutefois, lorsque l'identité francophone était moins élevée, il y avait une relation significative et positive entre la discrimination perçue et les tracés quotidiens, de telle sorte que plus la discrimination était perçue, plus les tracés quotidiens étaient rapportés. En parallèle, les tracés quotidiens étaient significativement plus élevés auprès de ceux ayant une identité francophone moins forte que ceux ayant une identité francophone plus forte, mais cette observation n'était significative que lorsque la discrimination perçue était élevée.

En contraste, lorsque la légitimité perçue était moindre, les scores sur les tracés langagiers quotidiens ne différaient pas significativement selon le degré auquel quelqu'un s'identifiait comme francophone. Toutefois, les tracés langagiers quotidiens semblaient augmenter avec la discrimination perçue, et diminuer avec une identité francophone plus forte.

Enfin, la discrimination perçue prédisait significativement et négativement l'estime de soi. Cette relation n'était pas modérée par l'identité ethnolinguistique ni par la légitimité perçue de la discrimination.

Ensemble, ces études montrent que les accents francophones natifs et allophones peuvent être sujets à la discrimination et que cela n'est pas sans conséquence. À l'aide d'entrevues et d'enquêtes qualitatives, nous avons montré que : (1) plusieurs locuteurs natifs et allophones rapportent avoir fait l'expérience de l'accentisme, dans divers contextes et prenant diverses formes (étude 1) ; (2) que la discrimination perçue peut être liée à des conséquences pratiques (étude 1), psychosociales (étude 1 et 2), d'ajustement psychologique et affectif (études 1 et 3) ;

(3) que l'illégitimité perçue de la discrimination permet de renforcer l'identité francophone située auprès de francophones natifs provenant de régions à haute vitalité (étude 2) et minimisent les effets des tracas langagiers quotidiens (étude 3). Pour sa part, l'identité ethnolinguistique sert de protecteur contre les tracas langagiers quotidiens lorsque la légitimité et la discrimination perçues sont élevées (étude 3).

### **Discussion**

Ce programme de recherche avait comme but principal d'investiguer à quoi ressemble l'expérience de l'accentisme auprès des locuteurs francophones au Canada. Les résultats illustrent en quoi l'analyse psychosociale des expériences peut enrichir nos connaissances à ce sujet. Tout en éclaircissant notre compréhension de ce phénomène, les résultats de nos études ont des implications pour notre compréhension des théories guidant notre approche.

Notre programme de recherche s'insère d'abord dans un contexte théorique portant sur la discrimination plus globalement. En particulier, nous avons adopté la perspective du stress et du « coping » selon laquelle la discrimination est transactionnelle (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). L'interaction entre caractéristiques personnelles et situationnelles fait en sorte que les gens qui perçoivent la discrimination en font l'expérience, la gèrent et sont affectés de diverses façons (Crocker & Major, 1989 ; Major & Dover, 2016). Nos études concordent avec cette théorie en montrant que diverses stratégies comportementales et cognitives sont employées en contexte de discrimination perçue. De plus, elles illustrent comment des caractéristiques personnelles et situationnelles peuvent influencer sur l'expérience et les conséquences de la discrimination perçue. Pour ce, nos études se sont axées sur des caractéristiques s'insérant dans un cadre théorique psychosocial.

De façon spécifique, nous avons fondé nos questions et nos analyses des conséquences et des facteurs de résilience sur les théories s'attardant aux comportements intergroupes, notamment celles de Tajfel et collègues sur les relations intergroupes (1974) et sur l'identité sociale (1979), ainsi que leurs dérivés (par ex. : Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977 ; Tajfel & Turner, 1979 ; Taylor, 1997). Au cœur de ces théories de l'identité sociale (TIS), l'idée que l'identité résulte d'interactions intergroupes et qu'elle a des implications pour l'estime de soi. L'identité se forme en fonction de caractéristiques personnelles, telles des variations langagières, qui permettent de se catégoriser, et de distinguer l'endogroupe de l'exogroupe. Les résultats de la première étude illustrent bien ce lien intime entre l'accent et l'identité, cette dernière formée par opposition aux façons de parler de l'exogroupe.

Selon la TIS, afin de maintenir son estime de soi, son identité — et par extension son accent — doivent se comparer favorablement à ceux des autres. En contexte discriminatoire, son identité est perçue comme étant défavorable. La TIS propose que, généralement, ceux qui perçoivent la discrimination emploient des stratégies comportementales et cognitives pour préserver la valeur accordée à leur identité sociale et ainsi, leur estime de soi. Dans le contexte du modèle rejet-identification, Branscombe et collègues (1999) étendent cette hypothèse au bien-être plus globalement, en suggérant que, alors que la discrimination peut être accompagnée de conséquences psychologiques, elle encourage aussi l'identification à l'endogroupe. Cette identification affecte à son tour positivement le bien-être. En contraste, Taylor, dans sa théorie du soi (1997), propose que des situations de désavantage social, telle la discrimination, empêchent le développement d'une forte identité collective et nuit ainsi à l'estime de soi.

Dans le contexte de notre première étude, les résultats suggèrent que l'une ou l'autre des hypothèses proposées par ces deux théories est possible — c'est-à-dire qu'alors que certains

subissent une identité et une confiance amoindrie face à la discrimination, d'autres perçoivent que celles-ci sont renforcées par ces expériences. La deuxième étude appuie davantage la théorie de l'identité sociale. Elle ne trouve aucun lien négatif et significatif entre la discrimination perçue et l'identité, mais montre que, dans certaines circonstances, l'identité ethnolinguistique peut être renforcée suite à la discrimination perçue. Alors que notre troisième étude suggère un lien négatif entre la discrimination perçue et l'estime de soi, l'identité ne modère que la relation entre discrimination et tracas quotidiens langagiers. Néanmoins, cette étude montre que l'identité perçue peut être forte ou faible en contexte discriminatoire. Elle montre qu'une identité forte peut protéger contre les tracas langagiers en contexte discriminatoire, alors qu'une identité faible est liée à plus de tracas langagiers lorsque la discrimination est perçue. Les résultats de nos études rejoignent donc celles d'études antérieures qui suggèrent que les conséquences peuvent refléter les parcours proposés par les théories de l'identité sociale et ses dérivés, ainsi que par la théorie du soi (Noël & Beaton, 2010 ; Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes, & Garcia, 2014).

Notre programme de recherche propose par ailleurs des caractéristiques à la fois personnelle et situationnelle qui permettent de mieux comprendre cette divergence. Un modèle fondé sur la TIS avait inspiré la sélection de la légitimité perçue comme caractéristique personnelle d'intérêt. En particulier, l'hypothèse de légitimité-identification de Hansen et Sassenberg (2011) propose que la légitimité perçue de la discrimination modère les effets de l'identité sociale sur les réponses affectives de la discrimination. Alors que les résultats de notre troisième étude n'appuient pas tout à fait l'hypothèse de légitimité-identification, les résultats de l'étude deux et trois suggèrent que l'illégitimité perçue peut être associée à moins de tracas langagiers et à une plus forte identité ethnolinguistique.

Ce dernier résultat n'était toutefois significatif que pour les locuteurs natifs du Québec, une région à haute vitalité. Cela illustre donc l'importance de l'inclusion d'une caractéristique situationnelle — en particulier la vitalité ethnolinguistique francophone relative de la région d'origine des locuteurs stigmatisés. La théorie sur la vitalité ethnolinguistique, comme extension de la TIS, propose que la réponse d'un individu face à la dévalorisation de son groupe dépende du statut et de la vitalité relative de celui-ci. Par exemple, la théorie suggère que des membres de groupes minoritaires peuvent avoir moins accès à des façons alternatives de percevoir la légitimité du statut inférieur qui leur est dévolu (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977). C'est effectivement ce que suggèrent les résultats de l'étude deux. La première étude vient aussi appuyer le rôle dévolu à la vitalité ethnolinguistique dans la hiérarchisation de la langue, telle que décrite dans quelques écrits (par ex. : Dovidio & Gluszek, 2012 ; Dragojevic, Giles, & Watson, 2013). Nos études contribuent donc à notre compréhension accrue de l'accentisme en illustrant que ces deux facteurs, la vitalité et la légitimité, peuvent influencer sur la façon dont la discrimination est perçue par les locuteurs et sur leurs réponses comportementales et psychosociales.

En bref, ce programme de recherche vient étayer et préciser la théorie de l'identité sociale. En appliquant cette théorie à l'accentisme, ce programme de recherche, souligne la pertinence de la TIS et de ses extensions (par ex. : Branscombe et collègues, 1999) comme cadre théorique psychosocial pour comprendre comment certains peuvent faire face à la discrimination avec résilience. Toutefois, il illustre aussi les limites de cette théorie. Seule, la TIS ne permet pas de comprendre les façons diversifiées de répondre à la discrimination perçue, et ne capte pas à elle seule le contexte transactionnel dans lequel se déroulent les interactions intergroupes.

Notre programme de recherche illustre donc en quoi l'application des théories connexes à la TIS, telles la théorie de la vitalité ethnolinguistique (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977), la théorie du soi (Taylor, 1997), et l'hypothèse de la légitimité-identification (Hansen & Sassenberg, 2011), peut enrichir notre compréhension des expériences de l'accentisme. Ainsi, notre programme de recherche précise comment et sous quelles conditions la discrimination peut, en lien avec la TIS, affermir l'identité ethnolinguistique et comment celle-ci peut, en retour protéger contre certaines conséquences de la discrimination perçue. Toutefois, les résultats suggèrent que, au-delà de l'identité, d'autres facteurs influent aussi sur l'expérience de la discrimination perçue. Au plan personnel, nos études illustrent que la légitimité perçue de la discrimination et sa relation à la langue parlée (par ex. : natif vs allophone) peuvent influencer sur l'expérience de la discrimination. Au plan situationnel, nos résultats montrent la pertinence de la prise en compte de la vitalité ethnolinguistique, sans quoi notre compréhension de l'expérience de la stigmatisation est incomplète. Enfin, les résultats de nos études reflètent comment l'expérience personnelle de la discrimination implique beaucoup plus que celui qui l'éprouve. De par la nature même des interactions, l'expérience personnelle de l'accentisme implique des individus, des facteurs culturels, historiques, sociaux et plus encore (Marlow, 2016).

### **Limites**

Cette recherche comporte plusieurs limites qui doivent être évoquées pour nuancer les résultats. En même temps, elles constituent les points de départ de nouvelles recherches. Une première limite est un échantillon plutôt homogène. Le recrutement de participants francophones natifs et allophones provenant de régions de partout au Canada a diversifié quelque peu notre échantillon. Néanmoins, les participants devaient être nés au Canada et avoir le français comme langue maternelle, limitant ainsi les caractéristiques des groupes représentés dans nos études.

Des études portant sur l'accentisme à travers le monde suggèrent que c'est une réalité qui ne se limite pas aux groupes langagiers examinés dans ce programme de recherche. Toutefois, il est probable que de nombreux facteurs sociologiques ont pu influencer sur les réponses à la discrimination (Gluszek, Newheiser, & Dovidio, 2011). Ainsi, il serait intéressant de vérifier si les conclusions de ce programme de recherche tiennent auprès d'autres groupes linguistiques.

De plus, la plupart de nos participants étaient étudiants universitaires. Les années universitaires sont uniques en ce qu'elles représentent pour plusieurs une période de transition caractérisée par la mobilité géographique et de nouvelles expériences sociales (Pilote & Canuel, 2013). Il resterait à voir si les résultats de cette étude se généralisent à d'autres groupes d'âge. Or, les caractéristiques de ce groupe rendent l'étude de leurs expériences intergroupes d'autant plus intéressantes. De plus, alors que plusieurs des études relatives aux facteurs de stress des minorités francophones ont porté sur l'âge scolaire, moins d'études se sont adressées aux étudiants d'âge universitaire, rendant celles-ci d'autant plus importantes (Benoit, Bell & Lavoie, 2018).

Par ailleurs, dans les études 2 et 3, les moyennes du questionnaire de discrimination perçue étaient relativement basses. Il est possible que cela soit attribuable aux limites méthodologiques du questionnaire en question (le *Perceived Devaluation and Discrimination Questionnaire* de Link, 1987). Celui-ci s'attarde surtout au rejet dans des contextes d'emploi ou sociaux et à l'invalidation des capacités, en général. Or, les résultats de l'étude 1 suggèrent que la discrimination peut prendre diverses formes. À l'avenir, les études voudront peut-être s'attarder à l'utilisation de questionnaires captant mieux les manifestations multiples de l'accentisme. Des questionnaires comme le *Perceived Language Discrimination Scale* (Wei, Wang, & Ku, 2012), ou des mesures inspirées de la recherche sur les microaggressions ou

microinvalidations (ex. Ong, Burrow, Fuller-Rowell, Ja, & Sue, 2013), permettraient de mieux capter le déni perçu de l'identité et des habiletés langagières décrites par les participants dans l'étude 1.

Enfin, alors que les études de ce programme de recherche illustrent l'expérience de la discrimination perçue des accents, il s'agissait d'enquêtes générales. Ainsi, bien que la discrimination perçue semble être liée à divers construits psychosociaux et de stress, nous ne pouvons supposer que la discrimination perçue est la cause des réponses observées. Des manipulations expérimentales ou des études longitudinales pourraient aider à mieux circonscrire la relation de cause à effet.

Des études longitudinales pourraient aussi aider à mieux capter la nature transactionnelle de la discrimination, telle que décrite par Lazarus et Folkman (1984). Nous avons tenté de capter les façons dont l'expérience de la discrimination peut varier selon caractéristiques personnelles et situationnelles. Néanmoins, notre analyse quantitative avait négligé les processus interactionnels, limitant notre compréhension des réponses personnelles aux interactions sociales qui sont, de par leur nature même, changeante. Ainsi pour bien comprendre la résilience face à la discrimination, il faudrait aussi, dans des études subséquentes, faire appel aux processus personnels et situationnels qui, ensemble réduisent les coûts associés à la discrimination (Fletcher & Sakar, 2013).

### **Conclusion**

Malgré ses limites méthodologiques, ce programme de recherche offre une contribution importante à notre compréhension des conséquences d'interactions intergroupes en contextes diglossiques. Il éclaire l'expérience de la dévalorisation de certaines façons de parler. Il offre de nombreuses pistes théoriques et de recherche pour l'avancement de nos connaissances, et montre



la pertinence de l'étude de l'accentisme sous une perspective psychosociale. Notamment, il décrit en quoi l'accent est un reflet de l'identité et souligne ainsi le rôle central de l'identité dans l'expérience de l'accentisme. Il illustre que l'étude des expériences stigmatisantes est incomplète sans la prise en compte de facteurs situationnels et personnels qui caractérisent la nature transactionnelle de la discrimination. Ainsi, les études subséquentes bénéficieraient de la prise en compte des caractéristiques comportementales, cognitives, situationnelles et autres permettant une compréhension approfondie de l'accentisme sous toutes ses formes.

Alors que ce programme de recherche s'est axé sur la discrimination des accents en particulier, les résultats rejoignent et informent nos connaissances sur la dévalorisation de la langue plus globalement. Que l'on parle de glottophobie (Blanchet, 2016), de linguicisme (Bourhis et coll. 2007) ou de l'accentisme (Office québécois de la langue française 2017), l'importance de s'attarder à l'expérience des locuteurs stigmatisés est de plus en plus apparente.

Au Canada, les organismes francophones, ayant comme rôle la promotion de cette langue minoritaire, s'intéressent aux questions d'insécurité linguistique et du maintien de la langue. Cet intérêt se manifeste en actions. Que ce soit par l'entremise d'enquêtes (par ex. : rapport de la FESFO, 2014), de la mise en place d'institutions universitaires et médiatiques (par ex. : projet de l'Université de l'Ontario français ; Unis TV), ou de programmes scolaires ou communautaires (par ex. : Ressources éducatives de l'Ontario, n.d.), de nombreux efforts ont récemment été déployés pour encourager la promotion du français et de ses variétés langagières (Benoit, et coll., 2018). La notion qu'une langue ne sera maintenue que si elle est entendue et parlée avec fierté étant à la base de plusieurs de ces efforts, des études nous permettant de mieux comprendre le rôle des interactions intergroupes sur ces rapports à la langue sont aujourd'hui plus importantes que jamais. Ce programme de recherche n'en est qu'un début.

Nous espérons que ces résultats pourront informer les efforts concrets visant à combattre l'hégémonie de la langue, dont le français standard, et ainsi, à encourager l'épanouissement des langues en situations minoritaires. À cet effet, certains auteurs parlent de l'importance de reconnaître l'accentisme et le linguicisme aux plans légal et politique pour améliorer la tolérance institutionnelle face aux accents non standards (Blanchet, 2016 ; Lippi-Green, 2012 ; Vincze & MacIntyre, 2016). En fait, Skutnabb-Kangas et Phillipson (2008) vont jusqu'à proposer que l'incapacité des états à protéger les variétés d'une langue puisse être interprétée comme un crime contre l'humanité. D'autres parlent des implications de reconnaître l'accentisme et le linguicisme comme formes réelles de discrimination pour pouvoir mieux répondre aux besoins de santé mentale des membres de groupes minoritaires ou encore, pour encourager une plus grande acceptation des variétés langagières dans la société (Benoit et coll., 2018 ; Saguy, Pratto, Dovidio, & Naldler, 2011 ; Wei et coll., 2012). Enfin, d'autres attirent l'attention sur l'importance d'efforts communautaires pour faire rayonner divers accents, ou encore d'accorder plus de place aux variétés linguistiques dans l'enseignement de la langue (par ex. : Escudé, 2013 ; FESFO, 2014 ; Remysen, 2005). Peu importe l'approche, nous espérons que ce programme de recherche stimulera des études qui clarifieront encore davantage notre compréhension de ces défis, et des façons d'y répondre. La protection de la diversité dans un monde de plus en plus hétérogène linguistiquement exige une attention proportionnellement accrue. Nous pourrons ainsi mitiger certaines de ses conséquences.

### Références

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## Appendixes

### Appendix A

#### Formulaire de consentement typique

*Chercheur principal:* Nathalie Freynet

*Bureau :* École de psychologie, 136 Jean Jacques Lussier, Université d'Ottawa, Ottawa ON, K1N 6N5

*Superviseur de recherche :* Professeur Richard Clément

*Bureau :* 136 Jean Jacques Lussier, Université d'Ottawa, Ottawa ON, K1N 6N5

#### Description du projet

Cette étude, intitulée « Identité et Communication Intergroupe » porte sur les dynamiques d'interactions intergroupes qui se déroulent en français et sur l'impact de son accent sur son diverses composantes psychosociales. La participation à cette étude exige un engagement de 45 minutes durant laquelle quelques questionnaires devront être complétés en ligne. Un maximum de 300 participants est recherché. Les participants seront recrutés suivant le principe du premier venu premier servi.

Cette étude est financée par le Conseil de recherche en sciences humaines.

#### Votre participation au projet

Dans le cadre de ce projet une série de questions à choix multiples portant sur votre façon de parler, votre expérience lors d'interactions intergroupes, des variables psychosociales et de l'information sociodémographique sera administrée. La participation à cette étude requiert un engagement d'environ 45 minutes.

#### Risques liés à la participation au projet

Bien qu'aucune conséquence psychologique sérieuse ne soit anticipée, certaines questions posées pourraient toucher à des sujets sensibles pour certains. Ainsi, une liste de ressources (par ex.: Ligne de crise d'Ottawa, Centre des services psychologiques et de recherche), vous sera disponible à la fin de l'étude au cas où vous auriez besoin de soutien psychologique à la suite de votre participation à l'étude.

#### Compensation pour la participation au projet

Puisque votre participation au projet se fait dans le cadre d'un cours participant au programme du Système intégré de participation à la recherche, vous obtiendrez un point de pourcentage qui ira envers votre note de cours en question. Vous obtiendrez votre point de pourcentage même si vous vous retirez de l'étude.

#### Participation libre

La participation à ce projet se fait de façon volontaire. Vous êtes libres de mettre fin à votre participation au projet à tout moment. Vous n'avez aucune obligation de répondre à une quelconque question. Il n'y aura aucune conséquence si vous choisissez de ne pas participer ou

de ne pas répondre à certaines questions. Vos données ne seront ni utilisées ni sauvegardées si vous décidez de vous retirer de l'étude.

Vos données ne seront pas utilisées si vous vous retirez de l'étude sans soumettre votre questionnaire. Toutefois, puisque votre participation se fait de façon anonyme, vos données ne pourront être supprimées si vous voulez vous retirer de l'étude après avoir soumis votre questionnaire.

### **Anonymat et confidentialité**

Votre contribution à ce projet demeurera confidentielle. Dans le cadre de cette étude, votre numéro SIPR servira d'identification. Votre numéro SIPR sert à assurer que le point de pourcentage puisse vous être attribué comme compensation pour votre participation à l'étude, tout en gardant votre anonymat dans le contexte de l'étude. Votre nom ne sera jamais requis. Dans les publications, l'anonymat sera maintenu. Aucun nom ni aucune caractéristique qui pourraient divulguer votre identité ne seront explicités dans les publications. Si, pour une quelconque raison, un nom doit être utilisé dans une publication, un nom fictif et différent du vôtre sera utilisé. Il sera précisé dans le texte que le nom en est un qui est fictif et différent du vôtre.

À noter que la collecte de données se fait à partir du site web *Qualtrics*. Puisqu'il s'agit d'un outil de collecte de données américain, il est assujéti au *Patriot Act*. Ainsi, on ne peut garantir la confidentialité totale des informations collectées.

### **Avantages liés à la participation à l'étude**

Vous pourriez avoir la satisfaction d'avoir aidé à l'avancement de la compréhension du comportement humain. De plus, cette étude contribuera à nos connaissances sur la communication intergroupe et les facteurs pouvant influencer sur ses conséquences.

### **Conservation des données**

Une fois le projet complété ou publié, l'ensemble des données sera conservé pour un minimum de cinq ans et un maximum de 10 ans. Les données électroniques (réponses aux questionnaires) et les fichiers contenant les données seront gardés sur un ordinateur qui requiert un mot de passe dans un bureau verrouillé sur le campus de l'Université d'Ottawa.

Les données seront ensuite détruites de façon permanente.

### **Questions ou préoccupations liées à votre participation à l'étude et à vos droits comme participant**

Si vous avez des questions ou des préoccupations concernant l'aspect éthique de cette étude, vous êtes prié de contacter le Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche de l'Université d'Ottawa :

Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche

Université d'Ottawa

Pavillon Tabaret, 550 Cumberland Street, Pièce 154, Ottawa ON, K1N 6N5

(613) 562-5387

ethique@uottawa.ca

**Obtention d'un rapport des résultats**

Si vous aimeriez obtenir un rapport des résultats de cette étude une fois le projet achevé, veuillez insérer votre adresse courriel dans la case ci-bas.

Courriel : \_\_\_\_\_

\*Veuillez svp imprimer une copie de ce formulaire pour vos dossiers personnels.

**Consentement**

En sélectionnant le premier des deux choix ci-dessous, j'accepte de participer à l'étude décrite ci-haut, menée par Nathalie Freynet, MA et le professeur Richard Clément (École de psychologie, Faculté des sciences sociale, Université d'Ottawa).

J'accepte de participer à l'étude

Je n'accepte pas de participer à l'étude

## Appendix B

### Plan d'entrevue pour étude qualitative

#### Introduction et explication du projet de recherche au participant

##### *Informations importantes*

- Rappeler sujet de l'entrevue : interactions intergroupes, accent, identité, confiance langagière, stigmatisation.
- Durée : 20 minutes à une heure
- Entrevue enregistrée sur appareil audionumérique.
- Lire et signer (si en accord) le formulaire de consentement. Ne pas hésiter à poser des questions, demander pour des clarifications.
- À réitérer : Aucune obligation de répondre aux questions. Droit de mettre fin à l'entrevue. L'entrevue demeurera anonyme.
- Questions ?

#### Origine et langue maternelle

##### ❖ Où êtes-vous né?

- Vous avez habité là pendant combien longtemps?
- Avez-vous déjà habité une autre province ou à l'extérieur du pays?
- Si oui, où et pour combien longtemps?
  - Où sont nés vos parents ?

##### ❖ Le français est-il votre langue maternelle?

- (Si le français est langue seconde) Quand l'avez-vous appris?
-



- 
- Parlez-vous une langue autre que le français ?

### Identité

- ❖ Est-ce que tu t'identifies à un groupe langagier ?
  - ❖ Sur une échelle de 1 à 10, combien francophone vous sentez-vous?
    - Y a-t-il des moments lorsque vous vous sentez moins francophone?
    - Vous identifiez-vous à un autre groupe? À quel groupe? Pourquoi?
  - ❖ Selon vous, dans votre environnement social ou physique, qu'est-ce qui contribue à ce que votre identité ou votre sens d'appartenance francophone changent ou demeurent stables?
    - Comment?
- 
- Quelle langue utilisez-vous le plus tous les jours?
- À quelle fréquence utilisez-vous le français aujourd'hui?

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### Confiance langagière

- ❖ Combien confiant vous sentez-vous dans vos aptitudes à parler français?
  - Y a-t-il des situations dans lesquelles vous vous sentez moins ou plus confiant dans vos aptitudes? Si oui, dans quelles situations?

### Accent

- ❖ Un accent est la manière dont parle un locuteur, caractérisé par une façon de prononcer une langue, plus précisément par un ensemble de caractéristiques telles que l'intonation, le rythme et la vitesse d'élocution souvent associés à une région géographique, un groupe langagier ou une classe sociale.
  - ❖ Que pensez-vous de votre accent?
-

- 
- Comment se compare-t-il aux accents d'autres francophones?
  - Êtes-vous fière de votre accent lorsque vous parlez français ?
  - Y a-t-il des moments que vous entendez davantage votre accent ?

❖ Commente-t-on parfois sur votre accent?

- Qui commente?
- Combien souvent?
- Que disent-ils?
- Selon vous, que pensent-ils de votre accent?
  - Comment vous sentez-vous par rapport à ces qualifications de votre accent? Sont-elles justes ?

Interactions avec membres de groupes à statut supérieur

❖ Avec qui parlez-vous français ?

- Combien souvent interagissez-vous avec des (membres d'un groupe à haut statut) en français?
- Comment bien pensez-vous qu'ils vous comprennent? Pourquoi ?

❖ Combien à l'aise vous sentez-vous lorsque vous jasez avec (membres d'un groupe à haut statut)?

- Vous sentez-vous aussi confortable de parler français avec (membre d'un groupe à haut statut) que de parler avec quelqu'un qui a un accent semblable au vôtre?
  - Pourquoi (ou pourquoi pas)?

(Si moins confortable) Décrivez-moi comment se passe une interaction

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typique avec (un membre du groupe à statut supérieur).

---

### Expérience de stigmatisation

❖ Vous êtes-vous déjà senti stigmatisé ou limité par votre accent?

*(Si oui ...)*

- Dans quelles circonstances?
- Qu'est-ce qui a été dit ou fait pour faire en sorte que vous vous sentiez limité?
- Étiez-vous d'accord avec ce qui a été dit ou fait?
- Comment vous sentiez-vous?
- Comment aviez-vous réagi?
- Combien souvent vous arrive-t-il de vous sentir stigmatisé ou limité par votre accent ?
- Selon vous, est-ce que ces expériences affectent votre relation avec le français ? (par ex.: ton désir de le parler, ta confiance langagière, le point auquel vous vous sentez francophone) ?

❖ Si vous pouviez parler avec un différent accent (par ex.: comme membre à statut supérieur), est-ce que ça changerait de quoi ? Amitiés ? Emplois ? Point auquel vous vous sentez francophone ?

❖ Pensez-vous qu'un accent semblable au vôtre peut être cause de discrimination ou de préjugés ?

-Par qui ? Dans quel contexte ? Pour qui ?

---

**Clôture de l'entrevue**

- Rappeler le sujet de l'entrevue : interactions intergroupes, accent, identité, confiance langagière, stigmatisation.
- Résumer les propos du participant. Vérifier si vous avez bien compris et demander au participant s'il a de quoi à rajouter.
- Dernière ouverture à des questions ou commentaires
- Remerciements et mettre fin à l'entrevue

## Interview Schedule for Qualitative Study

### Introduction and explanation of project to participant

#### *Important information*

- Remind topic of interview: intergroup interactions, accent, identity, language confidence, stigmatization.
- Duration: 20 minutes to one hour
- Interview recorded on digital audio recorder
- Read and sign (if in agreement) the consent form. Do not hesitate to ask questions or for clarifications.
- Reminder: No obligation to respond to questions. May end interview at any time. The interview will remain anonymous.
- Questions?

### Origin and mother tongue

- ❖ Where were you born?
    - How long did you live there?
    - Have you ever lived in another province or outside the country?
    - If so, where and for how long?
      - Where were your parents born?
  - ❖ Is English your mother tongue?
    - When did you learn French?
    - Do you speak languages other than French and English?
-

- 
- What language do you most use on a day-to-day basis?

### Identity

- ❖ Do you identify with a language group?
  - ❖ On a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 being more francophone, how francophone do you feel?
    - Are there moments when you feel less/more francophone?
    - Do you identify with another group? To which group? Why?
  - ❖ According to you, in your social or physical environment, what contributes to your francophone identity or sense of belonging changing or remaining stable?
    - How?
  - How frequently do you use French today?
- 

### Language confidence

- ❖ How confident do you feel in your ability to speak French?
    - Are there situations in which you feel less or more confident in your ability? If so, in what kind of situations?
- 

### Accent

An accent is one's way of speaking, characterized by a mode of language pronunciation, specifically a series of traits such as intonation, rhythm, and speech rate, that are often associated with a geographic region, language group or social class.

- ❖ What do you think of your accent?
-

- 
- How does it compare to accents of other French-speakers?
  - Are you proud of your accent when you speak French?
  - Are there moments when you hear your accent more?

❖ Do people sometimes comment on your accent?

- Who comments?
- How often?
- What do they say?
- According to you, what do they think of your accent?
  - How do you feel about these qualifications of your accent? Are they fair?

Interactions with members of higher status groups

❖ With who do you speak French?

- How often do you interact with (members of higher status groups) in French?
- How well do you think that they understand you? Why?

❖ How comfortable do you feel chatting with (members of higher status group)?

- Do you feel as comfortable speaking French with (members of higher status group) than speaking with someone who has a similar accent to yours?
  - Why (or why not)?

(If feels less comfortable) Describe a typical interaction with a (higher status member).

---

### Experience of stigmatization

❖ Have you ever felt stigmatized or limited by your accent?

*(if so ...)*

- Under which circumstances?
- What was said or done to make you feel limited?
- Did you agree with what was said or done?
- How did it make you feel?
- How did you react?
- How often do you feel stigmatized or limited by your accent?
- In your opinion, does it affect your relation with French at all? (e.g. your desire or confidence to speak it, degree to which you feel francophone)?

❖ If you could speak with a different accent (e.g. like a higher status member), would it change anything? Friendships? Jobs? Degree to which you feel Francophone?

❖ Do you think an accent similar to yours can be a cause for discrimination or prejudice?

- From whom? In what context? For whom?

### End of interview

-Remind the topic of interview: intergroup interactions, accent, identity, language confidence, stigmatization.

-Summarize understanding of participants' experiences. Check in to make sure



understood and see if they have anything to add.

-Offer a last chance to ask questions or give comments

-Thanks and end of interview

## Appendix C

## Start List of Codes

**Start List of Attribute Codes**

<b>Category</b>	<b>Abbreviation</b>
<b><i>Experience of discrimination</i></b>	
Discrimination occurs very often	Discrim++++
Discrimination occurs fairly regularly	Discrim+++
Discrimination occurs	Discrim++
Discrimination never occurs	Discrim+

**Start List of Descriptive Codes**

<b>Category</b>	<b>Abbreviation</b>
<b><i>Identity</i></b>	
Identity: French	Id-Fr
Identity: English	Id-En
Identity: Bilingual	Id-Bil
Identity: Ingroup	Id-Ingrp
Identity: Outgroup	Id-Outgrp
Identity: Incongruent identity contrasts	Id-Incongr
Identity: Congruent identity contrasts	Id-Congr
<b><i>Varied topics</i></b>	
French language confidence	LC
Maintenance of French	Maintain
Pride	Pride
Accent	Accent
Solidarity	Solid
Frequency	Frequency
<b><i>Consequences</i></b>	
Existence of consequences	Yes
Consequences non-existent	No
Well-being, stress, anxiety or discomfort	WB-Str
Social	Social
Professional or academic	Professional
Psychosocial	Psychosocial
(No)Disadvantage	(No)Disadvantage
Consequences for others	Others
<b>Quotable</b>	<b>Quote</b>

**Start list of Dramaturgical Codes**

<b>Category</b>	<b>Abbreviation</b>
<b><i>Actor (or context)</i></b>	
Actor: Professional	Act-Prof
Actor: Close	Act-Close
Actor: Social	Act-Social
Actor: High vitality	Act-High
Actor: Francophones	Act- Franco
Actor: Self	Act-Self
Actor: Other	Act-Other
<b><i>Conflict</i></b>	
Conflict: Denial	Con-Denial
Conflict: Discrimination	Con-Discrim
Conflict: Surprise or compliment	Con-Surprise
<b><i>Tactics</i></b>	
Tactic: Persist	Tac-Persist
Tactic: Change	Tac-Change
Tactic: Withdraw	Tac-Withdraw
Tactic: Challenge	Tac-Challenge
Tactic: Rationalize	Tac-Rational
<b><i>Attitudes</i></b>	
Attitude: Illegitimate	Att-Illeg
Attitude: Legitimate	Att-Legit
<b><i>Emotions</i></b>	
Emotion: Anger	Emo-Anger
Emotion: Amusement	Emo-Amuse
Emotion: Shame or intimidated	Emo-Shame
Emotion: Neutral	Emo-Neutral
Emotion: Exhaustion, disappointed in others, sadness	Emo-Exhaus
Emotion: Positive	Emo-Good
Emotion: Alienated, unappreciated, or undermined	Emo-Notenough

<b>Definitions of Attribute Codes</b>	<b><i>Code &amp; highlight appropriate word, phrase or segment when topics described below are discussed. Highlight as much of transcript as needed to capture what participant is conveying.</i></b>
<b><i>Experience of discrimination</i></b>	
Discrimination occurs very often: <i>Discrim++++</i>	Accent discrimination occurs regularly: everyday to a few times a month, or happens consistently.
Discrimination occurs fairly regularly: <i>Discrim+++</i>	Accent discrimination occurs once a month or once every few months, or discrimination seems to happen fairly regularly for participant.
Discrimination occurs solemnly: <i>Discrim++</i>	Accent discrimination occurs, but rarely: less than once or twice a year, or participant has rarely experienced discrimination.
Discrimination never occurs: <i>Discrim+</i>	Participant has never experienced accent discrimination.
<b>Definitions of Descriptive Codes</b>	<b><i>Code &amp; highlight appropriate word, phrase or segment when topics described below are discussed. Highlight as much as needed to understand what participant is conveying.</i></b>
<b><i>Identity</i></b>	<b><i>Identity refers to a sense of belonging to a language or a group. Use when participants talk about feelings or experiences relating to: feeling like someone from a language or a group, feeling part of or belonging to a language or a group. Use when talking about feeling OR not feeling attached</i></b>

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	<i>to a group or a language.</i>
Identity: French: <i>Id-Fr</i>	For identification to French, or French language groups broadly
Identity: English: <i>Id-En</i>	For identification to English, or English language groups broadly
Identity: Bilingual: <i>Id-Bil</i>	For identification to both English and French, hybrid identity
Identity: Ingroup: <i>Id-Ingrp</i>	For identification to ingroup, or a regional group that one identifies with (whether it be from participant's region, or another region)
Identity: Outgroup: <i>Id-Outgrp</i>	For identification to outgroup, a regional group that one does not identify with.
Identity: Incongruent identity contrasts: <i>Id-Incongr</i>	For when participant speaks of degree to which his own way of identifying with French or French community is incongruent or different than how others perceive him.
Identity: Congruent identity contrasts: <i>Id-Congr</i>	For when participant speaks of degree to which his own way of identifying with French or French community is congruent or in line with how others perceive him.
<b><i>Varied topics</i></b>	
French language confidence: <i>LC</i>	For when participant speaks of his confidence in his ability to use French.
Maintenance of French: <i>Maintain</i>	For when participant speaks of the importance to maintain French OR of a noted tendency to personally lose language skills OR of a community's tendency to maintain or lose French vitality.
Pride: <i>Pride</i>	If participant values self or speaks of pride in using language, accent, or in being as they are, what they are or where they are from.

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Accent: <i>Accent</i>	When participant speaks of one's own accent, describes it, or how one relates to it.
Solidarity: <i>Solid</i>	If talks about ones own struggles or way of being understood and accepted by a specific person or group; or of being similar to another person or group
Frequency: <i>Frequency</i>	Frequency of interactions with stigmatizing group or group of higher vitality
<b>Consequences</b>	<b><i>This is meant to capture challenges that participants specify as occurring or not occurring following accent stigmatization. "Yes" and "No" codes allow to specify whether consequences have occurred. Subcodes (WB-Str, Social, etc) allow to specify the nature of the consequence that the participant is reporting.</i></b>
Yes	For when participant does report consequences to accent stigmatization (other than emotional)
No	For when participant specifies consequences not occurring following accent stigmatization (other than emotional)
WB-Str	Well-being, stress, anxiety or discomfort as consequences of accent stigmatization (includes discomfort in a given situation related to accent discrimination)
Social	When participant talks about people could or could not be friends with, or social consequences of accent stigmatization
Professional	Academic or professional consequences

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	to accent stigmatization
Psychosocial	When accent discrimination alters participant's psychosocial constructs (i.e. perceived identity, confidence, desire to speak French, etc)
(No)Disadvantage	Accent leads to disadvantages by accent in ways not specified by other codes (par ex.: Receives service that is lesser at a restaurant, or other day to day struggles, etc).
Others	Perception that <i>others</i> may experience stress or social, professional, academic consequences or consequences to well-being.
<b>Quotable:</b> <i>Quote</i>	When a word or a phrase captures a concept or a thought central to the research particularly well.

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### Definitions of Dramaturgical Codes

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<b><i>Actor (or context)</i></b>	<b><i>Use actor subset to code a person or a group that is specified to stigmatize. With codes below, specify where actor is from or relationship with actor when appropriate. Use two codes if have access to both pieces of information.</i></b>
Actor: Professional: <i>Act-Prof</i>	When stigmatization occurs in work or academic contexts, or other situations in which there is a professional or hierarchical relationship (par ex.: doctor's office)
Actor: Close: <i>Act-Close</i>	When actor is close to the participant, either in friendship or because of family ties OR when stigmatization occurs in family or social setting with people that are well known to the participant

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Actor: Social: <i>Act-Social</i>	When actor is a person who isn't close to the participant (par ex.: Store clerk, random person on the street, unknown friend of a friend) or occurs in a more impersonal social setting.
Actor: High vitality: <i>Act-High</i>	When actor is deemed to be from a region that has higher francophone vitality or when the stigmatization is deemed to occur in a region that has higher vitality (par ex.: Often another region of the participant's province or from Quebec, or a European country (par ex.: France))
Actor: Francophones: <i>Act- Franco</i>	When other francophone (not specified to be of higher vitality group), or francophones more generally are perceived as the actors.
Actor: Self: <i>Act-Self</i>	When the actor is the interviewee or members of his or her ingroup (par ex.: Also French learners, or also Franco-Manitoban) or when stigmatization happens in the participant's native context.
Actor: Other: <i>Act-Other</i>	Actor is from regions other than those listed above or stigmatization happens in other contexts.
<b><i>Conflict</i></b>	<b><i>For nature of discriminatory or limiting experiences (as described)</i></b>
Conflict: Denial: <i>Con-Denial</i>	When participant describes situations in which perceived a limiting experience as reflective of a denial of his or her French identity or competence in French, or when one is made to feel inferior, given the impression that he or she is excluded, not part of a group.
Conflict: Discrimination: <i>Con-Discrim</i>	Blatant or perceived denial of services, work or academic opportunities or success, friendship, etc.

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Conflict: Surprise or compliment: *Con-Surprise*

When participant describes situation in which he or she faces surprise, puzzlement, curiosity from others when faced with his or her way of speaking.

### ***Tactics***

***Stigmatized speaker's behaviours or objectives in response to situation of stigmatization.***

Tactic: Persist: *Tac-Persist*

When participant does one of the following: persists in using French, persists in speaking in the way that he or she does, verbally and explicitly affirms way of speaking, or strives for acceptance of who he or she is as is.

Tactic: Change: *Tac-Change*

When participant attempts to mold him or herself in response to stigmatization, change to fit in or obtain something—either attempts to change or improve accent, way of speaking OR states learning from stigmatization, taking positive from it.

Tactic: Withdraw: *Tac-Withdraw*

When participant strives to get away from stigmatizer or stigmatizing situation either by: stopping speaking French, switching to English, avoiding all interactions with stigmatizing group, avoiding opportunities, etc.

Tactic: Challenge: *Tac-Challenge*

When participant explicitly confronts or challenges, or educates stigmatizer about comments (whether it be aggressively or more softly), or when speaker challenges discrimination to self.

Tactic: Rationalize: *Tac-Rational*

When participant attempts to rationalize discrimination, find truth in it or understand it or reasons for it.

### ***Attitudes***

***For participant's attitudes towards or perception of discrimination, legitimacy granted to it.***

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Attitude: Illegitimate: <i>Att-Illeg</i>	Discrimination is perceived as unfair, invalid, and illegitimate. Discrimination is dismissed or challenged by speaker.
Attitude: Legitimate: <i>Att-Legit</i>	Discrimination is perceived as valid, fair, legitimate, stigmatized speaker sees truth in stigmatizing comments or justifies discriminatory actions or words.
<b>Emotions</b>	<b><i>For participant's affective state in response to discriminatory words or experiences</i></b>
Emotion: Anger: <i>Emo-Anger</i>	Participant states feeling angry or frustrated by discriminatory experiences (reflective of "they did something wrong by discriminating").
Emotion: Amusement: <i>Emo-Amuse</i>	Participant states being amused by discriminatory experiences. Finds them to be intriguing, entertaining.
Emotion: Shame, intimidated: <i>Emo-Shame</i>	Participant states feeling ashamed or embarrassed by discriminatory experiences (reflective of "I am bad or speak badly"), OR feels intimidated by person, group or situation.
Emotion: Neutral: <i>Emo-Neutral</i>	Participant doesn't seem to care, stigmatization doesn't faze participant.
Emotion: Exhaustion, disappointed in others, sadness: <i>Emo-Exhaus</i>	Participant is tired, or without energy following a discriminatory experience, or is disappointed or saddened that these occur to him or herself.
Emotion: Positive: <i>Emo-Good</i>	Participant states feeling positive feelings in response to stigmatization, or feels appreciative of feedback.
Emotion: Alienated, unappreciated or undermined: <i>Emo-Notenough</i>	Participant feels like he or she has been rejected, othered, undermined by discriminatory or limiting experience.

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**Appendix D**

**Journal Template**

**Journal**

<p>(Template)</p> <p><b>ID#</b></p> <p><b>-Region of origin :</b>          Québec,          New Brunswick,          Ontario or          Other.</p> <p>-</p> <p><b>Coder(s) :</b>          Your first and last name</p>	<p>(Template)</p> <p><b>Interesting points\ observations:</b></p> <p><b>Justification for stigmatization\discrimination experience codes:</b></p> <p><b>Things that may have affected magnitude of stigmatization or discrimination experience (specify how)</b></p> <p><b>_ Identity :</b></p> <p><b>_ Confidence:</b></p> <p><b>_ Accent:</b></p> <p><b>_ Other:</b></p> <p><b>Hypotheses : Other possible factors affecting discrimination\stigmatization experience:</b></p> <p><b>Possible limitations to or challenges with the study</b></p> <p><b>Codes to add</b></p> <p><b>Self-monitoring</b></p> <p><b>Other</b></p>
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## Appendix E

### Questionnaires pour études 2 et 3

#### VERSION EN FRANÇAIS

#### *INSTRUCTIONS*

Merci d'avoir choisi de participer dans cette étude! Lors de votre participation dans cette étude, nous vous demanderons de nous fournir de l'information sociodémographique et de répondre à quelques questionnaires. Une fois l'étude commencée, suivez les instructions comme ils apparaissent sur votre écran. Svp complétez les questionnaires attentivement et répondez aux questions dans l'ordre dans lequel elles sont présentées.

Svp insérez votre code à 6-chiffres ci-bas, tel qu'il vous a été assigné par le système intégré de participation à la recherche (SIPR). Si vous ne connaissez pas votre code d'identification, veuillez ouvrir une session dans le système SIPR pour l'accéder.

Quel est votre numéro d'identification SIPR? \_\_\_\_\_

#### **Information sociodémographique**

*INSTRUCTIONS:* Les prochaines questions visent à recueillir de l'information générale au sujet de vous-même. Svp répondre d'après ce que vous savez.

1. Quel âge avez-vous ? \_\_\_\_\_
2. Quel est votre sexe?
  1. homme
  2. femme
  3. vous n'avez pas d'option qui s'applique à moi. Je m'identifie comme étant :  
(veuillez spécifier) \_\_\_\_\_
3. Dans quel pays êtes-vous né(e)?
  1. Canada
  2. Autre \_\_\_\_\_ (précisez)
4. Si vous êtes nés au Canada, dans quelle province êtes-vous nés ?
  1. Ontario
  2. Québec
  3. Nouveau-Brunswick
  4. Autre province ou territoire (précisez)
  5. Ne s'applique pas
5. Dans quelle province ou territoire avez-vous habité (e) le plus longtemps?
  1. Ontario
  2. Québec
  3. Nouveau-Brunswick
  4. Autre province ou territoire (précisez)

6. Quelle province ou territoire considérez-vous comme chez vous?
  1. Ontario
  2. Québec
  3. Nouveau-Brunswick
  4. Autre (précisez)
  
7. Quelle est votre langue maternelle (première apprise et encore comprise)?
  1. Français
  2. Anglais
  3. Français et anglais
  4. Autre : \_\_\_\_\_ (précisez)

### **Autres questionnaires**

**INSTRUCTIONS** : Important : Veuillez répondre aux questions suivantes en pensant à votre accent **lorsque vous parlez français ou à votre utilisation du français.**

Fortement en désaccord 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Fortement en accord

### **Questionnaire sur la dévalorisation et la discrimination perçues**

1. La plupart des gens accepteraient volontairement comme ami proche quelqu'un qui parle avec un accent comme le mien.
2. La plupart des gens croient qu'une personne qui parle avec un accent comme le mien est tout aussi intelligente que la personne moyenne.
3. La plupart des gens croient que quelqu'un qui parle avec un accent comme le mien est tout aussi digne de confiance que le citoyen moyen.
4. La plupart des gens accepteraient que quelqu'un qui parle avec un accent comme le mien soit l'enseignant de jeunes enfants dans une école publique.
5. La plupart des gens ressentent que le fait de parler avec un accent comme le mien est un signe d'échec personnel.
6. La plupart des gens n'embaucheraient pas quelqu'un qui parle avec un accent comme le mien, même s'il ou elle était compétent en français.
7. La plupart des gens n'ont pas une haute opinion d'une personne qui parle avec un accent comme le mien.
8. La plupart des employeurs embaucheraient quelqu'un qui parle avec un accent comme le mien s'il ou elle est qualifié pour l'emploi.
9. La plupart des employeurs ne considéreraient pas la demande d'emploi de quelqu'un qui parle avec un accent comme le mien en faveur d'un autre postulant.
10. La plupart des gens traiteraient quelqu'un qui parle avec un accent comme le mien de la même façon qu'ils traiteraient n'importe qui.
11. La plupart des gens seraient réticents à sortir avec quelqu'un qui parle un accent comme le mien.
12. Une fois qu'ils savent qu'une personne parle avec un accent comme le mien, la plupart des gens prendront l'opinion de cette personne moins sérieusement.

**Légitimation**

1. Je pense qu'il est justifié de dire que les gens qui parlent avec certains accents différents du mien ont un statut plus élevé que les gens avec un accent comme le mien.
2. Il est exact de dire que d'autres accents sont réellement supérieurs à l'accent avec lequel je parle.
3. Je pense qu'il est juste de dire que d'autres accents ont un statut supérieur au mien.
4. Je pense que c'est exact de dire que mon accent devrait changer pour être meilleur.
5. Il est juste de dire que l'accent avec lequel je parle est de moindre qualité que d'autres accents.

**Questions pour vérifier leur attention à la tâche**

1. Encerclez 5 si vous portez attention à la tâche.
2. Si vous étudiez présentement au Canada, sélectionnez fortement en accord (7).
3. Svp, répondre « (3) »

Et une dernière question : Quelle proportion du questionnaire avez-vous compris?

- 1** = je n'ai rien compris  
**2** = j'ai compris un peu  
**3** = j'ai compris à peu près la moitié  
**4** = j'ai compris la plupart  
**5** = j'ai tout compris

VERSION EN ANGLAIS (pour étude 2 seulement)

***INSTRUCTIONS***

Thank you for choosing to participate in this experiment! In this experiment, you will be asked to provide some sociodemographic information and respond to a few questionnaires. Once you start the experiment, simply follow the instructions as they appear on the screen. Please complete this questionnaire carefully and answer questions in the order in which they appear.

Please enter your 6-digit ID code assigned to you by the Integrated System of Participation in Research (ISPR) below. If you do not know your ID code, you can login to the ISPR system to access it. What is your ISPR identification code? \_\_\_\_\_

**Sociodemographic Information**

***INSTRUCTIONS:*** The next set of questions collects general information about yourself. Please answer to the best of your knowledge

1. How old are you ? \_\_\_\_\_
2. What is your gender?

- a. Male
  - b. Female
  - c. You do not have an option that applies to me. I identify as : (please specify)  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. In what country were you born?
    - a. Canada
    - b. Other (specify): \_\_
  4. If you were born in Canada, in what province?
    - a. Ontario
    - b. Quebec
    - c. New Brunswick
    - d. Other (specify)
    - e. Not applicable
  5. In which province or territory have you lived longest?
    - a. Ontario
    - b. Quebec
    - c. New-Brunswick
    - d. Other (specify)
  6. What province or territory do you consider home?
    - a. Ontario
    - b. Quebec
    - c. New Brunswick
    - d. Other (specify)
  7. What is your first language? (first language learned and still understood)
    - a. French
    - b. English
    - c. French and English
    - d. Other (specify): \_\_\_\_\_

### **Other Questionnaires**

***INSTRUCTIONS:*** Important: Answer the questions below while thinking of your accent **when speaking French or your use of French.**

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

### **Perceived Devaluation and Discrimination Questionnaire**

1. Most people would willingly accept someone who speaks with an accent like mine as a close friend.
2. Most people believe that a person who speaks with an accent like mine is just as intelligent as the average person.

3. Most people believe that someone who speaks with an accent like mine is just as trustworthy as the average citizen.
4. Most people would accept someone who speaks with an accent like mine as a teacher of young children in a public school.
5. Most people feel that speaking with an accent like mine is a sign of personal failure.
6. Most people would not hire someone who speaks with an accent like mine, even if he or she were competent in French.
7. Most people think less of a person who speaks with an accent like mine.
8. Most employers will hire someone who speak with an accent like mine if he or she is qualified for the job.
9. Most employers will pass over the application of someone who speak with an accent like mine in favor of another applicant.
10. Most people would treat someone who speak with an accent like mine just as they would treat anyone.
11. Most people would be reluctant to date someone who speak with an accent like mine.
12. Once they know a person speaks with an accent like mine, most people will take his or her opinion less seriously.

### **Legitimization**

1. I think it is justified that people who speak with certain accents that are different from mine have a higher status than people with an accent like mine.
2. It is accurate to say that other accents are superior to the accent with which I speak.
3. I think it is fair to say that other accents have a higher status than my own.
4. I think it is accurate to say that my accent should be changed to be better.
5. It is fair to say that the accent with which I speak is of lesser quality than other accents.

### **Questions to test their attention to the task**

1. Circle 5 if you are paying attention to the task.
2. If you are currently studying in Canada, select strongly agree (7).
3. Please answer "(3)"

And one final question: How much of the questionnaire did you understand?

**1** = did not understand anything

**2** = understood a little bit

**3** = understood about half

**4** = understood most

**5** = understood all



## Appendix F

### Questionnaires pour étude 2

In which language would you like to complete the study? Dans quelle langue aimeriez-vous compléter l'étude?

- a. French/Français
- b. English/Anglais

#### VERSION EN FRANÇAIS

##### **Identité francophone situationnelle (réelle)**

*INSTRUCTIONS* : SVP lire les instructions attentivement avant de continuer.

Plusieurs chercheurs sont d'accord pour dire que l'identité d'une personne peut changer selon la situation dans laquelle elle se trouve. Par exemple, dans certaines situations vous pourriez vous identifier comme appartenant à un groupe langagier francophone et dans d'autres situations vous pourriez vous identifier comme n'appartenant pas à ce même groupe.

Vous trouverez plusieurs situations. Pour chacune de celles-ci, évaluez le degré auquel vous vous identifiez comme francophone. « Francophone » fait référence à une personne qui parle français.

Pas du tout comme un/e francophone 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Beaucoup comme un/e francophone

Svp, donnez votre **première impression de vous-même, comme vous êtes maintenant.**

1. Lorsque je suis à la maison
2. Lorsque je participe dans des activités culturelles
3. Lorsque j'écoute de la musique
4. Lorsque je dois composer avec du personnel de l'université
5. Lorsque je prépare de la bouffe
6. Avec mes contacts sociaux
7. Lorsque j'étudie
8. Lorsque j'écoute à la radio
9. Lorsque j'écris et je lis pour moi-même
10. Lorsque je pense aux politiques

##### **Identité francophone situationnelle (réfléchie)**

*INSTRUCTIONS* : Comme pour une échelle précédente, vous trouverez ci-bas plusieurs situations. Cette fois-ci, donnez votre impression de comment vous pensez que les personnes qui parlent avec un accent différent du vôtre (par ex.: québécois ou français de France) vous perçoivent.

Pas du tout comme un/e francophone 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Beaucoup comme un/e francophone

1. Lorsque je suis à la maison
2. Lorsque je participe dans des activités culturelles

3. Lorsque j'écoute à de la musique
4. Lorsque je dois composer avec du personnel de l'université
5. Lorsque je prépare de la bouffe
6. Avec mes contacts sociaux
7. Lorsque j'étudie
8. Lorsque j'écoute à la radio
9. Lorsque j'écris et je lis pour moi-même
10. Lorsque je pense aux politiques

### **Confiance langagière**

#### Confiance en soi par rapport à l'usage du français

1. Je crois sincèrement être capable de lire et de comprendre la plupart des textes écrits en français.
2. D'après moi, je connais assez le français pour pouvoir l'écrire facilement.
3. Personnellement, je crois que je sais assez le français pour le parler correctement.
4. Je suis très confiant en ma capacité d'écrire correctement en français.
5. J'ai l'impression que je suis capable de bien comprendre quelqu'un parlant français.
6. Je crois que ma connaissance du français me permet de faire face à la plupart des situations où je dois utiliser cette langue.

#### Anxiété liée à l'usage du français

1. Lorsque je place un appel téléphonique, je me mêle si je dois parler français.
2. Chaque fois que je rencontre une personne de langue française et que je lui parle, je suis détendu(e).
3. Je me sens mal à l'aise toutes les fois que je parle français.
4. Je me sens calme quand je dois commander un repas en français dans un restaurant.
5. Je me sens confiant(e) et détendu(e) quand je dois demander ma route en français.
6. Je me sens à l'aise lorsque je parle français avec des amis quand certains parlent français et d'autres parlent anglais.
7. Parler français avec un supérieur me gêne beaucoup.
8. Je deviens nerveux (se) chaque fois que je dois m'adresser en français à un vendeur

## VERSION EN ANGLAIS

### **Situated francophone identity (actual)**

*INSTRUCTIONS:* Please read the instructions carefully before continuing.

Several researchers agree that a person's identity may change depending upon the situation that he/she is in. For example, in some situations you could identify yourself as belonging to a French language group and in other situations as not belonging to such a group.

You will find here several situations. In each case, evaluate your level of identification as a francophone. "Francophone" refers to a French-speaking person.

Not at all like a francophone 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much like a francophone

Please give your **first impression of yourself, as you are now.**

1. When I am at home
2. When I participate in cultural activities
3. When listening to music
4. When I deal with university personnel
5. When I prepare food
6. With my social contacts
7. When I study
8. When I listen to the radio
9. When I read and write for myself
10. When I think about politics

### **Situated francophone identity (reflected)**

*INSTRUCTIONS:* For this next set of questions, again, you will find several questions. This time, please give your **impression of how you think that people who speak with an accent that is different from your own (par ex.: French speakers from Quebec or France) perceive you.**

1. When I am at home
2. When I participate in cultural activities
3. When listening to music
4. When I deal with college/university personnel
5. When I prepare food
6. With my social contacts
7. When I study
8. When I listen to the radio
9. When I read and write for myself
10. When I think about politics

### **Language confidence**

#### Confidence

1. I really believe that I am capable of reading and understanding most texts in French.
2. In my opinion, I know enough French to be able to write comfortably.
3. Personally, I believe that I know enough French to speak correctly.
4. I am very confident in my ability to write French correctly.
5. I feel that I can understand someone speaking French well.
6. I believe that my knowledge of French allows me to cope with most situations where I have to use that language.

#### Anxiety

1. When I make a telephone call, I get mixed up if I have to speak French.
2. Every time that I meet a French-speaking person and I speak with him/her in French, I feel relaxed.
3. I feel uneasy whenever I speak French.
4. In a restaurant, I feel calm when I have to order a meal in French.
5. I feel confident and relaxed when I have to ask for directions in French.

6. I feel comfortable when I speak French among friends where there are people who speak French and people who speak English.
7. It embarrasses me to speak French with a superior.
8. I get nervous every time I have to speak in French to a salesclerk.

## Appendix G

### Questionnaires pour étude 3

Pour chacune des caractéristiques ou descriptions suivantes, indiquez à quel point chacune est vraie pour vous en sélectionnant le chiffre approprié.

Fortement en désaccord 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Fortement en accord

#### Identité francophone

1. J'ai beaucoup en commun avec d'autres francophones.
2. Je ressens que j'ai des liens forts avec d'autres francophones.
3. Je trouve que c'est difficile de former un lien avec d'autres francophones.
4. Je n'ai pas l'impression d'être "être lié(e)" à d'autres francophones.
5. Je pense souvent au fait que je suis un(e) francophone.
6. Dans l'ensemble, être un(e) francophone a très peu à voir avec comment je me sens par rapport à moi-même.
7. En général, être un(e) francophone est une partie importante de mon image de moi.
8. Le fait que je sois un(e) francophone me vient rarement à l'esprit.
9. En général, je suis heureux(se) d'être un(e) francophone.
10. Je regrette souvent d'être un(e) francophone.
11. Je ne me sens pas bien d'être un(e) francophone.
12. De façon générale, je me sens bien lorsque je pense à moi comme un(e) francophone.

#### Estime de soi

1. Je pense que je suis une personne de valeur, au moins égale à n'importe qui d'autre.
2. Je pense que je possède un certain nombre de belles qualités.
3. Tout bien considéré, je suis porté à me considérer comme un(e) raté(e).
4. Je suis capable de faire les choses aussi bien que la majorité des gens.
5. Je sens peu de raisons d'être fier de moi.
6. J'ai une attitude positive vis-à-vis moi-même.
7. Dans l'ensemble, je suis satisfait(e) de moi.
8. J'aimerais avoir plus de respect pour moi-même.
9. Parfois je me sens vraiment inutile.
10. Il m'arrive de penser que je suis un(e) bon(ne) à rien.

#### Tracas quotidiens

Voici une liste de situations que vous rencontrez peut-être de temps à autre. Évaluez à quel point chaque situation a été une source de stress pour vous par le passé.

1 – Pas d'agacement

2- Source d'agacement léger

- 3- Source d'agacement
- 4- Source d'agacement considérable
- 5- Source d'agacement prononcé

1. Difficulté à expliquer vos pensées en français afin d'être compris.
2. Avoir besoin de parler français avec des gens qui parlent avec un accent différent du vôtre.
3. Pas assez de contact social avec des gens avec qui vous vous sentez à l'aise de parler en français.
4. Se sentir aliéné(e) dans un groupe dans lequel les gens parlent avec un accent différent du vôtre.
5. Ne pas assez bien comprendre le français de gens parlant avec un accent différent du vôtre.
6. Anxiété par rapport à votre habileté à parler en français dans un contexte académique ou professionnel.

**Appendix H****Additional Tables for Study 2**

Table 1

*Non-native speakers: Means and standard deviations*

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Perceived discrimination	2.59	1.04
Legitimacy	3.85	1.63
Actual situated identity	2.61	1.02
Reflected situated identity	2.38	1.09
Language confidence	4.96	.99

Table 2

*Non-native speakers: Correlation matrix for study variables*

	Perceived discrimination	Legitimacy	Reflected situated identity	Actual situated identity	Language confidence
Perceived discrimination	1				
Legitimacy	.611*	1			
Reflected situated identity	-.13	-.10	1		
Actual situated identity	-.06	.01	.84*	1	
Language confidence	-.53*	-.43*	.42*	.38*	1

*Notes.* \* $p < 0.01$ , two-tailed.



Table 3

*Native speakers : Correlation matrix for study variables*

	Perceived discrimination	Legitimacy	Reflected situated identity	Actual situated identity	Language confidence
Perceived discrimination	1				
Legitimacy	.348*	1			
Reflected situated identity	-.08	-.38*	1		
Actual situated identity	-.07	-.31*	.79*	1	
Language confidence	-.50*	-.47*	.45*	.40*	1

*Notes.* \* $p < 0.01$ , two-tailed.

Table 4

*Native speakers: Moderation analysis of perceived legitimacy of discrimination on the relation between perceived discrimination and reflected situated identity, with region as covariate*

	<i>b</i>	SE B	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Covariate				
Quebec vs. ROC	-0.87	.16	-5.22	< .001
Model				
Constant	5.14	.25	20.89	< .001
Legitimacy	-.32	.08	-4.09	< .001
Discrimination	.14	.12	1.25	.21
Legitimacy x Discrimination	-.08	.07	-1.13	.26

$R^2 = .26$ ; Note.  $N = 224$ .

Table 5

*Native speakers: Moderation analysis of perceived legitimacy of discrimination on the relation between perceived discrimination and French language confidence, with region as covariate*

	<i>b</i>	SE B	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Covariate				
Quebec vs. ROC	-21	.07	-2.98	< .01
Model				
Constant	6.57	.07	101.57	< .001
Legitimacy	-.13	.03	-3.80	< .001
Discirmination	-.26	.06	-4.67	< .001
Legitimacy x Discrimination	-.05	.07	-1.81	.07

$R^2 = .37$ ; Note.  $N = 224$ .

Table 6

*Native speakers : Moderation analysis of perceived legitimacy of discrimination on the relation between perceived discrimination and actual situated identity, with region as covariate*

	<i>b</i>	SE B	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Covariate				
Quebec vs. ROC	-.49	.15	-3.37	< .001
Model				
Constant	5.38	.19	28.04	< .001
Legitimacy	-.19	.07	-2.62	.01
Discirmination	.05	.09	.54	.59
Legitimacy x Discrimination	-.14	.06	-2.26	.03

$R^2 = .18$ ; Note.  $N = 224$ .

Table 7

*Non-native speakers: Moderation analysis of perceived legitimacy of discrimination on the relation between perceived discrimination and French language confidence*

	<i>b</i>	SE B	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Constant	4.94	.10	50.76	< .001
Legitimacy	-.10	.06	-1.69	.10
Discirmination	-.49	.10	-5.04	< .001
Legitimacy x Discrimination	.08	.04	1.81	.07

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$R^2 = .40$ ; Note.  $N = 100$ .

**Appendix I****Additional Tables for Study 3**

Table 1

*Means and standard deviations*

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Perceived discrimination	2.31	1.00
Legitimacy	2.66	1.44
Francophone identity	5.57	.87
Self-esteem	5.37	1.18
Daily language hassles	1.91	.78

Table 2

*Correlation matrix for study variables*

	Perceived discrimination	Legitimacy	Francophone identity	Self-esteem	Daily language hassles
Perceived discrimination	1				
Legitimacy	.25**	1			
Francophone identity	-.10	-.20*	1		
Self-esteem	-.26**	-.09	.18*	1	
Daily language hassles	-.38**	-.26**	-.28**	-.25**	1

*Notes.* \*\* $p < 0.01$ , two-tailed; \* $p < 0.05$ , two-tailed.