

NEW CANADIAN PERSPECTIVES

Community Vitality, Community Confidence Official Languages Research Forum

**Analysis and Discussion on GPC International Survey
on Attitudes and Perceptions of Official Languages**

An initiative of the Department of Canadian Heritage
with the Réseau de recherche sur la francophonie canadienne

Under the Direction of William Floch and Yves Frenette



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*Thanks to Martin Durand, Astri Thorvik
and Michèle Paré for their contribution.*

Opinions expressed in this publication are those of their authors and do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the federal government.

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FOREWORD

We are delighted by the interest generated by the Official Languages Research Forum: Community Vitality, Community Confidence, which expands on the analysis of the GPC International Survey on Attitudes and Perceptions of Official Languages. This forum held on March 25 and 26, 2004, at the Ramada Plaza Hotel in Gatineau was the outcome of an excellent collaboration between the Réseau de recherche sur la francophonie canadienne and the Department of Canadian Heritage.

The Forum theme is very important. Also significant is the opportunity to bring together, in the same forum, academic researchers, community leaders, and representatives of numerous federal institutions. A shared interest in cooperating more closely and working to better understand the key issues of minority community development is a success in itself.

This tie, this link, this bridge we are building between academic reflection, government policy development, and community network cooperation is our big challenge for the future. It is helping to break the isolation so that research findings can be used and reused, providing a foundation for the directions to be taken in partnership with institutions, communities and governments. This is the strategy promoted by the Department of Canadian Heritage together with Réseau de recherche sur la francophonie canadienne, partners in this initiative, and the Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities in Moncton.

The Department of Canadian Heritage can act as a facilitator and is prepared to play this role in the future.

The GPC International survey that was completed in November 2002 and formed the basis for Forum discussions was finished just before the introduction of a new vision through the Government of Canada's Action Plan on Official Languages. As 2004 and 2005 are pivotal years marking the transition towards a broader Plan implementation, it goes without saying that our thinking today may help guide initiatives to launch major medium and long-term strategies tomorrow. How will we do things in the future? This forum provides a great opportunity to hold discussions and reflect on issues on which we are presently working.

We hope you will become more closely involved in this initiative that concerns us all. Happy reading!

Hélène Cormier,
Director, Policy
Official Languages Support Programs,
Department of Canadian Heritage

INTRODUCTION

by the co-directors of the Forum

William Floch,

Department of Canadian Heritage, Gatineau

Yves Frenette,

Glendon College, York University, Toronto

Il n'y a pas de repos que pour celui qui cherche.
Raoul Duguay

The Department of Canadian Heritage regularly commissions studies to help evaluate its various programs. This was the rationale for conducting a survey to measure the knowledge and opinions of Canadian citizens with respect to official languages policy and Canadian Heritage programs.

A second objective was rapidly added to gain a better understanding of the situation of the Anglophone minority community in Quebec and Francophone minority communities in the rest of Canada, compared to that of the majority language groups. As much as possible, this meant going beyond generalities to observe minority communities at the regional¹ and, where possible, at provincial levels, while taking into account majority/minority language proportions. At the request of the Treasury Board Secretariat, which provided financial support, the survey was expanded to include a series of questions on knowledge of and attitudes toward official language policy. Finally, certain questions dealt with use of the Internet in French.

1. In this document, “region” refers to the areas covered by the each of the 5 regional offices of Canadian Heritage: the Atlantic (Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick), Quebec, Ontario, Prairies/Territories (Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Northwest Territories, Nunavut) and West/Yukon (Alberta, British Columbia, Yukon).

Once the decision was taken to conduct a broadly-based national survey on official languages, a formal tendering process was undertaken in the summer of 2002, through which GPC International was selected as the survey contractor. In its final form, the survey questionnaire incorporated a large block of questions relating to Canadian Heritage program components in the area of official languages (minority-language education, second-language learning, support to community-based organizations, interdepartmental coordination, and intergovernmental cooperation). These evaluation questions were designed to deepen understanding of the awareness and support of minority-language and majority-language Canadians on Canadian Heritage official language policies. For its part, the Treasury Board Secretariat² offered a series of questions probing the awareness and support of Canadians on various aspects of official languages policy. These questions were similar to those asked of federal public servants in a prior study. Finally, another block of questions relating to community development issues, including the capacity to live in the minority language in a variety of settings, completed the questionnaire.

In the fall of 2002, GPC International went into the field, interviewing 2,001 members of official-language minority communities (1,138 Francophones outside Quebec, 863 Anglophones in Quebec) and 1,153 majority-language citizens (Francophones in Quebec, Anglophones in the rest of Canada). The identification of a respondent as minority-language or majority-language was based on the answer to question 1d: “Regardless of the other languages you speak, which of the two languages English or French, do you consider your first official language?”

Like all research tools, surveys have limitations. However, they provide information not necessarily available from Statistics Canada census data, other large-scale quantitative surveys, or qualitative research efforts. This is particularly true in the case that interests us here, given that GPC conducted interviews of at least 30 minutes with 2,001 people.

The GPC survey of November 2002 has undergone preliminary analysis by departmental analysts, especially the blocks of questions dealing with Canadian Heritage programs.

In the interest of analysing the part of the survey on official language minority communities and sharing data with the research community, other federal departments, and the official language communities, Canadian Heritage partnered with Réseau de la recherche sur la francophonie canadienne (RRCF) to organize an *Official Languages Research Forum* on March 25 and 26, 2004.

2. The TBS was subsequently transformed into the Public Service Human Resources Management Agency of Canada.

RRCF accepted the invitation with enthusiasm given its mission of encouraging and disseminating research on Francophone minority communities,³ a mission it has pursued since its founding in 1990. RRCF is made up of some fifty researchers. It organizes two activities per year, one of which is a theme-based symposium held during the annual conference of the Association Francophone du savoir (ACFAS). Over the years, RRCF members have successively examined issues such as community development, diversity and difference, Francophone spaces, centrality and marginality, the Pan-American Francophone community, youth, the urban environment, public policy, community vitality, etc.

The second annual activity—called *Séminaire d'été sur la francophonie canadienne*—is perhaps the event that defines RRCF best. This summer seminar also deals with specific themes (women, education, economic development, internationalization, health, etc.). It mainly attracts undergraduate and graduate students, but also draws representatives of community groups and associations as well as public servants. The seminar is divided into two courses (six university credits) and a plethora of scientific, cultural, and community activities. Gathering in a friendly atmosphere where lasting ties are forged, participants catch up on the latest research on Canada's Francophone communities to become well-informed teachers, public servants, and community leaders. However, in recent years, financial difficulties have grown and the future of the seminar is far from certain.

RRCF had a very tight timetable for analyzing the survey and sought to make the most of the time available by working quickly and productively. It therefore recruited six researchers in different fields from four of Canada's main regions to analyze the GPC survey and critique its methodology with a view to possible similar exercises in the future. It also enlisted three commentators to respond to the researchers' conclusions. And what a response there was—not only from the commentators, but from the forum audience of some forty people made up of researchers and representatives from federal agencies and departments, as well as Francophone and Anglophone associations from the official language minority communities. Discussions were at times vigorous, but always courteous. To update a classic Canadian metaphor, let us say that in order to exploit the wealth of information contained in the forest of survey data, the contractor (Canadian Heritage) called in a foreman (RRCF), who in turn hired a valiant team of intrepid lumberjacks. But there were no brawls in the logging camp. After the forum, the presenters went back to work armed with new ideas and suggestions from the audience. In some cases, they seized the opportunity to dig deeper into certain issues and readjust their thinking.

3. At the time of this writing, a similar network was taking shape for researchers interested in the Anglophone communities of Quebec.

The first paper is by Edmund Aunger, who examines the issue of regional diversity and inequality, not only between Quebec's Anglophone minority and Francophone minorities in the rest of Canada, but between Francophone minorities themselves. Aunger has mixed feelings about the GPC survey and bases much of his analysis on data from the 2001 Census of Canada. In the second paper, Daniel Bourgeois, David Bourgeois, and Gino Leblanc look at the level of confidence Canadians have in the development of official language minority communities, comparing majority and minority attitudes. The originality of Josée Bergeron's contribution lies in her comparison of majority/minority community members without regard to their linguistic affiliation, and the attention she pays to age cohorts—or generations—in interpreting the attitudes of survey respondents. Although Jack Jedwab leaves age cohorts out of his analysis, he nonetheless goes one step further than Bergeron by taking into account the language of majority/minority members and the regional factor. Jedwab is guarded in his findings and urges decision makers to use caution when developing and reviewing official language policy.

If there is cause for caution, it is because our collaborators have played a pioneering role and asked hard-to-answer questions. The survey is a useful instrument, but like all measurement tools, it has its weaknesses. For this reason, we felt it important to add a chapter on methodology that includes an end-of-forum wrap-up by Anne Gilbert, a critique by Edmund Aunger, and comments on methodology by forum participants. It concludes with a reflection by the official languages research team at the Department of Canadian Heritage.

The *Official Languages Research Forum* was a first effort to disseminate data from the 2002 GPC survey within government circles and the associative and academic communities. This publication marks a second step in this direction by the Department of Canadian Heritage and Réseau de la recherche sur la francophonie canadienne in the hopes that making data available will encourage other researchers to conduct further analyses of their own.

1. REGIONAL DIVERSITY AND POLITICAL INEQUALITY: OFFICIAL LANGUAGE MINORITIES AND THE PROBLEM OF DOUBLE STANDARDS

Edmund A. Auger,
Professor of Political Science,
Faculté Saint-Jean, University of Alberta

INTRODUCTION

In Canada, comparing majority and minority groups, Anglophones and Francophones, founding peoples and immigrants, and rich and poor provinces has become a national sport. Matches are hotly contested, cries of foul play are frequent, and players are fervently committed. Comparing minorities with other minorities by language, origin, or province—a lively variation of this game—may not have as many devotees, but it arouses just as much emotion.

In 1978 Francine Lalonde wrote a “shocking” report on behalf of the Fédération des francophones hors Québec entitled *Deux poids, deux mesures: les francophones hors Québec et les anglophones au Québec* to draw attention to the disadvantages facing Francophone minorities. According to Lalonde (1978, p. 59), “Quebec Anglophones have always been treated not only with fairness, but with decency and even respect. Francophones living outside Quebec have found themselves in exactly the opposite situation—their acquired rights were stripped away, their legitimate aspirations ignored, and

their language mocked.”* Lalonde observed that Anglophones possessed linguistic vitality and high incomes, but she highlighted their access to services in English. Unlike Francophones outside Quebec, the Anglophone minority controlled its own network of educational institutions and could claim a complete range of English-language media, legal, social, and health services.

Twelve years later, journalist Jean-Pierre Proulx (1990a, p. 1) began a series of articles entitled “Deux minorités, deux mesures” with the assertion that “regardless of how you look at it, Anglo-Quebecers are better off than Francophones outside Quebec.” According to Proulx, this conclusion was inescapable not only because of the Anglophone minority’s linguistic continuity and high income, but also because of its educational, healthcare, social, cultural, and economic institutions. However, of all these institutions and public services, he ranked access to schooling in one’s own language as the most important. Proulx (1990b, p. 8) noted that the Anglophone minority in Quebec could claim “360 primary and secondary institutions, including 298 exclusively,” whereas in Western Canada “French schools are more a dream than a reality.” He also documented glaring disparities in healthcare and social services, cultural and media products.

In 1993, Scott Reid, then a Reform Party researcher, now a Conservative member of Parliament, turned the “double standard” problem on its head, declaring that the Francophone minorities were the spoiled children of the federal system and that the Anglophone minority was the true victim of discrimination. In his book *Lament for a Notion: The Life and Death of Canada’s Bilingual Dream*, Reid (1993, p. 63) deplored what he called “the victory of asymmetrical bilingualism,” where “the Canadian government actively promotes enforced bilingualism in nine provinces, and tolerates enforced French-only unilingualism in Quebec.” In his opinion, the federal policy was far from equitable, giving preferential treatment to Francophones at the expense of Anglophones. On the one hand, the government was intervening to assimilate a perfectly viable minority—the Anglophones; on the other, it was supporting Francophone minorities who were already a lost cause. In a caustic critique of the “oppressors of English rights in Quebec,” Reid (1993, p. 78) complained that “every new imposition against Quebec’s minorities seemed to incite instead an equal and opposite act of generosity towards French-speakers in the other nine provinces, no matter how small, how demographically unstable or how thoroughly assimilated they might be.”

Political scientist Garth Stevenson took a more measured look at the Anglophone minority and its status and evolution in his book *Community Besieged: The Anglophone Minority and the Politics of Québec*. According to

*. Our translation. We have also translated subsequent quotations from French-language texts.

Stevenson (1999), the major social transformations that accompanied the Quiet Revolution also contributed to the decline of the once privileged and powerful Anglophone community. Anglo-Quebecers no longer control the province's economic institutions, and their incomes are no longer above average. Enrollment in English schools, circulation of English newspapers, and access to English healthcare have all decreased. As a result, Anglophones experience "considerable inconvenience and psychological discomfort" and even "inevitable resentment" (Stevenson 1999, p. 309).

In this paper, we will examine in greater detail the Francophone and Anglophone minorities in Canada, their demolinguistic and socioeconomic circumstances, and, in particular, their access to and satisfaction with public services. During the past thirty years, the relative status of these minorities has rarely been studied, has often been contested, and has certainly evolved. The Anglophone minority has seen a decline in number and status, and most likely in wealth and services as well. The Francophone minorities, orphans of an earlier French Canada, are fragmented into new regional realities. (See, for example, the portraits drawn in the book *Francophonies minoritaires au Canada*, edited by Joseph-Yvon Thériault.) To capture this regional diversity, we will distinguish three minority Francophone communities, defined regionally as the West, Ontario, and the East. We anticipate finding significant differences between the Francophone and Anglophone minorities, but also between West and East, and between centre and periphery.

In order to document demolinguistic and socioeconomic divergences between these regions, we will rely on the 2001 census results, the most reliable source available. However, for the analysis of perceived political inequality, we will draw primarily from the GPC survey of 2,001 minority respondents. We have weighted the survey responses, to compensate for methodological biases, and to build more accurate regional profiles¹. Because of its limited size, the sample cannot be used to generalize concerning individual provinces, with the exception of Ontario and Quebec. We will also rely on objective measures, taken from official sources, to demonstrate inequalities in the access to minority language services.

1. This approach is described in our article titled: GPC Survey sample characteristics, included in Chapter 5 of this publication

REGIONAL DIVERSITY

The comparison of these official language minority groups reveals significant, and at times unexpected, regional diversity. There is, of course, a certain disparity between Francophone and Anglophone minorities. Anglo-Quebecers have always displayed greater ethnic, religious, and linguistic heterogeneity, but they no longer possess their once legendary socioeconomic superiority. Francophone minorities are experiencing a period of change as they become increasingly heterogeneous, educated, and cosmopolitan. Nevertheless, this change is not universal and Francophones exhibit considerable regional variation—from the vibrant, disparate and anglo-dominant West, to the stable, uniform franco-dominant East. In many respects, the Francophone communities are more distant from each other than they are from the Anglophone minority.

However, these observations must be tempered with the acknowledgment that our points of reference have also changed. In this study, minorities are defined by their first official language and not by their mother tongue, as was the case in the past. The 1991 *Official Languages Regulation (Communications with and Services to the Public)* favoured this definition, developed a few years earlier by Statistics Canada, in order to better target the population most likely to use minority-language services. An individual's first official language was estimated from his responses to three questions on: knowledge of official languages, mother tongue, and language spoken at home.² However, the GPC survey used a single question to determine the official language: "Regardless of the other languages you speak, which of the two languages, English or French, do you consider your first official language?"

2. The Treasury Board of Canada (2003, p. 2) summarizes the derivation method as follows: "The first step in the derivation of this variable is to examine the respondent's answers provided on knowledge of English and French. A person who speaks only English has English assigned as first official language while a person who speaks only French has French assigned. If the person speaks both English and French, then the mother tongue is examined. If the mother tongue is English, then English is considered the first official language spoken. Thus, a person who speaks English and French, and whose mother tongue is French, would have French assigned as the first official language spoken. If the respondent speaks both English and French and indicates English and French as mother tongue, then the language spoken at home is used to assign the first official language spoken."

Geographic Comparisons

Of all the regional divergences that differentiate official language minorities, local concentration is among the most significant. As we move from west to east, the level of minority concentration increases from weak to strong. In the West, Francophones are a small minority, even locally. Most (83%) live in census subdivisions where they make up less than 5% of the population. Very few (2%) live in localities where they amount to more than half the population. Conversely, in the East, the pattern is inverted, and Francophones are usually a local majority. Very few (8%) live in subdivisions where they make up less than 5% of the population. Most (71%) live in localities where they count for more than half.

Ontario and Quebec rank between these two extremes, following an orderly progression from west to east. In Ontario, 36% of Francophones live in localities where they constitute less than 5% of the population, but only 13% where they are a local majority. In Quebec, 6% of Anglophones live in localities where they make up less than 5%, but 24% where they are a local majority.

Inevitably, these geolinguistic variations have an influence on regional diversity as well as political inequality.

Table 1.0 Local concentration. Comparison of regional minorities according to their proportions in census subdivisions, 2001

Local Concentration Level	Francophone Minorities			Anglophone Minority	Total: All Minorities
	West	Ontario	East	Quebec	Canada
0–9%	88%	38%	14%	10%	26%
10–29%	7%	41%	3%	46%	35%
30–49%	3%	8%	11%	20%	14%
50–69%	2%	8%	11%	7%	8%
70–89%	--	4%	21%	16%	12%
90–100%	0%	1%	39%	1%	6%
Total	100%	100%	99%	100%	101%
N	192,325	565,510	281,095	1,009,185	2,048,115

$V = 0.47$

Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2001

Note : In this table and elsewhere, the number of Francophones is the total of all those who have French as their first official language, whether it be their only official language or not. The number of minority Anglophones has been defined in like manner. Thus, the 1 009 185 Anglophones listed for Quebec is the total of 828 730 (English, sole official language) and 180 455 (English and French, two official languages).

Demographic Comparisons

Each of the minorities exhibit an age structure associated with demographic decline. None have succeeded in sowing the seeds of their renewal: the new generation, aged 19 years and under, is not sufficiently large to replace the preceding generation, now aged 20 to 39. This trend is most problematic in the West where the median Francophone age is 44, and least serious in Quebec where the median Anglophone age is 37.

On the other hand, the four minority groups have responded quite differently to migratory opportunities. Western Francophones seem to be the most mobile, with the majority no longer residing in their province of birth, whereas Eastern Francophones are the most stable, with the great majority still living in their native province. In comparison, Anglo-Quebecers draw much more on the foreign born—35% are immigrants. Nevertheless, 16% of Western and Ontario Francophones were also born abroad.

Table 1.1 Generations. Comparison of regional minorities by age categories

Age	Francophone Minorities			Anglophone Minority	Total: All Minorities
	West	Ontario	East	Quebec	Canada
0–19	15%	21%	21%	24%	22%
20–39	27%	29%	28%	32%	30%
40–59	35%	32%	33%	28%	30%
60 and over	23%	19%	19%	17%	18%
Total	100%	101%	101%	101%	100%
Median	43.7	40.1	40.6	37.0	39.0
N	192,345	565,510	281,100	1,009,185	2,048,140

V = 0.05

Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2001

Table 1.2 Migration. Comparison of regional minorities (permanent residents) by place of birth and residence

Place of Birth and Residence	Francophone Minorities			Anglophone Minority	Total: All Minorities
	West	Ontario	East	Quebec	Canada
Same province	41%	59%	87%	54%	59%
Another province	43%	26%	11%	11%	18%
Another country	16%	16%	2%	35%	23%
Total	100%	101%	100%	100%	100%
N	190,960	561,280	280,530	990,000	2,022,770

V = 0.27

Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2001

Socioeconomic Comparisons

The one-time socioeconomic superiority of Anglo-Quebecers no longer exists. In fact, minorities in the West, Ontario, and Quebec share a very similar profile, with Eastern Francophones being the exception. The first three groups have attained approximately the same levels of schooling, although the Quebec minority has a slight advantage at the university level. Acadians have less formal education than the average.

These same trends are repeated in the economic sector. Minorities work largely in the service industry, the Acadians less so. Franco-Ontarians have the highest incomes, with an average of \$32,300; Western Francophones and Quebec Anglophones follow at \$29,700 and \$28,900, respectively; whereas Acadians are a somewhat distant fourth at \$23,000.

Table 1.3 Schooling. Comparison of regional minorities (age 15 and over) by highest level of formal education

Level of Education	Francophone Minorities			Anglophone Minority	Total: All Minorities
	West	Ontario	East	Quebec	Canada
Elementary	10%	11%	21%	11%	12%
Secondary	31%	34%	35%	30%	32%
College	34%	30%	27%	30%	30%
University	25%	24%	17%	29%	26%
Total	100%	99%	100%	100%	100%
N	173,850	481,795	239,720	836,000	1,731,365

V = 0.08

Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2001

Table 1.4 Income. Comparison of regional minorities (age 15 and over) by personal income

Income Level (\$)	Francophone Minorities			Anglophone Minority	Total: All Minorities
	West	Ontario	East	Quebec	Canada
0–9,999	23%	25%	31%	31%	29%
10,000–19,999	23%	20%	27%	22%	22%
20,000–29,999	16%	13%	17%	15%	15%
30,000–39,999	13%	13%	10%	11%	12%
40,000–49,999	9%	10%	7%	7%	8%
50,000 and over	17%	19%	9%	14%	15%
Total	101%	100%	101%	100%	101%
Mean	\$29,742	\$32,301	\$22,987	\$28,923	\$29,124
Median	\$23,209	\$25,011	\$17,329	\$19,997	\$21,346
N	173,700	481,795	239,625	836,010	1,731,130

V = 0.07

Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2001

Ethnocultural Comparisons

Of the four minorities, the Eastern Francophones have remained the most homogeneous in their ethnic and religious roots, no doubt due to lower levels of immigration. Quebec's Anglophone community is the most diversified, with visible minorities constituting 23% and Aboriginals 3% of the population. Anglo-Quebecers represent various religious denominations, especially Catholic (43%), but also Protestant (21%), Jewish (7%), and Muslim (5%).

Western and Ontario Francophone minorities have experienced an increase in their ethnocultural diversity, primarily due to an influx of immigrants from member-countries of the international Francophonie. The Aboriginal presence is still significant in the West and is probably underestimated. Scarcely a century ago, the majority of Western Francophones were Métis.

Table 1.5 Ethnic visibility. Comparison of regional minorities by visible group

Visible Group	Francophone Minorities			Anglophone Minority Quebec	Total: All Minorities Canada
	West	Ontario	East		
Caucasian	85%	87%	97%	75%	82%
Asian	6%	4%	–	13%	8%
Black	1%	3%	–	4%	3%
Aboriginal	6%	2%	2%	3%	3%
Arab	1%	2%	–	3%	2%
Latin-Amer.	1%	1%	–	2%	1%
Other	–	–	–	1%	1%
Total	100%	99%	99%	101%	100%
N	192,325	565,510	281,095	1,009,185	2,048,115

V = 0.14

Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2001

Table 1.6 Religion. Comparison of regional minorities by religious denomination

Religion	Francophone Minorities			Anglophone Minority Quebec	Total: All Minorities Canada
	West	Ontario	East		
Catholic	72%	80%	95%	43%	63%
Protestant	7%	5%	2%	21%	13%
Christian, n.i.e.	4%	4%	1%	9%	6%
Jewish	–	1%	–	7%	4%
Muslim	2%	3%	–	5%	3%
Other	3%	2%	–	5%	3%
None	13%	6%	2%	10%	8%
Total	101%	101%	100%	100%	100%
N	192,330	565,515	281,105	1,009,180	2,048,130

V = 0.26

Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2001

Linguistic Comparisons

By definition, the minorities differ from each other on linguistic grounds—Francophones are never unilingual English-speakers, and Anglophones are never unilingual French-speakers. Nevertheless, they greatly resemble each other in their bilingualism. This trait is almost universal in the West, where 97% of the minority population speak French and English, and quite widespread in Quebec, where 68% speak both languages.

Mother tongue is the source of the greatest differences. Anglo-Quebecers, for the most part, list English as their mother tongue, but an impressive percentage (40%) cites a third language, i.e. neither English nor French. Francophone minorities overwhelmingly list French as their mother tongue, especially in the East. However, Francophones with a third language as their mother tongue are increasingly present in the West and Ontario, where they number 13% and 14%, respectively.

With respect to the language most frequently spoken at home, 83% of Eastern Francophones use their first official language, as do 64% of Quebec Anglophones and 50% of Franco-Ontarians, but only 29% of Western Francophones. Similarly, for the language used most often at work, a majority of Eastern Francophones and Anglo-Quebecers, 61% and 60% respectively, claim their own official language. On the other hand, a large majority of Western and Ontario Francophones, 85% and 67% respectively, work in the English language.

The 2001 census portrays a Canada indelibly marked by its regional diversity. Eastern Francophones, territorially concentrated and very homogeneous in their ethnocultural roots, use their language both at home and at work. Quebec Anglophones, originating from diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds, also succeed in using their official language. Franco-Ontarians, relatively homogeneous but characterized by a growing multiculturalism, live in an English-language work world. Western Francophones, geographically dispersed and often hailing from other provinces, are more fully integrated into the English-speaking majority.

Table 1.7 Official language. Comparison of regional minorities by knowledge of official languages

Official Language	Francophone Minorities			Anglophone Minority Quebec	Total: All Minorities Canada
	West	Ontario	East		
English only	0%	0%	0%	32%	16%
French only	3%	8%	24%	0%	6%
English and French	97%	92%	76%	68%	78%
Neither English nor French	–	–	–	–	–
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	192,325	565,515	281,100	1,009,180	2,048,130

V = 0.31

Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2001

Table 1.8 Mother tongue. Comparison of regional minorities by mother tongue

Mother Tongue	Francophone Minorities			Anglophone Minority Quebec	Total: All Minorities Canada
	West	Ontario	East		
English	–	–	–	55%	27%
French	85%	83%	98%	–	44%
Other	13%	14%	1%	40%	25%
Multiple	3%	3%	1%	5%	4%
Total	101%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	192,325	565,515	281,100	1,009,180	2,048,130

V = 0.52

Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2001

Table 1.9 Home language. Comparison of regional minorities by language most often spoken at home

Home Language	Francophone Minorities			Anglophone Minority	Total: All Minorities
	West	Ontario	East	Quebec	Canada
English	55%	32%	15%	64%	48%
French	29%	50%	83%	5%	30%
Other	12%	13%	1%	25%	17%
Two	5%	5%	2%	7%	6%
Total	101%	100%	101%	101%	101%
N	192,325	565,520	281,100	1,009,180	2,048,125

V = 0.36

Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2001

Table 1.10 Work language. Comparison of regional minorities (age 15 and over who have been working since January 1) by language most often used at work

Language Spoken at Work	Francophone Minorities			Anglophone Minority	Total: All Minorities
	West	Ontario	East	Quebec	Canada
English	85%	67%	30%	60%	60%
French	11%	23%	61%	24%	27%
Other	1%	1%	–	3%	2%
Two	4%	10%	9%	14%	11%
Total	101%	101%	100%	101%	100%
N	124,505	332,815	160,540	562,595	1,180,455

V = 0.20

Source: Statistics Canada, Census 2001

POLITICAL INEQUALITIES

Do minority language services constitute examples of “double standards” and “asymmetrical bilingualism”? Do public policies grant unfair advantages to some minorities, at the expense of others? To answer these questions, we will first examine objective data on bilingual services and minority schools. Then we will review the GPC survey responses regarding the accessibility of services in the minority language and the satisfaction levels of minorities using these services.

Comparison of Services

The *Official Languages Act* requires federal institutions to offer services in the minority language when there is, among other things, significant demand. The *Official Languages Regulation* defines such demand according to the absolute size, the specific character and the relative proportion of the minority community. Using these criteria, at least 29% of federal government offices and service points in three of the four regions are required to offer services in the two official languages. The West—the only region below the Canadian average—is the exception, bringing up the rear with only 17%. However, these figures can be deceptive because they do not take into consideration the total number of offices or the total minority population. In fact, on the whole, official language minorities boast two bilingual offices per one thousand people, but contrary to our expectations, it is Western Francophones who are the most well served, with four offices per thousand, and Quebec Anglophones the least, with one per thousand.

In the legislative provisions, the responsibility for offering bilingual services is assigned to federal offices and service points. In practice, however, the actual availability of these services depends more on individual public servants and their positions. Thus, the proportion of bilingual positions, rather than bilingual offices, constitutes the best indicator of access to public services in the minority language. It is quite revealing, for example, that the West has only 8 federal positions requiring knowledge of the minority language, and Quebec only 10 positions, for every one thousand members of the minority community. Ontario, on the other hand, has 63 bilingual or French-language positions per thousand population, due largely to the presence of the National Capital Region.

Without a doubt, education is the public service that minorities value most highly. Anglo-Quebecers have long enjoyed access to schooling in their language and under their management, but have recently lost this head start. They now have proportionately fewer schools and students than either the Franco-Ontarians or the Acadians. This can be attributed in part to the admission barriers erected since 1977 by the Quebec *Charter of the French Language*. In stark contrast, Western Francophones battled for more than a century to obtain French-language schooling but they now boast, on a proportional basis, the largest number of minority schools. Unfortunately, only half their school-aged children attend these schools.

Table 1.11 Government services. Regional comparison of access to federal government services in the minority official language

Federal Government Offices	Francophone Minorities			Anglophone Minority Quebec	Total: All Minorities Canada
	West	Ontario	East		
Offices with bilingual obligation¹:					
<i>N</i>	803	1,096	725	786	3,410
Per thousand minority members	4	2	3	1	2
Offices with bilingual capacity²:					
<i>N</i>	493	823	503	723	2,542
Per thousand minority members	3	1	2	1	1
Designated minority language positions³:					
<i>N</i>	1,452	35,756	3,524	10,201	50,933
Per thousand minority members	8	63	13	10	25
Employees with bilingual competency⁴:					
<i>N</i>	1,059	24,861	2,564	4,427	32,911
Per thousand minority members	6	44	9	4	16

Note: In the above table, Ontario also includes the National Capital Region (NCR).

1. Offices with bilingual obligation are offices and service points that, according to the *Official Languages Regulation*, must offer services in both official languages. Source: Treasury Board of Canada, 2001.
2. Offices with bilingual capacity are offices and service points that, according to an audit by the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, actually meet the bilingual requirement. Source: Mattar & Gratton, 2001.
3. Designated minority language positions are the total number of bilingual and primarily minority language positions. Source: Treasury Board of Canada, 2001.
4. Employees with bilingual competency are all those who have attained the highest level (Level C), including those who are exempt from re-evaluation. Source: Treasury Board of Canada, 2001.

Table 1.12 Minority schools. Regional comparison of minority schools, their teachers and their students

Minority Schools	Francophone Minorities			Anglophone Minority Quebec	Total: All Minorities Canada
	West	Ontario	East		
Schools					
<i>N</i>	109	415	142	408	1,074
Per thousand minority youths	5	4	3	2	3
Teachers					
<i>N</i>	1,072	5,416	2,660	10,724	19,872
Per thousand minority youths	45	55	56	57	55
Students					
<i>N</i>	12,418	87,534	43,320	158,920	302,192
Per thousand minority youths	520	892	904	849	841

Note: To account for variations in the education systems, we have reduced the total number of students in Ontario by 1/14 and increased the number in Quebec by 1/12. "Minority youths" are defined as those age 5 to 19.

Sources: Association canadienne d'éducation de langue française (2002) and Québec, Ministère de l'Éducation (2003).

Comparisons of Perceptions

Inequalities are reflected in perceptions. Western Francophones, for example, have the poorest access to minority-language services; they also have the most negative perceptions of these services.

In 2003, the Department of Justice released the results of a survey of minority lawyers regarding access to legal services in the minority language. In the West, only one-third claimed that access was easy, compared to 81% in the East. There were striking extremes—British Columbia's performance was perceived as poor, New Brunswick's as excellent. Quebec no longer held the top position for its minority services, but its perceived performance remained well above the Canadian average.

Perceptions reported in the GPC survey follow the same trends, with a few minor differences. For example, although Western Francophones continued to rank below the Canadian average in their perceived access to minority services, the gap was not as huge. However, Quebec Anglophones also ranked below average in their perceived access, and at times as poorly as the West.

On a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 being “no access” and 10 “full access,” Western Francophones rated their minority-language services at 5.6, Franco-Ontarians and Anglo-Quebecers rated theirs at 6.8, and Eastern Francophones at 7.9. Nevertheless, in a particularly striking anomaly, Western Francophones rated their access to minority-language schooling at 7.4, whereas Quebec Anglophones placed theirs lower, at 7.2. This surprising result cannot be understood without considering recent changes in the education sector, notably the remarkable victories won by Western Francophones and the significant setbacks suffered by Quebec Anglophones. Indeed, in response to the GPC survey, Western Francophones declared that minority-language instruction had changed for the better over the previous five years, while Quebec Anglophones asserted the opposite.

Three of the four minority groups were in agreement with regard to the federal government’s performance in their communities, giving it a passing grade of 5.7. Western Francophones were the only dissenters. There was much less consensus on provincial policies. New Brunswick Francophones were favourably disposed to their provincial government, giving it a ranking of 6.7. Quebec Anglophones expressed their dissatisfaction with a score of 3.4. The perceptions of municipal governments were clearly correlated with minority concentrations. Hence, Eastern Francophones saw good service from their local governments; Western Francophones perceived poor service. Nevertheless, on the whole, minorities were far from granting their governments a vote of confidence, with the average rating being a mediocre 5.4 out of 10. The West and Quebec were the harshest in this respect, giving ratings of 4.4 and 4.7, respectively.

Quebec was the only region where a majority felt that they had inferior access to public sector jobs, although many Eastern Francophones also felt that their chances were low. In Ontario responses were quite mixed, whereas in the West Francophones saw themselves as having a slight advantage.

Table 1.13 Legal services. Regional comparison of minority lawyers' perceptions of services and documents in the minority language

Percentage of lawyers who find services and documents easily accessible					
Services and documents (includes Offices)	Francophone Minorities			Anglophone Minority Quebec	Total: All Minorities Canada
	West	Ontario	East		
Judges	26%	64%	82%	96%	78%
Officers of the court	16%	51%	83%	68%	61%
Administrative officials	6%	49%	78%	47%	48%
Prosecutors	27%	59%	84%	100%	79%
Interpreters	51%	76%	86%	72%	73%
Legal proceedings	53%	63%	76%	77%	71%
Legislation	59%	76%	92%	92%	84%
Case law	31%	40%	63%	56%	50%
Mean ¹	34%	60%	81%	76%	68%
CL	54	71	52	52	229

1. The number of respondents per province was not proportional to the number of minorities.

We therefore weighted the responses accordingly when calculating regional and national means.

Source: Department of Justice Canada (2003)

Table 1.14 Public services. Regional comparison of minority perceptions of services offered in their language

Mean responses regarding accessibility, on a scale of 0 to 10						
Type of Service	Francophone Minorities			Anglophone Minority Quebec	Total: All Minorities Canada	Avona F
	West	Ontario	East			
Daycare and preschool	6.8	7.0	8.3	6.3	6.9	33.0
Primary and Secondary	7.4	8.2	8.5	7.2	7.7	28.5
Post-secondary	5.9	7.0	8.1	7.0	7.1	20.7
Healthcare services	4.7	6.6	7.8	6.6	6.6	45.2
Legal	4.6	6.2	7.4	5.6	6.0	32.7
Employment	5.5	6.5	7.8	5.6	6.1	52.7
Media	5.9	6.7	7.7	7.6	7.2	35.5
Sports and leisure	4.2	6.0	7.7	6.7	6.4	56.4
Arts and culture	4.9	6.0	7.1	6.5	6.3	28.4
Overall	5.6	6.8	7.9	6.8	6.9	29.9
N ¹	188	551	278	984	2,001	

1. The figures for the total number of respondents only apply to the category "overall."

Source: GPC International Survey, 2002. Q 10B1) And how would you rate the access to services in the following areas in "EnglishFrench"?

Table 1.15 Government performance. Regional comparison of minority perceptions of government performance in regard to their linguistic community, by level of government

Mean perceptions of government performance, on a scale of 0 to 10						
Level of Government	Francophone Minorities			Anglophone Minority	Total: All Minorities	Avona
	West	Ontario	East	Quebec	Canada	F
Federal	4.9	6.2	6.2	5.4	5.7	21.1
Provincial	4.2	5.2	6.7	3.4	4.5	126.0
Municipal	4.1	5.8	7.0	5.2	5.5	41.8
Mean	4.4	5.7	6.6	4.7	5.2	66.9
CL	179	519	269	941	1,908	

Source: GPC International Survey, 2002. Questions 13ABC

Table 1.16 Public sector jobs. Regional comparison of minority perceptions of their access to public sector jobs, relative to majority access, by degree of accessibility

Comparative Degree of Access	Francophone Minorities			Anglophone Minority	Total: All Minorities
	West	Ontario	East	Quebec	Canada
Greatly superior	6%	7%	6%	2%	4%
Somewhat superior	27%	19%	13%	3%	11%
About the same	46%	46%	38%	29%	36%
Somewhat inferior	15%	21%	28%	38%	30%
Greatly inferior	7%	7%	15%	28%	19%
Total	101%	100%	100%	100%	100%
CL	162	517	265	906	1,850

V = 0.24
 Source: GPC International Survey, 2002. Q 19B) Compared to members of the "Francophone/Anglophone" community, would you say that "Anglophone/Francophone" have greatly superior, somewhat superior, somewhat inferior, greatly inferior or about the same access to jobs within the Government of Canada?

Comparison of Levels of Satisfaction

The level of satisfaction with government services closely mirrors perceptions of accessibility. This says a great deal about life as a minority, when access to a service in one's own language is enough to justify satisfaction with that service.

Table 1.17 Public services. Regional comparison of minority satisfaction levels with respect to services offered in their language, by type of service

Mean levels of satisfaction, on a scale of 0 to 10						
Type of Service	Francophone Minorities			Anglophone Minority	Total: All Minorities Canada	Avona F
	West	Ontario	East	Quebec		
Daycare and preschool	6.8	7.1	8.3	6.4	6.9	27.9
Primary and secondary	7.8	8.3	8.6	7.1	7.7	39.5
Post-secondary	5.6	7.3	8.2	6.9	7.1	33.0
Healthcare services	4.8	6.7	7.8	6.6	6.7	40.6
Legal	4.8	6.4	7.4	5.7	6.1	30.5
Employment	5.0	6.7	7.7	5.6	6.1	53.2
Media	5.9	6.8	7.8	7.9	7.4	50.7
Sports and leisure	4.8	6.3	7.8	6.5	6.5	37.4
Arts and culture	4.7	5.9	7.2	6.5	6.3	28.6
Overall	5.8	7.3	7.7	6.5	6.9	31.2
CL ¹	188	551	278	984	2,001	

1. The figures for the total number of respondents only apply to the category "overall."

Source: GPC International Survey, 2002.Q 9B1) *And how satisfied are you with the services offered in your region in "EnglishFrench" within the following areas?*

CONCLUSION

Official language minorities are characterized by certain shared qualities, but especially by their regional diversity. Western Francophones—dispersed, mobile, and bilingual—live predominantly in English. Franco-Ontarians—more deeply rooted but also bilingual—live in English and French. Quebec Anglophones—cosmopolitan and often bilingual—live mostly in English. Eastern Francophones—concentrated on the north shore of New Brunswick, homogeneous and usually bilingual—live mostly in French.

For Francophone minorities, access to French-language services varies from one region to another, moving from the West, suffering a clear dearth, to Ontario, receiving a mixed bag, and on to the East, enjoying a large panoply. For Quebec Anglophones, the situation is increasingly hazy, the decline in English-language services having planted seeds of disappointment, uncertainty, and bitterness.

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1.1 DISCUSSION

Nota : Because presentations generated lively discussion among Forum participants, we have decided to include the most relevant dialogue and comments in the *Discussion* section of each chapter. Comments, questions, and thoughts on survey methodology are included in 5.3 of Chapter 5.

Matthieu Brennan

I have a question about M. Auger’s talk. In the study do we see the Anglophone minority beginning to think like a minority? Anglophones have long been part of a Canadian anglophone majority, yet the study refers to the debates of 1970, 1976–1978, with the election of the Parti Québécois and *Deux poids deux mesures...*” Does this phenomenon appear in the survey itself?

William Floch

I think so. However, we didn’t ask questions like, “Do you consider yourself part of the minority or the majority?” but in the analysis I think it is possible to show the major trends.



Jack Jedwab

To get back to the question asked earlier about an Anglophone minority mindset, ideally we should have conducted similar surveys thirty years ago with a series of 5 or 6 questions to help us trace changes in Anglophone and Francophone attitudes. Without this, it is hard to talk about the evolution of Anglophone community mentalities from 1970 to today, especially since the Anglophone community has actually changed a great deal in terms of its ethno-cultural composition, etc. This does not mean that in the current context I suggest repeating this type of survey every three years, like the Giving, Volunteering, Participating style of survey. To really make this comparison, we would have needed earlier surveys to refer to.

2. MINORITY AND MAJORITY CONFIDENCE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGE COMMUNITIES

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INTRODUCTION

Demolinguistic data since 1961 suggests that English in Quebec and French outside Quebec are endangered languages. The linguistic polarization of “French in Quebec/English elsewhere” that federal and community bodies have tried to curb since the 1960s seems quite persistent. This data could reduce the confidence of members of minority linguistic communities in Canada.

On one hand, the Quebec Anglophone community has clearly declined, both in number and in proportion of the provincial population. In 1961, using the mother tongue definition, there were 697,402 Anglophones in Quebec versus 627,505 in 2001, a 10% decrease. Consequently, the proportion of English mother tongue Quebecers declined from 13.3% in 1961 to 8.8% in 2001. If these trends continue, the Quebec Anglophone community will drop below 600,000 in 2021 and represent less than 6% of the provincial population.

On the other hand, the number of Francophones living outside Quebec has increased since 1961, but we noted a decline in their demographic significance within Canada and their respective provinces. This Francophone population increased from 853,462 in 1961 to 975,960 in 2001, a 14% jump. However, its proportion of the national population declined from 4.7% in 1961 to 3.3% in 2001. If the trends continue, the number of Francophones living outside Quebec will exceed one million in 2021 but represent less than 2.5% of the Canadian population. Even if we include Francophone Quebecers, the proportion will continue to decline. While Francophones represented 28.1% of the Canadian population in 1961, they will represent only about 20% of Canadians in one generation.

But the numbers do not tell the whole story. Quantitative polarisation does not necessarily mean qualitative polarisation. Federal and community initiatives by both minorities and their majority compatriots since the 1960s may not have completely stemmed the demolingistic decline of minorities, but they have probably reduced it. Various public services for linguistic minorities, including educational programs at minority schools, are now common throughout the country. Recent victories in education rights (*Arsenault-Cameron vs. PEI* 2000, *Doucet-Boudreau vs. Nova Scotia* 2003) and hospital rights (*Lalonde vs. Ontario* 1999) point to additional progress. Today, twice as many volunteer organizations are working to develop minority official language communities than was the case forty years ago. Last, the large number of majority members who have taken immersion courses, among other things, has increased not only the number of bilingual Canadians—the 2,231,172 bilingual Canadians in 1961 represented 12.2% of the population; the 5,231,575 bilingual Canadians in 2001 represented 17.7% of the population—but also the majority's openness, tolerance, and implicit contribution to minority community development.

Our report is divided into three sections. The first presents general data on three identical questions that measure the respective confidence of the two minority linguistic communities and the two majority linguistic communities. The second presents general data on seventeen questions that measure the confidence of the two minority communities. The third presents significant differences in these confidence measures.

Section I: MINORITY AND MAJORITY CONFIDENCE

The questionnaire completed by 863 Quebec Anglophones and 1,138 Francophones from outside Quebec did not include the same questions as the one completed by 210 Quebec Francophones and 943 Anglophones from other provinces. The questionnaire administered to 2,001 minority members had 140 questions, while that administered to 1,153 majority members had 48. However, all respondents were asked three similar questions. The second part of this first section presents general data on the seventeen questions posed to 2,001 minority Anglophones and Francophones to measure their confidence in the development of their communities, while the first part presents general data on three common questions:

- 1- Compared to five years ago, and again considering only your region, is the “Anglophone/Francophone” attitude regarding the “Francophone/Anglophone” community much less positive, slightly less positive, slightly more positive, much more positive, or about the same?
- 2- Relations between Francophones and Anglophones in my region are more positive today than ten years ago.
- 3- The future of French in Canada is threatened.

Table 2.0 below presents general data for each of these three questions.

Table 2.0 General Data on the Three Similar Questions

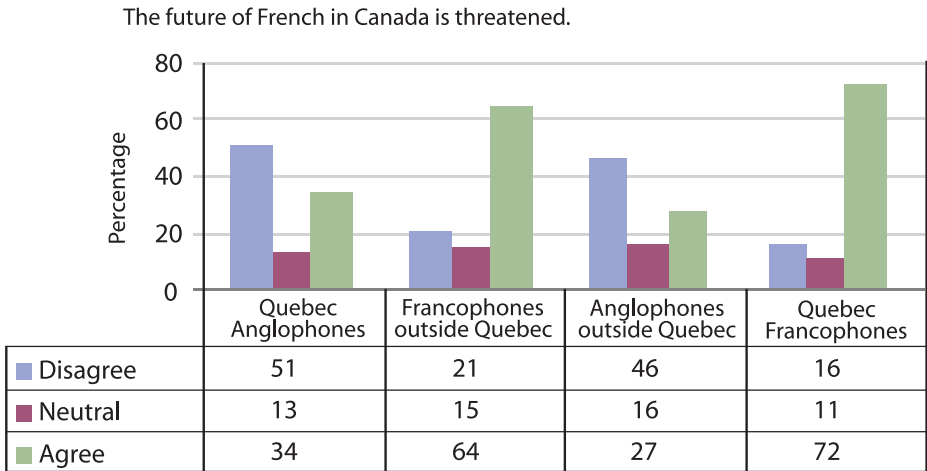
Answers Questions	Less Positive or Disagree	Same Attitude or Neutral	More Positive or Agree
Compared to five years ago, and again considering only your region, is the majority attitude regarding the minority community much less positive, slightly less positive, slightly more positive, much more positive, or about the same?	15%	48%	29%
Relations between Francophones and Anglophones in my region are more positive today than ten years ago.	13%	17%	64%
The future of French in Canada is threatened.	37%	14%	45%

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 6J, 22F, 22R

In general, Canadians seem confident that the minority official language communities will survive and develop in the future. First, twice as many respondents indicated that the majority attitude regarding the minority is “more positive” than five years ago, compared to those who indicated that this attitude was “less positive.” However, the high rate of responses indicating the “same attitude” as in 1996 may reduce minority confidence: If the attitude in 1996 was positive, minorities can take heart; if the attitude at that time was negative, there is no cause for celebration. Next, five times as many respondents indicated that relations between the two linguistic groups have improved since 1991. Last, 45% of respondents think the French language is threatened in Canada, while 37% believe the contrary. This does not bode well for the minorities.

However, this significant difference for the third question deserves a closer look. It is difficult to establish an obvious correlation between the responses regarding the perception of the future of French in Canada and respondents' confidence in its survival in the country. Figure 2.0 clearly illustrates this difference.

Figure 2.0 Future of French in Canada According to the Four Linguistic Communities



Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 22R

It is certainly possible to establish such a link: The negative perception of most minority respondents suggests they lack confidence in the survival of French in Canada. But how can such a link be established for Quebec Anglophones, a large majority of whom think the opposite? According to this minority, the threat to French, regardless of how much they agree it exists, has little impact on the survival of English in Quebec, an issue of greater concern to them. Conversely, the fact that a very large majority of Quebec Francophones think French is threatened in Canada can be confusing. If this answer indicates that Quebecers are insecure regarding the status of French in Quebec, it bodes ill for Quebec Anglophones, as it may result in provincial policies that favour French at the expense of English. If, on the other hand, this answer indicates that Quebecers are concerned with the status of French outside Quebec, it may bode well for Quebec Anglophones, as the Government of Quebec—reassured by the absolute and percentage increases in the Francophone population over the past two generations in Quebec—

could cooperate with other provinces to develop bilingual services, such as healthcare, for Canada's linguistic minorities, including in Quebec. Last, the fact that 41% of Anglophones outside Quebec think French is not threatened in Canada may indicate confidence in its survival but does not necessarily mean they think every effort should be made to protect it. In sum, this question—which seems to be the most logical of the three—appears the most ambiguous with regard to confidence level.

It is therefore unfortunate that the question was not divided into three distinct assertions:

- 1- The future of the French language is threatened in Quebec.
- 2- The future of the French language is threatened outside Quebec.
- 3- The future of the English language is threatened in Quebec.

Respondents who felt that French is threatened might have answered differently had they also been asked if it would survive anyway. In other words, it is not clear that a perceived threat necessarily translates into a lack of confidence and the conviction that the language and the minorities who speak it will soon disappear. To clarify, three additional or alternative questions could have been asked:

- 1- Will the French language survive in Canada until 2100?
- 2- Will the French language survive in your province until 2100?
- 3- Will the English language survive in Quebec until 2100?

These six additional items would help us better measure minority and majority respondents' confidence in the survival of the respective minorities.

Moreover, majority and minority respondents seem to have similar confidence levels. On one hand, 38% of minority respondents and 24% of majority respondents indicated that the majority attitude towards the local minority had improved since 1996, while only 15% of minority respondents and 14% of majority respondents indicated that this attitude had deteriorated in the past five years. Still, we must add two caveats to this conclusion. First, we noted a high rate of "neutral" answers to this question—44% of minority members and 55% of majority members. Next, positive answers do not necessarily mean that this attitude will improve in the years to come. A question on this topic would have provided a more valid confidence indicator.

On the other hand, 73% of minority respondents and 48% of majority respondents indicated that relations between the two groups had improved since 1991, while only 10% of minority respondents and 18% of majority respondents thought the opposite. Once again, saying that relations have improved in the past ten years does not necessarily indicate that relations will further improve in the next decade. Here too, a question on this topic would have provided a more valid confidence indicator. However, if these answers are interpreted as indicators of Canadian confidence in minority linguistic and cultural survival, minorities can take heart.

In contrast, minority and majority respondents expressed little confidence that the French language would survive. Majority respondents are divided on the issue, while minority respondents—with the exception of Quebec Anglophones—have little confidence in this regard. Majority respondents stated 41% to 39% that the French language is not threatened in Canada. However, we noted a significant difference between the responses of members of Quebec’s Francophone majority and majority Anglophones outside Quebec: Three times more Quebec Francophones fear that French will disappear in Canada, while twice as many majority Anglophones say the opposite. Minority Francophones indicated 64% to 21% that French is threatened, while 51% to 34% of Quebec Anglophones believe the French language is not threatened. We therefore note two separate discourses: A significant number of Francophones across the country fear for the survival of their language, while a significant number of Anglophones perceive no threat.

The tables below present the general data and allow for comparison with the two other questions posed to all four linguistic communities.

Tableau 2.1 Local Majority Attitudes Towards the Minority Since 1996

<i>Respondents</i>	<i>Less Positive</i>	<i>Same Attitude</i>	<i>More Positive</i>
Quebec Anglophones	17%	41%	39%
Francophones outside Quebec	14%	47%	38%
Anglophones outside Quebec	12%	56%	24%
Quebec Francophones	12%	54%	31%

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 6J

Two to three times more respondents in each of the four groups clearly believe that the local majority attitude towards the minority is “more positive” than in 1996. This should bode well for the future. However, it is not certain whether this will translate into a “more positive” attitude in the future. In addition, the high proportion of responses indicating the “same attitude” as in 1996 is troublesome. If the attitude in 1996 was positive, minorities have little to fear. If not, there is a threat.

Tableau 2.2 Francophone-Anglophone Relations Have Improved Since 1991

<i>Respondents</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Agree</i>
Quebec Anglophones	12%	13%	70%
Francophones outside Quebec	7%	13%	76%
Anglophones outside Quebec	15%	24%	65%
Quebec Francophones	12%	19%	65%

Source: Sondage GPC International, Q.22F

This indicator clearly suggests that relations between the two official language communities have improved since 1991. This is a good sign for the minorities, especially Francophones, ten times as many of whom stated that relations with their Anglophone compatriots had improved in the past ten years, than indicated the contrary. However, the assessment of the past decade does not necessarily mean that relations will improve between 2001 and 2011. An additional question on this topic would have been necessary to clearly measure their confidence.

Certain specific data also deserves our attention for each of the three questions posed to all respondents. We will present this data by theme.

First, we noted significant differences between the provinces for each of the three questions. Four provinces and territories had a far more positive view of the majority attitude towards the local minority. Majority and minority respondents indicated that the Anglophone majorities in Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, and the Yukon had a far more positive attitude than the national average. And Manitoba Anglophones had a “more positive” attitude far in excess of the national average. While the other provinces reflect the national average for both majority and minority residents, Saskatchewan stands out for its very negative Francophone perceptions of the Anglophone majority. A total of 29% of Fransaskois indicated that Anglophones in their province have a “less positive” attitude towards them than in 1996, while the national average is 15%. Only Nova Scotia, where 25% of Acadians indicated that their Anglophone compatriots had a “less positive” attitude than five years ago, comes close to the

Fransaskois lack of confidence. Oddly, in both of these provinces, the Anglophone majority showed a “less positive” response rate far below the national average of 14%—11% in Saskatchewan and 5% in Nova Scotia.

Regarding relations between minority and majority communities since 1991, we also noted similarly significant differences between more or less the same provinces. Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, and the Yukon again topped the charts from both a minority and majority perspective, boasting far more positive majority-minority relations than elsewhere. None of the 31 P.E.I. Acadians who answered the question said these relations had not improved. And Saskatchewan again produced the opposite response: 23% of Fransaskois indicated that relations had worsened since 1996, while the national average was only 10%. And although 61% of Fransaskois gave the opposite answer, this rate was far below the national average of 73%.

Last, regarding the future of the French language in Canada, the differences between provinces and territories are also notable, but the provinces that stand out are not the same. The highest confidence level among minorities was in Quebec, the only Francophone province. Fully 51% of Quebec Anglophones think the French language is not threatened, while only 34% of them believe the opposite. In all other provinces, the minority thinks the French language is threatened. In fact, pessimistic views were 2 to 83 times more common than confident opinions in the twelve other provinces and territories. Even in New Brunswick, the only bilingual province, 55% of Acadians think that French is threatened in Canada, while only 13% think the opposite. However, New Brunswick also yielded the highest percentage of positive responses, with a total of 74% of Anglophones who think French is not under threat. In comparison, only 16% of Quebec Francophones think this, while 72% of them fear that the French language is threatened in Canada.

These highly divergent responses between Francophones and Anglophones in Quebec and New Brunswick are somewhat puzzling. We would have expected New Brunswick Acadians to be more confident in the survival of the French language, not necessarily as much as their Anglophone compatriots but almost, as the rate of anglicization is very low in New Brunswick compared to the other provinces and territories. Yet they share the fear of other Francophones across the country in this regard. It is therefore not certain whether these responses provide a clear indicator of respondent confidence in the survival of the French language. New Brunswick Acadians, like all other respondents, may fear that French is in jeopardy outside their province but not necessarily everywhere.

Section II: THE CONFIDENCE OF THE TWO MINORITY COMMUNITIES

Apart from these three common questions, we measured minority confidence using seventeen other questions exploring three groups of key factors for minority community development. The first group measures minority respondent confidence in their communities and community institutions. The second group measures their confidence in community members. And the third measures minority confidence in federal and provincial government. We will present the groups one by one and draw general conclusions here; independent variables and significant correlations are presented in Section III.

Minority member confidence in their communities and community institutions

Six questions measure minority respondent confidence in their communities and the institutions dedicated to community development:

- 1- Level of confidence in the community's capacity to remain strong
- 2- Level of confidence in the community's ability to retain its young people
- 3- Level of confidence that the community will continue to exist in the future
- 4- Level of confidence in minority community leadership
- 5- Level of confidence in the representativeness of community institutions
- 6- Level of confidence in the community's ability to integrate outsiders

The following tables suggest that minority respondents are very confident in the first three indicators, the one significant exception being the Fransaskois. Whereas all other minority respondents express confidence on all three indicators (except for Nunavut regarding the retention of young people), the Fransaskois lack confidence in each one.

Table 2.3 Confidence in the Community's Capacity to Remain Strong

	Not Confident	Neutral	Confident
National average	14%	14%	71%
Newfoundland & Labrador	20%	13%	63%
Prince Edward Island	3%	13%	77%
Nova Scotia	10%	19%	60%
New Brunswick	3%	28%	82%
Quebec	17%	14%	66%
Ontario	10%	15%	76%
Manitoba	17%	12%	72%
Saskatchewan	39%	11%	39%
Alberta	15%	23%	65%
British Columbia	18%	20%	71%
Nunavut	17%	6%	83%
Northwest Territories	9%	0%	87%
Yukon	3%	4%	93%

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 6A

Table 2.4 Confidence in the Community's Ability to Retain Its Young People

	Not Confident	Neutral	Confident
National average	27%	20%	50%
Newfoundland & Labrador	40%	10%	47%
Prince Edward Island	23%	6%	68%
Nova Scotia	30%	22%	40%
New Brunswick	20%	22%	55%
Quebec	30%	19%	48%
Ontario	24%	20%	53%
Manitoba	23%	11%	66%
Saskatchewan	58%	16%	23%
Alberta	35%	38%	37%
British Columbia	29%	18%	53%
Nunavut	33%	33%	33%
Northwest Territories	0%	22%	74%
Yukon	30%	13%	57%

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 6B

Table 2.5 Confidence That the Community Will Continue to Exist in the Future

	<i>Not Confident</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Confident</i>
National average	13%	14%	71%
Newfoundland & Labrador	13%	27%	60%
Prince Edward Island	6%	16%	77%
Nova Scotia	8%	15%	75%
New Brunswick	3%	15%	80%
Quebec	16%	14%	68%
Ontario	10%	13%	75%
Manitoba	17%	11%	72%
Saskatchewan	42%	23%	32%
Alberta	15%	17%	67%
British Columbia	18%	6%	71%
Nunavut	17%	0%	83%
Northwest Territories	0%	4%	96%
Yukon	7%	3%	90%

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 6C

Apart from the Fransaskois' consistent lack of confidence, we should point out that minority respondents are relatively less confident in their community's ability to retain its young people than in the two other indicators. However, they are highly confident on the whole.

The following three tables show that minority respondents are also highly confident in local leadership, the representativeness of community organizations, and the community's ability to integrate outsiders who speak the minority language. No provincial minority community expressed a lack of confidence regarding these three indicators. However, we did note significant differences between the provinces. Acadians in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island are highly confident with regard to the first two indicators, while Fransaskois, Franco-British Columbians, and Quebec Anglophones are more guardedly confident. In addition, the almost universally high levels of confidence expressed in communities' abilities to integrate immigrants speaking their language seems disproportionate compared to the other two indicators. Might respondents have feared being accused of racism?

Table 2.6 The Minority Community Has Strong, Effective Leadership

	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Agree</i>
National average	21%	16%	60%
Newfoundland & Labrador	23%	10%	63%
Prince Edward Island	6%	13%	81%
Nova Scotia	13%	10%	77%
New Brunswick	4%	13%	81%
Quebec	30%	19%	48%
Ontario	12%	15%	71%
Manitoba	9%	9%	83%
Saskatchewan	23%	16%	58%
Alberta	11%	11%	74%
British Columbia	47%	12%	41%
Nunavut	17%	0%	83%
Northwest Territories	9%	4%	83%
Yukon	3%	3%	93%

Source: Sondage GPC International, Q. 6H

Table 2.7 Community Institutions Effectively Represent and Serve Minority Community Interests in the Province/Territory

	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Agree</i>
National average	16%	18%	60%
Newfoundland & Labrador	23%	7%	60%
Prince Edward Island	13%	10%	74%
Nova Scotia	22%	13%	68%
New Brunswick	8%	12%	75%
Quebec	17%	20%	55%
Ontario	14%	16%	64%
Manitoba	19%	13%	64%
Saskatchewan	32%	26%	39%
Alberta	17%	24%	48%
British Columbia	29%	12%	53%
Nunavut	17%	17%	50%
Northwest Territories	13%	30%	52%
Yukon	33%	10%	57%

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 12C

Table 2.8 The Community's Ability to Integrate Immigrants Speaking the Same Language

	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Agree</i>
National average	3%	5%	90%
Newfoundland & Labrador	3%	0%	97%
Prince Edward Island	3%	3%	94%
Nova Scotia	8%	0%	90%
New Brunswick	2%	1%	97%
Quebec	5%	7%	86%
Ontario	2%	3%	93%
Manitoba	2%	4%	97%
Saskatchewan	0%	19%	77%
Alberta	0%	7%	89%
British Columbia	0%	12%	88%
Nunavut	17%	0%	83%
Northwest Territories	4%	4%	91%
Yukon	7%	0%	90%

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 61

Minority member confidence in members of their community

Three questions helped measure minority confidence in minority community development in relation to support from individuals in the community:

- 7- The importance individual respondents place on the future of the minority community.
- 8- The contribution of individual respondents to community development.
- 9- Confidence in their generation's contribution to community development.

Minority respondents were highly confident in their own community and in the role they and their peers play in community development. However, Nunavut Francophones expressed less community allegiance than their counterparts, many Franco-British Colombians expressed no interest in contributing to their community's survival, and both these groups and the Fransaskois lack confidence in their peers.

Table 2.9 The Future of the Minority Community is Important to Me

	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Agree</i>
National average	2%	4%	94%
Newfoundland & Labrador	0%	0%	100%
Prince Edward Island	0%	10%	90%
Nova Scotia	0%	8%	92%
New Brunswick	1%	2%	97%
Quebec	2%	4%	94%
Ontario	2%	3%	95%
Manitoba	4%	4%	89%
Saskatchewan	6%	3%	87%
Alberta	4%	9%	87%
British Columbia	6%	18%	76%
Nunavut	17%	0%	83%
Northwest Territories	4%	4%	91%
Yukon	3%	10%	87%

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 6E

Table 2.10 Will Do my Part to Ensure the Development of my Language and Culture

	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Agree</i>
National average	3%	4%	91%
Newfoundland & Labrador	10%	0%	90%
Prince Edward Island	0%	10%	90%
Nova Scotia	0%	8%	92%
New Brunswick	1%	3%	96%
Quebec	4%	6%	89%
Ontario	2%	3%	95%
Manitoba	2%	2%	94%
Saskatchewan	6%	6%	84%
Alberta	4%	7%	89%
British Columbia	18%	0%	82%
Nunavut	0%	0%	83%
Northwest Territories	4%	0%	96%
Yukon	0%	13%	87%

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 6F

Table 2.11 My Generation is Committed to Transmitting our Language and Culture

	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Agree</i>
National average	5%	7%	87%
Newfoundland & Labrador	3%	10%	87%
Prince Edward Island	3%	0%	97%
Nova Scotia	5%	5%	90%
New Brunswick	3%	4%	93%
Quebec	4%	8%	87%
Ontario	4%	8%	87%
Manitoba	9%	9%	83%
Saskatchewan	16%	13%	68%
Alberta	7%	9%	83%
British Columbia	29%	0%	71%
Nunavut	17%	0%	83%
Northwest Territories	0%	4%	91%
Yukon	7%	10%	80%

Source: GPC International Survey, Q.6G

Minority confidence in government institutions

The last eight questions helped us measure minority confidence in government support for minority community development:

- 10- Public sector commitment to serving the minority community
- 11- Federal government representation of minority interests
- 12- Provincial government representation of minority interests
- 13- Municipal government representation of minority interests
- 14- Confidence in federal department support for minority communities
- 15- Federal government involvement in minority community development
- 16- Access to federal programs and services in the minority language
- 17- Access to provincial programs and services in the minority language

In general, minority respondents were relatively confident in these eight indicators. However, we noted significant differences between certain provinces. Acadians in Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick again stood out for their high confidence levels, while the Fransaskois stood out for their marked lack of confidence. However, certain other provinces mirrored Saskatchewan's results for lack of confidence in some regards:

- 1- Francophones in Nunavut and the Northwest Territories said the public sector is not sufficiently committed to the minority community.
- 2- Minority respondents in all provinces and territories west of Manitoba, as well as in Quebec and Newfoundland and Labrador, feel ignored by their provincial government.
- 3- Except in Alberta, minority respondents in all provinces and territories west of Manitoba feel ignored by their municipal councils.
- 4- Quebec Anglophones share the Fransaskois opinion that federal departments have neglected them in the past five years and fear that federal programs and services in their language will soon deteriorate.
- 5- Francophones in Nunavut and the Yukon and Quebec Anglophones fear that provincial programs and services in their language will deteriorate over the next five years.

Quebec Anglophones often share the Fransaskois pessimism. This may be because the Parti Québécois was in power at the time of the survey, but the lack of confidence also extends to the federal government.

Table 2.12 Public Sector Commitment to Serving the Minority Community

	<i>Not Committed</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Committed</i>
National average	23%	19%	54%
Newfoundland & Labrador	30%	13%	57%
Prince Edward Island	6%	6%	87%
Nova Scotia	20%	15%	62%
New Brunswick	6%	16%	73%
Quebec	32%	20%	44%
Ontario	15%	18%	61%
Manitoba	11%	32%	53%
Saskatchewan	32%	26%	39%
Alberta	24%	30%	43%
British Columbia	29%	12%	59%
Nunavut	83%	0%	17%
Northwest Territories	39%	30%	26%
Yukon	33%	27%	37%

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 12A

Table 2.13 Federal Government Representation of Minority Interests

	<i>Poor</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Excellent</i>
National average	27%	17%	54%
Newfoundland & Labrador	40%	10%	47%
Prince Edward Island	10%	3%	84%
Nova Scotia	30%	22%	45%
New Brunswick	16%	19%	63%
Quebec	33%	17%	48%
Ontario	20%	14%	64%
Manitoba	26%	23%	51%
Saskatchewan	48%	19%	32%
Alberta	31%	17%	52%
British Columbia	29%	29%	35%
Nunavut	17%	0%	50%
Northwest Territories	26%	17%	52%
Yukon	17%	13%	60%

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 13A

Table 2.14 Provincial Government Representation of Minority Interests

	Poor	Neutral	Excellent
National average	47%	15%	37%
Newfoundland & Labrador	47%	7%	43%
Prince Edward Island	6%	13%	81%
Nova Scotia	35%	20%	43%
New Brunswick	11%	13%	74%
Quebec	63%	15%	21%
Ontario	35%	16%	47%
Manitoba	32%	19%	49%
Saskatchewan	58%	16%	26%
Alberta	54%	11%	31%
British Columbia	53%	18%	29%
Nunavut	50%	0%	33%
Northwest Territories	52%	4%	35%
Yukon	50%	20%	23%

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 13B

Table 2.15 Municipal Government Representation of Minority Interests

	Poor	Neutral	Excellent
National average	28%	15%	54%
Newfoundland & Labrador	23%	20%	47%
Prince Edward Island	16%	16%	58%
Nova Scotia	33%	3%	65%
New Brunswick	11%	12%	76%
Quebec	33%	18%	46%
Ontario	22%	12%	64%
Manitoba	23%	23%	53%
Saskatchewan	68%	16%	16%
Alberta	33%	15%	48%
British Columbia	47%	24%	24%
Nunavut	67%	17%	0%
Northwest Territories	70%	9%	13%
Yukon	63%	17%	13%

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 13C

Table 2.16 Federal Departments Should Support Minority Community Development

	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Agree</i>
National average	4%	7%	89%
Newfoundland & Labrador	3%	7%	90%
Prince Edward Island	0%	6%	94%
Nova Scotia	5%	13%	82%
New Brunswick	2%	2%	94%
Quebec	4%	8%	87%
Ontario	2%	6%	91%
Manitoba	6%	11%	83%
Saskatchewan	13%	10%	74%
Alberta	7%	2%	91%
British Columbia	18%	12%	71%
Nunavut	17%	33%	50%
Northwest Territories	13%	0%	87%
Yukon	3%	7%	90%

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 14A

Table 2.17 Federal Government Involvement in Minority Community Development in the Past Five Years

	<i>Less Involved</i>	<i>Same</i>	<i>More Involved</i>
National average	20%	44%	33%
Newfoundland & Labrador	12%	31%	54%
Prince Edward Island	7%	30%	63%
Nova Scotia	13%	50%	38%
New Brunswick	9%	38%	50%
Quebec	27%	49%	21%
Ontario	17%	40%	40%
Manitoba	10%	34%	51%
Saskatchewan	26%	52%	17%
Alberta	19%	45%	33%
British Columbia	0%	62%	37%
Nunavut	0%	33%	33%
Northwest Territories	0%	65%	25%
Yukon	14%	55%	27%

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 14C

Table 2.18 Access to Federal Programs and Services in My Language in Five Years

	<i>Worse</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Better</i>
National average	16%	47%	35%
Newfoundland & Labrador	13%	53%	30%
Prince Edward Island	0%	42%	58%
Nova Scotia	8%	45%	48%
New Brunswick	7%	30%	61%
Quebec	21%	55%	22%
Ontario	13%	43%	43%
Manitoba	11%	43%	38%
Saskatchewan	32%	32%	32%
Alberta	15%	41%	39%
British Columbia	0%	41%	59%
Nunavut	0%	17%	83%
Northwest Territories	0%	26%	74%
Yukon	17%	40%	37%

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 15C

Table 2.19 Access to Provincial Programs and Services in My Language in Five Years

	<i>Worse</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Better</i>
National average	26%	42%	30%
Newfoundland & Labrador	13%	60%	23%
Prince Edward Island	0%	32%	68%
Nova Scotia	15%	50%	35%
New Brunswick	6%	29%	63%
Quebec	37%	41%	20%
Ontario	21%	46%	32%
Manitoba	9%	45%	38%
Saskatchewan	19%	61%	19%
Alberta	19%	46%	26%
British Columbia	6%	53%	41%
Nunavut	17%	50%	17%
Northwest Territories	4%	61%	35%
Yukon	30%	37%	30%

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 15D

It is interesting to note that with few exceptions, minorities are generally dissatisfied with their provincial governments. They feel better served and represented at the federal and local level and believe this will improve in the future. However, we did note certain differences between the provinces in this regard. Once again, the governments of P.E.I., Newfoundland and Labrador, and New Brunswick received praise.

Section III: SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES

Despite high general confidence, we found significant differences in certain groups. Drawing on various statistical analyses, this section makes three assertions:

- 1- Francophones seem more confident than Anglophones on all general confidence factors.
- 2- Women and older respondents expressed more confidence in individuals.
- 3- Respondents with the lowest education and income levels were most confident in the community and its institutions, and in government.

We will also see that older respondents had more positive views of Francophone-Anglophone relations and improvements in the majority attitude towards the minority, a perception shared by those with higher income and education levels. However, respondents with higher income and education levels also had the least positive attitudes regarding Francophone-Anglophone relations.

This section first presents significant differences in confidence measures for certain demographic variables. Next, it presents significant differences in the three questions on the future of French in Canada and perceptions of Francophone-Anglophone relations, as well as the majority attitude towards minorities. Last, it presents significant differences between minority Francophones and minority Anglophones regarding specific statements and general confidence factors.

The questionnaire completed by minorities included numerous statements measuring three confidence factors: confidence in the community and its institutions, confidence in individual community members, and minority confidence in various government institutions. We have divided this third factor in half to streamline the presentation of results. On one hand, we will look at public sector commitment to serving the minority community and govern-

ment representation of minority interests (representation). On the other hand, we will look at respondents' assessments of federal department contributions to minority community development and access to government programs and services in their language (access). The following table shows the series of statements for each factor.

Table 2.20 Statements for the Two Confidence Factors Regarding Governments and Government Institutions

Confidence— "representation"	
	How committed would you say PUBLIC sector organizations are to representing and serving the interests of the minority in your province?
	How well do you think the federal government represents your interests as a minority in your province/territory?
	How well do you think your provincial government represents your interests as a minority in your province/territory?
	How well do you think municipal governments represent your interests as a minority in your province/territory?
	To what extent do you think Government of Canada departments are legally required to support minority community development in your province?
Confidence— "access"	
	Compared to five years ago, how involved would you say that Government of Canada departments are in minority community development?
	Five years from now, do you think that access to federal government programs and services in the minority language will be...
	Five years from now, do you think that access to provincial government programs and services in the minority language will be...

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 12A, 13A, 13B, 13C, 14A, 14C, 15C, 15D

a) Differences in averages by group

This section presents differences in general confidence factor averages according to the following demographic variables: gender, age, education, income, linguistic concentration, and linguistic minority.

Figure 2.1 shows gender differences for the four general confidence factors. Women had significantly higher averages than men for the general individual confidence factor, as well as all specific statements measuring this confidence factor. Women also had significantly higher averages for a number of statements regarding confidence in the community and its institutions.

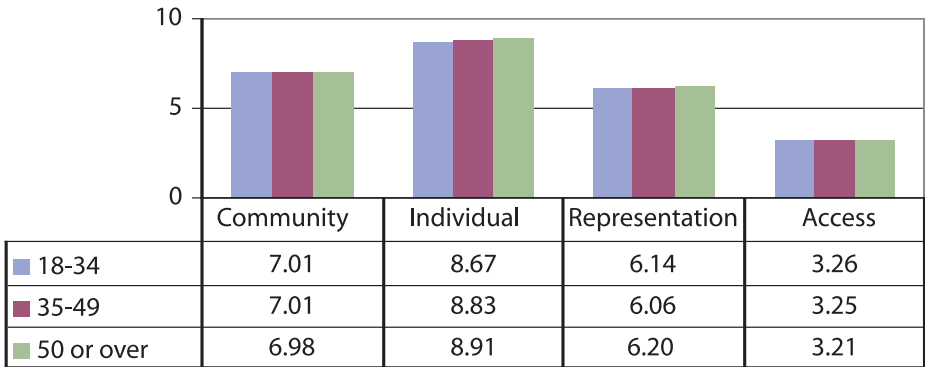
Figure 2.1 Gender Differences



Source: GPC International Survey

Figure 2.2 shows age differences for the four general confidence factors.. For the individual confidence factor, respondents aged 18 to 34 have a significantly lower average than respondents aged 50 or over. The results also show that the second group (M = 5.66) has a lower average than the first (M = 6.23) for a specific “community” confidence statement that measures the community’s ability to retain its young people.

Figure 2.2 Age Differences



Source: GPC International Survey

Figure 2.3 presents differences in general confidence factors by education level. We found significant differences between the low and high education level groups for “community” confidence factors and the two factors associated with confidence in government. The first group consistently expressed greater confidence than the second. The same discrepancy exists for the specific statements measuring confidence in the community and its institutions, and in government.

Figure 2.3 Differences by Education Level



Source: GPC International Survey

Figure 2.4 shows differences in general confidence factors by income level. For the “community” confidence factor, low income respondents have a significantly higher average than the two other income groups. They also have a significantly higher average than the \$100,000 or more income group for the “access” confidence factor.

Figure 2.4 Differences by Income Level



Source: GPC International Survey

For the “representation” factor, the three income groups are distinct. The low income group has the highest average, and the \$100,000 or more income group has the lowest average. The medium income group average falls between the two other groups. Differences among the three groups are statistically significant.

The analysis shows no significant difference among the groups for “individual” confidence.

Figure 2.5 shows differences in general confidence factors by category of linguistic concentration. There are three concentration levels: low (5% or less of the region’s population belongs to the minority), medium (5 to 20% of the region’s population belongs to the minority), and high (20% or more of the region’s population belongs to of the minority)¹.

1. The categories are not mutually exclusive, which can cause problems. Thus, a region where the minority represented exactly 5% or 20% of the population could have been put in two categories at the same time. However, we consider this situation too rare to cause concern.

Figure 2.5 Differences by Linguistic Concentration

Source: GPC International Survey

The results show that the high linguistic concentration group ($M = 7.56$) expressed significantly higher confidence in the community than the two other groups (low concentration, $M = 7.06$; medium concentration, $M = 6.96$). The high linguistic concentration group ($M = 3.51$) is also more confident than the low concentration group ($M = 3.30$) for the “access” confidence factor. As for the “representation” confidence factor, the three groups show significantly different confidence levels (low concentration, $M = 5.63$; medium concentration, $M = 6.44$, high concentration, $M = 6.98$).

For eight of the twenty specific statements measuring confidence, we found a positive correlation between linguistic concentration and confidence. For the three questions measuring confidence in the community and its institutions, the high concentration group expressed greater confidence than the medium concentration group. The high concentration group also indicated greater confidence than the two other groups with respect to the commitment of community organizations, public bodies, and the provincial government to representing minority community interests.

The following table shows all significant differences between the linguistic concentration groups.

Table 2.21 Differences by Linguistic Concentration

	Low	Concentration Medium	High
Confidence in community	7.06	6.96	7.56
Confidence in representation	5.63	6.45	6.98
Confidence in access	3.30	3.32	3.51
The capacity of the “Anglophone/Francophone” community in your region to remain strong in the future	7.41	6.91	7.76
The likelihood that the “Anglophone/Francophone” community in your region will continue to exist in the future	7.51	7.08	7.67
The “Anglophone/Francophone” community in your province has strong and effective leadership to represent its interests	6.97	6.63	7.44
Generally how committed would you say that PUBLIC sector organizations are to representing and serving the interests of “Anglophones/Francophones” in your province?	5.46	5.95	6.82
And how committed would you say that COMMUNITY-BASED AND NOT-FOR-PROFIT organizations outside the government are to representing and serving the interests of “Anglophones/Francophones” in your province?	5.62	5.97	7.09
How well do you think the Government of Canada represents your interests as “Anglophones/Francophones” in your province?	5.67	6.45	6.30
How well do you think your provincial government represents your interests as members of the “Anglophone/Francophone” community in your province?	4.46	5.26	6.01
And how well does the municipal government represent your interests as members of the “Anglophone/Francophone” community in your province?	3.94	5.58	6.94

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 6A, 6C, 6H, 12A, 12C, 13A, 13B, 13C

b) Differences involving the three common questions

T-tests show that men ($M = 3.42$) have a more positive view than women ($M = 3.29$) with respect to improvements in the majority attitude towards the minority. There is no significant difference in the perception of Anglophone-Francophone relations and the future of French in Canada.

A comparison of age groups shows no significant difference regarding the future of French. In contrast, respondents aged 35 to 49 ($M = 3.37$) and 50 or over ($M = 3.42$) have significantly higher averages than respondents aged 18 to 34 ($M = 3.18$) regarding improvements in the majority attitude towards the minority. The 50 or over ($M = 7.55$) group also differs from younger groups ($M = 7.09$) in its positive perception of Anglophone-Francophone relations.

Other variance analyses show a significant difference between the average education group ($M = 5.19$) and the low ($M = 5.60$) and high ($M = 5.68$) education groups regarding their views on the future of French in Canada. There are no significant differences for the other two common questions.

As for income level, we found that the low income group ($M = 7.59$) expressed greater confidence than the high income group ($M = 7.17$) for the statement on Anglophone-Francophone relations.

Other analyses confirm that linguistic concentration has no effect on confidence in the future of French in Canada, the assessment of Francophone-Anglophone relations, or minority perceptions regarding improvements in the majority attitude towards the minority.

c) Differences between minority Francophones and minority Anglophones

Figure 2.6 presents differences between minority Francophones and minority Anglophones for the four general confidence factors.

Figure 2.6 Differences Between Minority Francophones and Minority Anglophones



Source: GPC International Survey

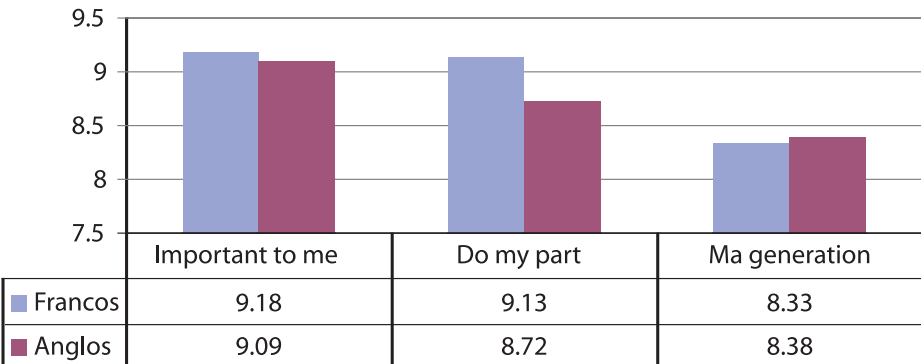
For the four general factors and 13 of the 17 specific statements measuring confidence, minority Francophones have higher averages than minority Anglophones. Figures 2.7, 2.8, 2.9 and 2.10 show differences regarding the 17 statements.

Figure 2.7



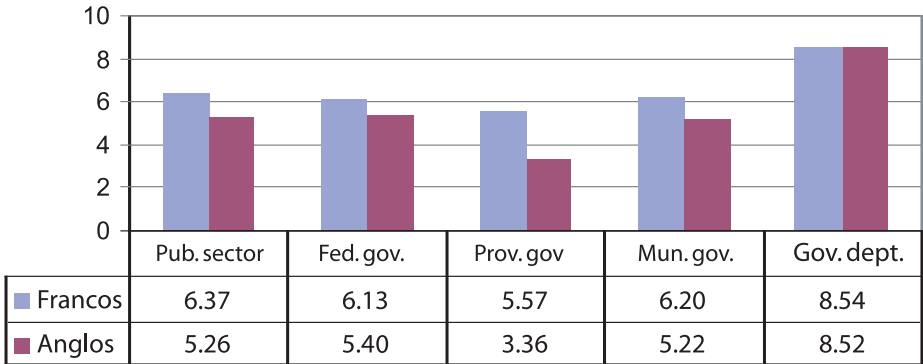
Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 6A, 6B, 6C, 6H, 6I, 12C

Figure 2.8



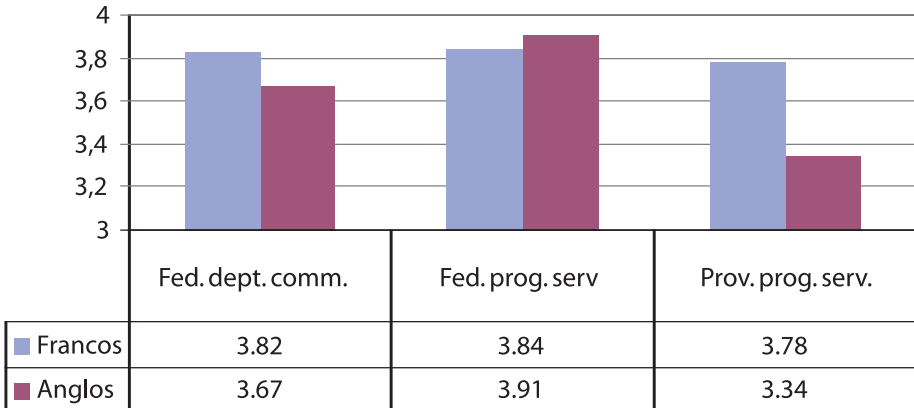
Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 6E, 6F, 6G

Figure 2.9



Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 12A, 13A, 13B, 13C, 15A

Figure 2.10



Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 14C, 15C, 15D

We also identified significant differences between minority Francophones and minority Anglophones in their assessment of Francophone-Anglophone relations (Francophones: $M = 7.50$, Anglophones: $M = 7.10$), as well as their doubts about the future of French in Canada (Francophones: $M = 6.56$, Anglophones: $M = 4.12$). Figure 2.11 shows averages for the two groups on the three questions posed to the entire sample population.

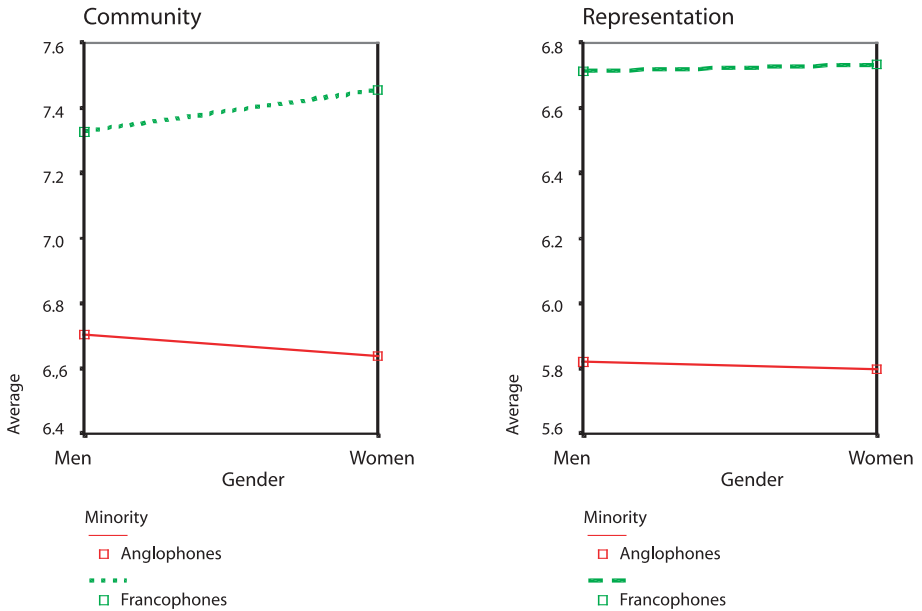
Figure 2.11 Averages for the Three Common Questions

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 6J, 22F, 22R

Given the many significant differences between minority Francophones and minority Anglophones, it would be important to study the simultaneous effects of this independent variable—i.e., membership in a linguistic minority in Quebec or in the rest of Canada—with other factors. Using two-factor variance analyses, we could examine correlations between this variable and certain demographic variables of the sample.

Interactions between the “minority” variable and gender allow us to qualify certain previous results. Minority Francophones generally have higher averages than minority Anglophones for the four general confidence factors. However, gender and minority status cross-tabulate with regard to confidence in the community and government. While Francophone women have higher averages than Francophone men, Anglophone men have higher averages than Anglophone women. These differences are illustrated in Figures 2.12 and 2.13

Figures 2.12 and 2.13

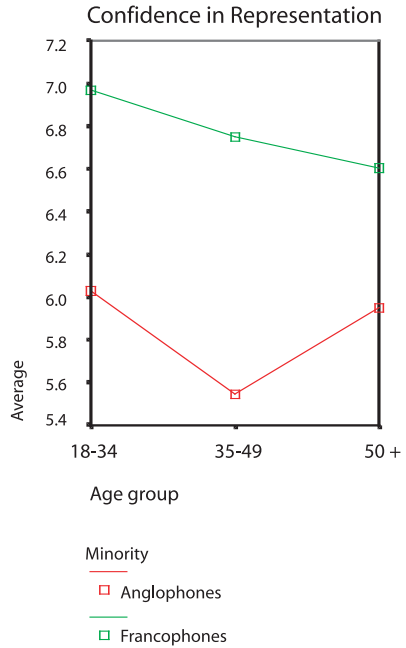
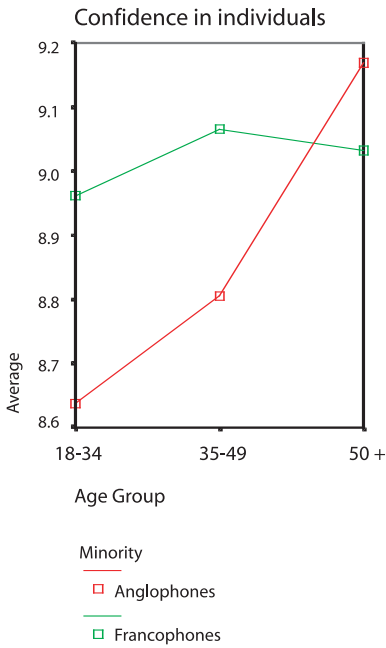


Source: Sondage GPC International

As regards “individual” confidence, we found that Anglophone men ($M = 8.55$) have a lower average than the three other groups ($M = 9.18$; Anglophone women; $M = 8.93$; Francophone men; $M = 9.10$; Francophone women).

Analyses also show interactions between the “minority” and “age” variables. For Anglophones, there is a positive correlation between respondent age and average scores on “individual confidence” factors. For Francophones, however, the average does not increase between the youngest and middle age groups (see Figure 2.14). While we might expect even higher averages for respondents aged 50 or more, this group has an average of 9.03 for the “individual confidence” variable. For the “representation” variable, there is a negative correlation between age and Francophone group averages. However, the same cannot be said for Anglophones, since the middle age group has a lower average than the two other groups (see Figure 2.15).

Figures 2.14 and 2.15



Source: Sondage GPC International

In general, we found a negative correlation between education level and confidence in the community and its institutions, and in government (see Table 2.22), with one exception: Anglophones with a high education level have higher averages than the average education group.

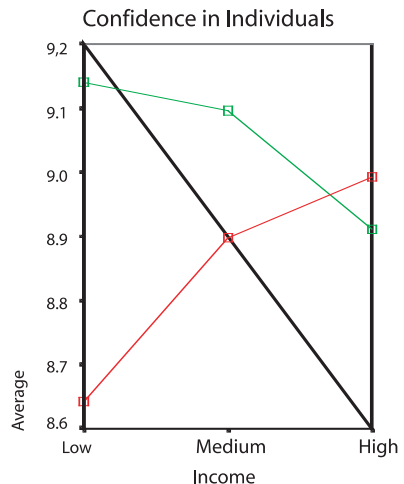
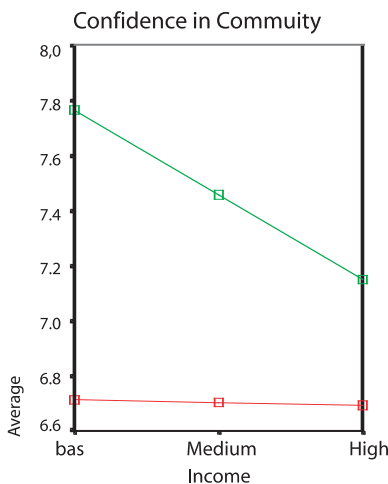
Table 2.22 Differences by Education

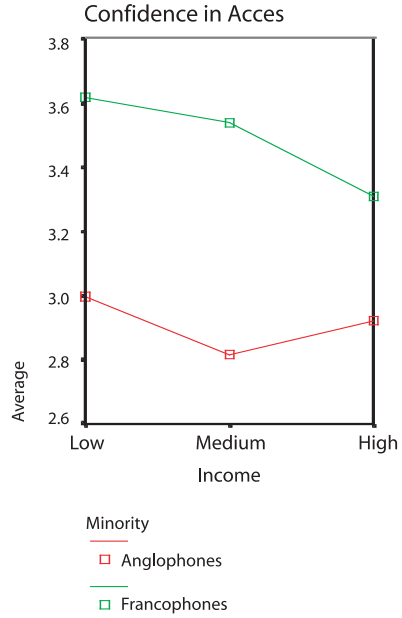
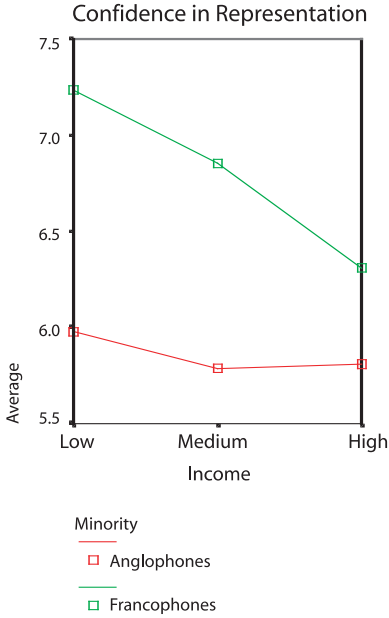
General Confidence Factors	Minority	Low Education (Average)	Average Education (Average)	High Education (Average)
Community	Anglos.	7.00	6.39	6.64
	Francos.	7.71	7.28	7.05
Individual	Anglos.	9.06	8.87	8.76
	francos.	9.09	8.87	9.12
Representation	Anglos.	6.06	5.48	5.89
	Francos.	7.01	6.71	6.28
Access	Anglos.	2.95	2.74	2.94
	Francos.	3.60	3.50	3.21

Source: GPC International Survey

Regardless of income levels, the three minority Anglophone groups had lower averages than the Francophones groups for the four general confidence factors. For Anglophones, the results for the three groups are similar except for individual confidence, where we find a positive correlation between income and confidence level. In contrast, for Francophones, a lower income level corresponds to higher individual confidence and higher confidence in the community and government (see figures 2.16, 2.17, 2.18 and 2.19).

Figures 2.16, 2.17, 2.18, and 2.19





Source: GPC International Survey

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 6J, 22F, 22R

A final series of exploratory analyses shows significant differences between minority Francophones who completed the questionnaire in their mother tongue and those who completed it in English. For all general confidence factors (community, individual, representation, and access), the first group has higher averages than the second (see Table 2.23). For 12 of the 17 specific confidence statements, those who responded in French also have higher averages.

Table 2.23

	Survey Language: English (Average)	Survey Language: French (Average)
Confidence in community*	7.14	7.46
Confidence in individuals*	8.68	9.13
Confidence in representation*	6.34	6.85
Confidence in access*	3.37	3.52
The capacity of the “Anglophone/ Francophone” community in your region to remain strong in the future	7.32	7.56
The ability of the “Anglophone/Francophone” community to keep young people in the region	6.08	6.04
The likelihood that the “Anglophone/ Francophone” community in your region will continue to exist in the future	7.42	7.54
The “Anglophone/Francophone” community of your province has strong and effective leadership to represent its interests*	6.84	7.34
“Anglophones/Francophones” from out- side Canada are welcome in my “Anglophone/ Francophone” community*	8.90	9.18
And how committed would you say that COMMUNITY-BASED AND NOT-FOR- PROFIT organizations outside the government are to representing and s erving the interests of “Anglophones/ Francophones” in your province?*	6.15	7.08
The future of the “Anglophone/ Francophone” community is important to me.	8.99	9.40
I will do my part to ensure the continuance of my language and culture.*	8.89	9.40
My generation is committed to transmitting our language and culture to the next generation.*	8.11	8.59

* Significant difference

	Survey Language: English (Average)	Survey Language: French (Average)
Using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means not at all committed and 10 means totally committed, generally how committed would you say that PUBLIC sector organizations are to representing and serving the interests of "Anglophones/Francophones" in your province?*	6.09	6.68
How well do you think the Government of Canada represents your interests as "Anglophones/Francophones" in your province?	6.12	6.14
How well do you think your provincial government represents your interests as members of the "Anglophone/Francophone" community in your province?*	5.37	5.79
And how well does the municipal government represent your interests as members of the "Anglophone/Francophone" community in your province?*	5.78	6.68
To what extent do you agree that Government of Canada departments SHOULD support the development of the "Anglophone/Francophone" community in your province?*	8.35	8.76
Compared to five years ago, how involved would you say that Government of Canada departments are in the development of the "Anglophone/Francophone" community?*	3.92	3.71
Five years from now, do you think that access to programs and services from the Government of Canada in "English/French" will be...*	3.95	3.71
Five years from now, do you think that access to programs and services from your PROVINCIAL government in "English/French" will be...*	3.90	3.66

* Significant difference

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 6A, 6B, 6C, 6H, 6I, 12C, 6E, 6F, 6G, 12A, 13A, 13B, 13C, 14B, 14C, 15C, 15D

CONCLUSION

Despite demographic decline, the Anglophone minority in Quebec and the Francophone minority in other provinces and territories are fairly confident in the development of their communities. They believe that the majority attitude towards the minority is “more positive” than five years ago. They also feel that relations between the two linguistic groups have improved since 1991.

However, many think the French language is threatened in Canada. Although this does not bode well for minorities, it is not clear whether this fear pertains to the status of French throughout the country, including Quebec, or only in the respondents’ respective provinces or neighbouring provinces.

Moreover, Francophones seem more confident than Anglophones regarding all general confidence factors. Women and older respondents also expressed more individual confidence. Last, respondents with the lowest education and income levels are most confident in the community and its institutions, and in government.

2.1 DISCUSSION

Rodrigue Landry

One general comment strikes me—a certain reluctance to recognize that people may actually feel confident. It’s a bit like what Gratién Allaire was saying. It seems like it’s a shock, a perception that community leadership has long held. To get governments moving, we needed a crisis. And then, all of a sudden, we get a picture that indicates people are relatively satisfied with their lot and confident in their future. It’s as if we were experiencing a historical shift. This is part of an anchoring movement in many of the community institutions that have developed in the past twenty years.



Daniel Thériault

One of the first observations made was about the issue of education and also income concentration. If I understood correctly, the higher the income, the less confidence in the regions. Is that right? I’m not a statistics expert, but I think that when Francophones live in urban settings they have higher incomes—maybe equal to or even higher than the majority—and when they stay at home they stay poor or relatively poor. In urban areas, they have a high average income and seem fairly confident in terms of language.

With respect to municipalities, this can certainly play a role. When there are municipal networks and you’re a majority in certain municipalities like in Ontario and New Brunswick, I think that boosts confidence in this level of government.

I personally think it would be interesting to clarify perception versus reality with respect to assimilation. When people are highly optimistic and the rate of assimilation is still very high, we might wonder whether these reactions are psychotic, manic, or in some cases paranoid. And what about the opposite, when the rate of assimilation is fairly low but people have little confidence? We’re working with perceptions, but what’s really happening? Is the Francophone community growing? It would be interesting to have correlations between these aspects.



Gratien Allaire

I would first like to respond to the discourse on assimilation and what Rodrigue has said about it. When I say “assimilationist discourse,” I’m talking about the pessimistic part of assimilationist discourse; I don’t mean to say that assimilation doesn’t exist. This is absolutely not my point. But it’s a bit like the glass half or two-thirds empty, or two-thirds or half full. It’s a question of perspective and perception. You’re right.

What I mainly wanted to point out is that for municipalities—since we were talking about them—the data for Ontario is quite surprising. The confidence shown in municipalities took me totally by surprise given the controversies over bilingualism in Ottawa and Sudbury. After all, these are pretty big municipalities where Francophones make up a significant proportion of the population. These aren’t just debates at the municipal level. The debate on bilingualism in Ottawa is a nationwide affair. The debate on Sudbury is a bit more local. For a community of 115,000 with a French language population of 40,000 to 45,000, that part surprised me. I’d have to see when the big debate began.



Marielle Beaulieu

What I’m wondering—this is only a general remark on how to interpret this confidence—is this: It’s as if we had been told earlier that “in Saskatchewan people are less confident, in Quebec people are less confident, so we should be worried.” I thought there was a link between less confidence and a community’s fear of being less able to develop. I’d like to say this in another way. I find it more reassuring when people have less confidence rather than too much, especially when it was mentioned that on the phone people were saying, “What’s the point of this questionnaire? Why am I being asked about this? I speak French when I need to, I speak English when people are Anglophone.” It is disturbing to see how little awareness there is of their own minority status when people with this status need to take responsibility, make certain demands, take matters into their own hands. Actually, when I see people who are very confident, I’m not sure this is such a good thing. I wonder if it’s almost more troublesome that Francophones outside Quebec are so confident when actually there are so many signs that French and the Francophone communities are experiencing certain difficulties. With the analysis of these results and our understanding of them, we should ask, “Are strong results good or bad, or does it depend on your perspective?” I want to go back to the expression “social naivety” used by Rodrigue Landry. When you think all is well, you might be a little naive.

David Bourgeois

We shouldn't mislead people. For example, for the question "confidence that the community will continue to exist in the future," even though Saskatchewan stands out from the other provinces, the average is still 5.13 on a scale of 0 to 10.

This is not negative confidence, it's just not as high as the other provinces, and we see this in other questions, too.

3. WHERE IS BILINGUALISM BETWEEN IDENTITIES AND GENERATIONS?

Josée Bergeron

Assistant Professor, Glendon College, York University,
Toronto

INTRODUCTION¹

All surveys are developed and conducted in a specific sociopolitical and cultural context. The questions reflect certain concerns, which may be of no particular interest to a given respondent.² This paper will also consider the survey in the context of identity and analytical concerns. As a professor at two universities that represent institutional bilingualism in many respects, I have seen—and continue to see—people define themselves in a number of ways.³ Some students self-identify as “bilingual”—a veritable identity in and of itself that reflects an inability to see oneself as either Francophone or Anglophone. Other students are hesitant to choose a Statistics Canada category: where should I classify myself in terms of mother tongue, most frequently used language, etc. The question of personal identity continually

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1. I would like to thank Yves Frenette and William Floch for their invitation to the GPC survey research forum *Community Vitality, Community Confidence*, and Jean Lafontant for his always clear and inspiring comments.
 2. As one Forum attendee pointed out, Bourdieu (1973) wrote a paper challenging the neutral construction of surveys and the assumption that all questions are naturally of interest to respondents.
 3. The Francophone institution Faculté Saint-Jean (University of Alberta) and the bilingual institution Glendon University College (York University). Both are in Anglophone environments.

recurs. Recent immigrant students, often overqualified but back in university because their experience and diplomas are not recognized in Canada, also question where they stand in these debates. Should they become part of both linguistic groups? Are they recognized by one or both? What about their children?

The purpose here is not to generalize or draw conclusions. Nevertheless, these examples (and others) raise a number of questions as to the identity marked and defined by bilingualism and multiculturalism. I have approached the survey from this perspective.

Discussions of bilingualism inevitably lead to the concept of identity. Bilingualism—and multiculturalism—policy was developed at a time when the country (institutions, governments, social groups) was redefining the national identity. In addition to the specific circumstances surrounding the adoption of the bilingualism and multiculturalism policies, they remain closely linked to a definition of a national space and entity. They are identity markers. But what about the generations that lived through the various national debates on what Canada is and should be? In this respect, I have approached the survey according to age cohort and the differences between them in terms of identity. The questions are divided up into three blocks: how people define themselves, how they define themselves in relation to others, and they define themselves in relation to their institutions. Lastly, the purpose of this paper is not to draw specific, definitive conclusions (in any case, survey results do not provide definitive answers), but rather to make certain suggestions concerning the responses and their context.

INITIAL REMARKS

Before examining the results, a few comments and questions are in order regarding the structure of the survey. The first concerns the age cohorts used. The age span is not equal. The first cohort (age 18–34) covers 16 years, whereas the second (age 35–49) covers 14. Why these divisions? Secondly, life stages in the first cohort vary widely. For example, at age 18, a number of people are still in school. In their late twenties and early thirties, they move into a new family and professional stage of life, with children and careers. In other words, life stages for the cohort vary enormously, resulting in a group that is far from homogeneous. This makes it difficult to determine whether the cohort's youngest or oldest members have weight that affects the results for the group as a whole. As for the 50+ cohort it spans beyond the upper limit of 15 years

(the average of 16 and 14 from the other two categories) and includes both active members of the workforce and older retirees, even though the number of people over 65 can vary enormously. Again, the life stages variable is a problem.

The second set of remarks pertains to the questions and statements themselves. A number of the terms used are polysemous. For example, what defines national unity? Stability? The fact that Quebec is still part of Canada? Or the fact that the bilingualism policy has given Anglophones, Francophones, and Acadians greater visibility in their respective provinces?

The meaning of “duality” also varies widely by geographic location. It can be viewed as exclusionary or as a component of Canadian identity, alongside other markers like multiculturalism and recognition of the First Nations.

Lastly, in the second block of statements, a problem arises in defining the three groups. In a survey in which all answers are weighted equally, can Quebec Francophones, Quebec Anglophones, and Francophones outside Quebec all be put on the same footing? Although the statements are formulated to specify the position of each group in relationship to others, the three statements are similar enough to eclipse certain differences. There is a minority/majority dynamic that precludes all historical power dynamics. All three of these groups are presented as minorities. But they are certainly not the same type of minority, even without accounting for the fact that Quebec does not always constitute a minority, depending on whether it is viewed as a self-contained territorial entity or a part of Canada— is not always a minority. Moreover, the distinctions between Francophone and Anglophone Quebecers are given as absolutes, as if they were two separate groups without a common history (which is historically incorrect). Lastly, Francophones outside Quebec are presented as a homogeneous whole. Certain Acadians would have something to say about this categorization from a historical and sociological standpoint. And what about the historical distinctions between Franco-Ontarians and Francophone British Columbians, for example? Some may see an attempt to construct a common national history, which is highly problematic. These considerations must be taken into account to put the survey responses into perspective.

IDENTITY

In the first block, three statements pertain to personal identity. Identity is composed of the meanings behind the labels people give themselves and their social group. Meaning and historical and cultural references determine group boundaries and names. In other words, identity is constructed in part from the multiple meanings attributed to affiliation or nonaffiliation with a given group, whose contours may be defined to various degrees.⁴ Institutions also play a key role in identity construction and reproduction. In the case of bilingualism, government institutions are involved in the process. These institutions either promote or fail to promote a certain public discourse, and, by the same token, the representation of certain identities.⁵ Based on this perspective, three statements were grouped into the first block.

Table 3.0 Having two official languages is important to my sense of what it means to be a Canadian.

Agree (6–10)*	18–34	35–49	50+
Majority	64%	48%	52%
Average (0–10)*	6.80	5.26	5.73
Margin of error	6%	5%	5%
Minority	91%	92%	92%
Average (0–10)*	9.04	9.04	9.12
Margin of error	4%	4%	3 %

*0 = Completely disagree

10 = Completely agree

Source: GPC International Survey, Q.8A

There is a clear difference between the two language groups on this statement. Agreement with the statement is very high among language minorities. This comes as no surprise, since minority groups owe their recognition in part to this official policy.

Among the majority groups, the margin of error places the rate of support at only slightly above 50%. Based on averages, there is a difference between

4. As Jean Lafontant explains.

5. For a more comprehensive explanation, see Bergeron (1999).

age cohorts. However, on the 0–10 scale, the 35–49 cohort stands out from the other two. Its “completely disagree” score was the highest (22%), and “completely agree” the lowest (22%).⁶ These distinctions do not carry over into the minority group results.

Table 3.1 Canada’s linguistic duality is a source of cultural enrichment for me.

Agree (6–10)	18–34	35–49	50+
Majority	65%	59%	60%
Average (0–10)	6.55	5.89	6.15
Margin of error	6%	5%	5%
Minority	88%	88%	88%
Average (0–10)	8.47	8.39	8.62
Margin of error	4%	4%	3%

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 22I

Once again, a clear distinction emerges between the two groups. Minorities support the statement much more strongly than majorities. Among language minorities, a very slight difference is seen in the 35–49 cohort on the 0–10 scale. For majorities, the middle cohort stands out in terms of averages. However, there is no clear difference between cohorts on the 0–10 scale.

Table 3.2 Government of Canada Official Languages policy contributes to stronger national unity.

Agree (6–10)	18–34	35–49	50+
Majority	65%	48%	50%
Average (0–10)	6.53	5.13	5.43
Margin of error	6%	5%	5%
Minority	76%	76%	81%
Average (0–10)	7.42	7.36	7.86
Margin of error	4%	4%	3%

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 22M

6. “Completely disagree”
 35–49 cohort: 8%
 50+ cohort: 15%
 “Completely agree”
 35–49 cohort: 33%
 50+ cohort: 23%

Again, the results for majorities and minorities are quite different. Majority groups show stronger support for the statement, both in percentage scores and averages. In both cases, the middle cohort stands out to some degree in terms of average. Among language minorities, the middle cohort shows less support, with more 7s and 8s on the 10 point scale. Among majorities, a distinction emerges in the 35–49 cohort beginning at point 5 (neutral). It is almost always lower.

Findings

The very high level of agreement by minority language groups comes as no surprise. Bilingualism is part of their everyday life. Most of all, it lends legitimacy to their demands and their place in the Canadian identity.

Minority groups support the first statement most strongly, followed by the second statement, then the third. Majority groups support statements 1 and 3 at about the same level, followed by statement 2. Support for the first statement may be higher because it is more personal than the other two. The statement refers to individual behaviour, while the others refer to the entire country. In addition to their “collective” dimension, the latter statements can also be interpreted from different perspectives. What is the territorial reference—the province or the country as a whole?

In terms of age groups, the middle minority cohort shows the strongest support for the statement on linguistic duality. For the middle majority group, the strongest support goes to the statement on the importance of having two languages. Among the minority groups, the highest percentages were recorded with the oldest cohort. The reverse is true for the majority groups, with the youngest cohorts showing the strongest scores.

The differences between age cohorts raise a number of questions. Are the discrepancies linked to the generational political context? For example, the oldest members of the 18–34 cohort were 25 years old at the time of the 1995 referendum. The 35–49 “Trudeau generation,” those who grew up during the period of “social experimentation” when bilingual programs were being put into place, is not strongly in support. Although one might expect support to be higher, it is clearly lower than in the other age groups. Did the sociopolitical context of the cohort’s earlier years have an impact on its sense of identity? And why is support more consistent from the oldest cohort? If we take the sociopolitical context into account, that may include constitutional debates or the fact that the youngest respondents are still attending institutions where bilingualism has a strong presence (schools). But this is not sufficient to explain the low level of support from the Trudeau generation.

7. Expression taken from the film *Just Watch Me: Trudeau and the '70s Generation*, directed by Annau (1999).

Lastly, after more than thirty years of official bilingualism, this policy and the accompanying institutional discourse are part of the Canadian identity. However, is this discourse now “the norm?” Has it been a success as a symbol?

THE OTHER LINGUISTIC GROUP

This block contains three statements on “others,” i.e., others as a linguistic and cultural group with its own history and specific circumstances. The statements incorporate both language and culture, but do the answers? More specifically, is bilingualism policy a tool that supports personal practices or promotes and supports linguistic groups?⁸ A different tone is used in this block of statements. Bilingualism is presented as a policy targeting groups.

Table 3.3 I would be interested in knowing more about Francophone Quebecers, for example, their history, their contributions to Canada, and what it is like for them to live as Francophones in North America.

Agree (6–10)	18–34	35–49	50+
Majority	46%	35%	42%
Average (0–10)	5.45	4.44	5.22
Margin of error	7%	5%	5%
Minority	64%	65%	69%
Average (0–10)	6.98	7.02	7.48
Margin of error	4%	4%	3%

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 8C

8. See Cardinal (2002), on the political nature of this distinction between individual and collective rights.

In this first table, the results are clearly different for the majority and minority groups. Minorities are more strongly in support, especially with regard to averages. The 50+ cohort is of particular note, with the highest percentage of “completely agree” ratings on the 0–10 scale, at 32%.⁹

For the majority groups, the middle cohort shows the least support, especially on the overall average. On the 0–10 scale, the 0 to 3 ratings (0 being “completely disagree”) received the highest percentage of responses.

Table 3.4 I would be interested in knowing more about Francophones living outside Quebec, for example, their history, their contributions to Canada, and what it is like for them to live as members of a linguistic minority.

Agree (6–10)	18–34	35–49	50+
Majority	48%	41%	44%
Average (0–10)	5.84	4.82	5.32
Margin of error	6%	5%	5%
Minority	62%	59%	65%
Average (0–10)	6.96	6.58	7.31
Margin of error	6%	6%	5%

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 8D

In this table, the scenario is the same as above. For both the majority and minority groups, the middle cohort recorded the lowest support, although the difference between the two youngest cohorts is less pronounced among language minorities. The highest support comes from the youngest cohort for the majority group, and the oldest cohort for the minority groups.

As for the middle minority group cohort, the difference is seen at point 10 of the scale (“completely agree”), with the lowest percentage, at 15%.¹⁰ For majority groups, the 35–49 cohort stands out at each end of the scale, with the highest percentage of “completely disagree” responses (16%) and the lowest percentage of “completely agree” responses (11%).¹¹

9. “Completely agree”: 18-34 cohort: 22%
35-49 cohort: 22%.

10. “Completely agree”: 18-34 cohort : 23%
50+ cohort : 28%.

11. “Completely disagree”: 18-34 cohort: 7 %
50+ cohort: 14%
“Completely agree”: 18-34 cohort: 13%
50+ cohort: 14%.

Table 3.5 I would be interested in knowing more about Quebec Anglophones, for example, their history; their contributions to Quebec and Canada; and what it is like for them to live as a “minority within a minority.”

Agree (6–10)	18–34	35–49	50+
Majority	45%	40%	53%
Average (0–10)	5.63	4.86	5.63
Margin of error	6%	5%	5%
Minority	60%	61%	62%
Average (0–10)	6.68	6.68	7.13
Margin of error	6%	5%	4%

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 8E

Once again, the same differences emerge between age cohorts. The scenario is the same for the 35–49 majority group cohort, based on the average. The differences at the far ends of the scale are also similar. In the 35–49 cohort, 15% of respondents selected zero, “completely disagree.” Eleven percent rated the statement at ten.¹²

Differences between minority cohorts are minimal. The most significant difference (28%) appears at point 10 for the oldest cohort.¹³

Findings

For this block of statements, majority group support is strongest on the second statement. Statements 1 and 3 produce similar results (except among the oldest cohort, which more strongly supported statement 1). Minorities rated statement 1 highest, followed by 2, then 3. The percentages, however, are much lower than in the previous block.

Support for all three of these statements is lowest among the majority group Trudeau cohort. Among language minorities, the same age cohort only differed in its responses to the second statement. The oldest minority cohort shows stronger support for the statements concerning Francophones outside Quebec and Anglophones within Quebec, while at the same time agreeing with

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12. “Completely disagree”: 18-34 cohort: 7%
50+ cohort: 14%
“Completely agree”: 18-34 cohort: 12%
50+ cohort: 18%.
13. “Completely agree”: 18-34 cohort: 16%
35-49 cohort: 17%.

all three statements more strongly than the other two age cohorts (these statements, however, concern them directly). Among the majority groups, support for these three statements is strongest among the youngest cohort (with a very slight variance for the third statement). However, in terms of averages, the difference between the three statements is negligible.

Compared to the statements in the first two blocks, a few differences are apparent. On the one hand, bilingualism is considered a marker of identity (first block). On the other hand, this support is not strongly associated with an understanding of others. Language is viewed as a potential tool, but not in relation to a given cultural context.

The following question arises: has bilingualism become an “ideology” or a myth?¹⁴ Bilingualism is entrenched in official national discourse, but only as a marker of national identity. It is not associated with an understanding of others.¹⁵ For example, the two official languages are viewed as a source of cultural enrichment, but the tie between language and culture is not supported to the same extent. Have we idealized the importance of bilingualism as a marker of identity? In other words, is there a gap between official discourse (or what people consider official discourse) and integration of the policy as a tool of cultural understanding?

Another finding or general question arises from this block of statements. The three categories of minorities are presented as if they shared a societal culture.¹⁶ While there may be some agreement that this definition can apply to both Francophone and Anglophone Quebecers,¹⁷ lumping Francophones outside Quebec together in a single group appears problematic.

Some of these factors also emerge in the third block of questions. In other words, bilingualism is good, but what do people really know about it? How does this policy affect our views of government actions?

14. The term “myth” is used as defined by Norman (2000: 101): “My use of the term ‘myth’ here is not meant to imply that this belief is necessarily false, but rather that it is part of a necessarily over-simplified story that a people tells itself.”

15. Indeed, is this the goal of the bilingualism policy?

16. This concept comes from Kymlicka (1995: 76), who defines it as follows: “[...] a culture which provides its members with meaningful ways of life across the full range of human activities, including social, educational, religious, recreational, and economic life, encompassing both public and private spheres. These cultures tend to be territorially concentrated, and based on a shared language.”

17. Quebec’s two linguistic groups can be grouped into a single societal culture.

INSTITUTIONAL BILINGUALISM

This block of questions pertains to institutional visibility. The questions are divided in two parts: bilingualism and the community, and bilingualism and the public service. In each case, the questions refer to the federal government's role in supporting and promoting bilingualism, as well as the government's visibility as a bilingual institution.

a) *Bilingualism and Community*

Table 3.6 As far as you are aware, are Government of Canada departments obliged by law to support the development of the Anglophone/Francophone community in your province?

Yes	18–34	35–49	50+
Majority	72%	69%	69%
Don't know	8%	10%	12%
Margin of error	6%	5%	5%
Minority	72%	83%	85%
Don't know	10%	10%	9%
Margin of error	4%	4%	3%

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 14A

The two older minority cohorts give a greater number of affirmative answers than their majority counterparts. However, the margins of error are too high to draw more precise conclusions. The percentage of “I don't know” responses should be noted, being relatively high for both majorities and minorities.

Table 3.7 To what extent do you agree that Government of Canada departments should support the development of the Anglophone/Francophone community in your province?

Agree (6–10)	18–34	35–49	50+
Majority	57%	37%	44%
Average (0–10)	6.28	4.39	5.27
Margin of error	6%	5%	5%
Minority	88%	91%	89%
Average (0–10)	8.38	8.62	8.68
Margin of error	4%	4%	3%

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 14B

In this question, the two groups are clearly distinct. The averages and percentages for minorities are as high as in the first section. For language majorities, the 35–49 cohort stands out markedly, again with notable differences at each end of the 0–10 scale. The “completely disagree” rating receives 23% of responses, and the “completely agree,” 10%.¹⁸

Table 3.8 Compared to five years ago, how involved would you say that Government of Canada departments are in the development of the Anglophone/Francophone community?

Much more involved	18–34	35–49	50+
Majority	11%	14%	17%
Don’t know	7%	15%	3%
Margin of error	7%	6%	6%
Minority	39%	34%	33%
Don’t know	5%	2%	2%
Margin of error	5%	4%	4%

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 14C

Minority cohorts perceive more government involvement. For majorities, the margins of error prevent more precise distinctions, other than the fact that the “I don’t know” rating in the 35–49 age group is higher among language majorities.

18. “Completely disagree”: 18-34 cohort: 6%
50+ cohort: 20%
“Completely agree”: 18-34 cohort: 19%
50+ cohort: 20%.

Findings

In this block, the level of majority language group agreement follows the order of the questions, 1, 2, 3. Minority response order was 2, 1, 3. Both groups agreed less with the third question.

The number of “I don’t know” responses also deserves attention. The rates are relatively high, which raises questions as to people’s knowledge about the government’s role in supporting the official languages.

The second question more clearly reveals differences between the two groups. The rates are higher for minorities. Once again, this comes as no surprise given their relationship with the federal government. In addition, the more marked differences between majority age cohorts draw attention to the middle age group.

These questions focus largely on perceptions or opinions, i.e., what people think they know about the government’s role. What do people really know about the government’s involvement in developing language communities? Secondly, these questions are largely normative “should” formulations—particularly the second. As such, question two could also be placed in the first section. To what extent do people believe the federal government has a role to play in supporting the markers of national identity? A parallel can be drawn between these questions and first block. In terms of symbols of identity, support is high. However, in majority language groups, support drops considerably when it comes to policies, falling nearly as low as in the second block.

b) Bilingualism and the Public Service

Table 3.9 Compared to members of the Anglophone/Francophone community, would you say that Francophones/Anglophones have greatly superior, somewhat superior, somewhat inferior, greatly inferior, or about the same access to jobs within the Government of Canada?

Majority				Minority		
18-34	35-49	50 +		18-34	35-49	50 +
21%	24%	21%	Greatly superior	5%	4%	4%
31%	31%	20%	Somewhat superior	11%	14%	11%
5%	7%	6%	Somewhat inferior	33%	27%	30%
2%	2%	1%	Greatly inferior	20%	18%	18%
42%	35%	51%	About the same	31%	37%	36%
4%	6%	8%	Don't know	4%	6%	8%
6%	5%	5%	Margin of error	4%	4%	3%

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 19B

Skepticism appears to be widespread among minorities. Taking the margins of error into account, rates drop to zero for “greatly superior.” The bulk of responses fall into the “about the same,” “greatly inferior,” and “somewhat inferior” categories. Yet majority groups do not share this skepticism. In fact, the reverse is true. The bulk of responses fall within the “about the same,” “greatly superior,” and “somewhat superior” categories.

The 35–49 majority group cohort stands out with a lower percentage of “about the same” and a slightly higher level percentage of “greatly superior” responses than the two other majority cohorts. For minority groups, the middle cohort differs little from the others.

Once again, however, the percentage or “I don’t know” responses is relatively high for both majority and minority language groups. Likewise, the “about the same” category receives the highest percentage for both groups. The response is neutral—and comforting?

Table 3.10 One of the primary objectives of language policy in the Government of Canada is to ensure employment equity for both French and English-speaking Canadians.

True	18–34	35–49	50+
Majority	91%	83%	83%
Margin of error	6%	5%	5%
Minority	86%	86%	85%
Margin of error	4%	4%	3%

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 20D

Response rates are nearly the same for the two groups, and the differences between cohorts are slim.

Table 3.11 According to the rules, the Government of Canada must offer public services in both English and French in all offices across the country.

True	18–34	35–49	50+
Majority	88%	87%	88%
Margin of error	6%	5%	5%
Minority	85%	85%	85%
Margin of error	4%	4%	3%

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 20E

Once again, the level of agreement is very high. However, the results reveal poor knowledge of the rules. The government must offer public services in both official languages at designated offices.

Findings

The first finding concerns the question about access. Response distribution for the two groups is completely different. We must therefore consider when majority groups need services in their language. The two groups reply from completely different perspectives. For minority groups, access is a practical matter, while for majorities, it is hypothetical. Nevertheless, if majority group ratings had been lower, this would have raised many questions not only as to people's factual knowledge, but also as to the sociopolitical relationships linked to the sense of national identity.

Lastly, the third question poses a problem with respect to knowledge of the *Official Languages Act*. This is significant for two reasons. On the one hand, there is a perception problem regarding the bilingual services the two language minorities can or cannot demand of the federal government. On the other hand, the misperception may fuel many criticisms from majority groups (e.g., the belief that all public servants must be bilingual).

Lastly, this section contains both ambiguities and a degree of continuity with the second block. In terms of ambiguity, respondents view individual measures in a positive light, but there is a wide gap between this perception and their support for more broad-reaching policies. This section is also consistent with previous section in that there is less agreement with questions about community support. Language and community are also dissociated in this section.

CONCLUSION

It is important to remember that identity is considered here in an institutional framework: bilingualism as defined by the state. Nevertheless, taking the initial remarks into account, four main findings can be identified. Firstly, bilingualism policy is supported, but only symbolically. On average, minority language group support is strongest for the statements in the first block, followed by the third block, then the second. Majority groups also support the first block most strongly, followed on the whole by the third block, and lastly the second block. Therefore, on average, both groups are least supportive of the second block of statements. These results can generally be considered a sign of the policy's success. Bilingualism is a marker of identity, especially among the youngest groups. From a sociopolitical perspective, a symbol is important to the extent that it is integrated—or not integrated—into the way a group is defined. On the other hand, the results may also be a sign of failure. Support does not necessarily point to an understanding of others. It applies to language alone, without reference to any cultural or historical context. But is this still a failure if official bilingualism plays a practical role? The possible individualization of the bilingualism policy can only further cloud the concepts of collective and differentiated rights.¹⁹

19. For the concept of differentiated rights and collective rights, see Kymlicka (1995: 46–47). This concept is based on “[...] the idea that justice between groups required that the members of different groups be accorded different rights.”

Secondly, a number of questions emerge as to the differences between age cohorts. Does a generation's sociopolitical context influence its concept of identity? Did the constitutional debates have an impact on views of "others?" Do younger people self-identify strictly as Francophone or Anglophone? The youngest cohort lives in a different environment—different from the days of linguistic conflicts and new language laws—if only due to a certain "standardization" in how bilingualism is represented by the Canadian state. However, even taking these sociopolitical factors into account, the Trudeau generation remains a source of intrigue. This members of this generation, most of whom grew up during the birth and consolidation of official bilingualism, are the ones who support bilingualism the least.

The third finding is that minority language groups are extremely skeptical about the government's role in promoting and supporting bilingualism. This may be a natural reaction. Their legitimacy often depends on the federal government's role, or at least on the dynamics between the federal and provincial governments. Others will stress that federal disengagement in a number of areas due to budget cuts has led to a reduction of services. For the purposes of this paper, the reason matters little; the federal government must deal with this skepticism.

Lastly, a number of questions must be raised regarding the overlap between, on the one hand, bilingualism and multiculturalism and, on the other hand, different identities. Posing the choice of identity in "either/or" terms may reveal less and less about sociopolitical trends. Can we still allow ourselves to concentrate on bilingualism without mention of multiculturalism? In the Toronto census metropolitan area, for example, 41.3% of the population reports a mother tongue other than English.²⁰ The direction the Commissioner of Official Languages has taken in promoting Francophone immigration across Canada also raises questions as to where these two policies come intersect. Francophone groups—either through *Fédération des communautés Francophones et acadiennes* or other associations—are reassessing the definition of their own identity and their place in the face of increasing demands from immigrants. Tension surrounding identity is constant. Failing to address the matter would be to ignore the social and political phenomena that have and will continue to have an impact on bilingualism.

20. According to the 2001 census. See Population by language groups, census metropolitan areas, 2001 <http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Products/Analytic/companion/lang/subprovs.cfm> Consulted May 24, 2004.

A final comment must be made about in a broader sociopolitical and cultural context. As I was revising this text, I read Samuel P. Huntington's latest book, which is again attracting much attention.²¹ The book discusses the American identity and the perils the author believes are threatening the Anglo-Protestant roots at its very foundation. These many perils are the ideologies (in the negative sense of the term) of multiculturalism and diversity, as well as the spread of Spanish as a second language (Huntington, 2004, p. 18). The work is in fact an appeal for a single national identity. From this side of the border, this insistence on a single identity free of these ideologies appears to be the opposite of the transformations Canada has undergone. Different demands have been accommodated in part by state support for official bilingualism—with all its ambiguities and contradictions. These ambiguities and contradictions may be the most important aspects of the survey. Otherwise, it would be too easy to be complacent toward the book and retort "My name is Joe, and I am Canadian."²²

21. Huntington is the author of *The Clash of Civilizations*, which provoked extensive debate when it was published in 1996. He essentially argues that after the conflict between communism and capitalism, the world is now divided in a struggle between Christianity, Islamism, and Confucianism. After September 11, this notion was of course quickly picked up.

22. The character in the TV spot for Molson *Canadian* beer proclaimed—I'm not a lumberjack or a fur trader. I don't live in an igloo, eat blubber or own a dogsled. I don't know Jimmy, Suzie or Sally from Canada, although I'm certain they're very nice. I have a prime minister, not a president. I speak English and French, not American. And I pronounce it "a-bout" not "a-boot". I can proudly sew my country's flag on my backpack. I believe in peacekeeping, not policing; diversity, not assimilation, and that the beaver is a proud and noble animal. A tuque is a hat. A chesterfield is a couch. And it's pronounced Zed, OK, not Zee, Zed. Canada is the second-largest land mass, the first nation of hockey and the best part of North America.

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3.1 COMMENTS ON JOSÉE BERGERON'S PAPER

Jean Lafontant,

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A survey was conducted. During discussions, a number of people pointed out its methodological limitations. I agree with their constructive criticism.

Our colleague Josée Bergeron drew attention to certain survey data and suggested possible interpretations. Rather than the accuracy of the data *per se*, I will briefly discuss Josée's hypotheses.

The first one concerns identity, i.e., the feeling of being culturally affiliated with a specific group, real or perceived, and more or less clearly defined. For example, as a general rule, official-language minorities, more than majorities, tend to consider bilingualism an important marker of *Canadianism*. The most obvious reason being that official-language minorities have a practical interest in learning the majority language in their province. Bilingualism is an everyday reality for francophone minorities, especially in Western Canada, and, also, it does legitimate their status and demands through their institutional network.

Yet, research should go further and take additional sociological factors into account. It is not enough for people to simply label themselves "Canadian," "French-Canadian," or "Franco-Manitoban". As well, it is important to understand what lies beneath the label. In the study I conducted in 1998 on language practices and the meaning of cultural affiliation among young graduates of French-language high schools in Manitoba (Lafontant 2002; 2001; 2000a; Lafontant and Martin, 2000) we gave respondents a number of identity labels to choose from, but also the option of providing a personal definition -- so did 25% of the respondents!

Hence, there are linguistic affiliations on the one hand, which may, in some degree, be inspired by government policies, and personal cultural practices on the other. Measuring the connection between these two variables is an empirical question.

I agree with the suggestion that we, as researchers, and our government organizations take into account the fact that more and more immigrants speaking various languages (i.e., allophones) are joining francophone minority communities and using French as their primary language of communication.

In her paper, Josée repeatedly emphasizes the incidence that the *generational* variable may play in explaining certain differences in perspective observed among three broad age groups (18–34, 35–49, 50+). I tend to agree, although more precise statistical analyses are needed to clarify the strength and contours of the phenomenon. In my 1998 study on young French-Manitobans (modal age 17–18), I found the generational hypothesis to be useful, not only as an explaining perspective for identity choices, but also for certain obvious contradictions/inconsistencies in their feeling of belonging to a specific, relatively privileged “cultural” minority, as well as their assertion that all *ethnic* groups (theirs included) are on an equal footing, politically speaking. These *children of Trudeau*, who I have elsewhere dubbed the *children of the world* (Lafontant, 2000b), are the heirs not only of the *Official Languages Act*, but also Canadian Multiculturalism Policy.

While the generational variable is a plausible explanation, it would be advantageous to break it down according to respondents’ socio-economic status. More specifically, research should distinguish between respondents who are active in the cultural/institutional network of their official language minority (OLM) community and those who are conscious of their cultural heritage, but do not depend directly on the OLM community for their livelihood. This variable may in part explain these people’s language practices, their recognition, and even their identity profiles.

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3.2 DISCUSSION

Sharon McCully

It did not surprise me really to learn that women were the greatest supporters of bilingualism. I think perhaps it's because women are also mothers and they tend to want the best for their children, and obviously it's better to have two languages than one. Certainly in Quebec, an observation that we've made over the past 25 to 30 years is that English-speaking Quebecers have been among the first to recognize the importance of having two languages, especially those Quebecers who decided to stay and live in Quebec. But that effort was largely at the expense of the institutional network. Many parents sent their children to French schools and it weakens the English school system. And as a result, instead of having young bilingual Anglophones, we now have bright, young, bilingual Quebecers who can function very well in either language, so they don't see the necessity really of having a justice system, for example, that would serve them in their own language because it is also very pragmatic to be able to go to the hospital, the court, or wherever—if you can go in either language, you simply do. I think it also speaks about the issue of leadership within our minority communities. If you can speak both languages, you really don't see what the issue is. It's like the issue of the generation before you, and we continue to go back and say we have to protect what we had. Perhaps we should start looking at the future, at this new generation of young bilingual Canadians, and see where we should be going in the future with a different kind of community.*



Matthieu Brennan

One of the things that struck me in Mr. Lafontant's remarks was that the concept of identify among young people, in particular, and the way in which identity is constructed, involve zones of intersection, if you will, of various identity components and the relative place they occupy at any given moment, in various contexts. I wonder if we can see some of these intersections in the survey data, for example, the intersection of high-level values like justice,

* Characters in bold — verbatim transcription

equality, and colour blindness with regard to race, etc., which, as someone mentioned earlier today, are “motherhood-apple pie” principles—unless they are confronted with a real-life situation. I wonder to what extent we are capable of dissecting notions of identity using survey data in a very individually and contextually complex reality.

Jean Lafontant

I raised the question of identity because Josée raised it. I admit that the survey questions do not necessarily enlighten us on this concept, which is indeed extremely complex. It is nonetheless an important question and that is why I brought it up again. This is an important question because it is the link between language and culture. We know that this is a fairly old theoretical question that has been debated at length, and it is ultimately the future of languages as well. Does it qualify as a tool? That is where things are open-ended, where the competition begins, because it may essentially end up calling into question the *Official Languages Act* by saying that everyone who speaks French is francophone. So it is no longer a question of mother tongue—it is essentially a question of mastery and knowledge of the language, which we have already made a start on. Are we to move toward a Canada where the words “anglophone” and “francophone” no longer consist of a defined cultural baggage, but simply the mastery of a certain language? It seems to me that this choice has political and various other consequences.

Matthieu Brennan

To add to that, I held focus groups with young adults aged 20 to 28 in the year 2000 for the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages. At that time, the classic conception of bilingualism and official language policies in Canada, with its concept of founding peoples, reeked of colonialism for francophone and anglophone youth, and they said as much. It was a historic shift. We are seeing this in various manifestations now, but we haven’t yet given it a name, and we haven’t yet made the mental shift to a new vocabulary to describe attitudes that we see reflected in our observations of youth. I realize that the raw material you had to work with in the survey, Josée, as I understand it, was perhaps not refined enough to dig very deeply in all of this, but there is a historic discourse that is now a part of history, and there is a social discourse that is perhaps very different from the historic discourse.



Daniel Bourgeois

I have an aside that only indirectly concerns the talk, but I realize that there are perhaps evolutionary comparative studies from that time period that could be carried out, using some of the questions as a starting point. There are questions that you have raised about the regulations requiring the Canadian government to provide public services in both official languages in all its offices across the country. The results were very positive. In my doctoral research on bilingual districts, I found 5 or 6 surveys where people said “okay” in the 1960s, but only in regions where the minority group was significant—and certainly not throughout the country—which is just the opposite of the conclusion you made based on the questionnaire data. This changed in the 1970s: just before the election of the Parti Québécois, attitudes were very negative, but after the election, they were very positive. This has fluctuated for some thirty years, very much in opposite directions: “yes” across the country, “no” in concentrated areas. I know that there have been variations in the way questions have been asked over time, but the vocabulary and at least the principle behind the questions has remained more or less the same. And I am under the impression that there are perhaps other questions that you could look for in previous studies to try to identify changes that have taken place on this issue. Not in the entire set of questions, of course, but there are maybe a dozen or so questions there that could help... it’s an aside that doesn’t examine questions of identity or anything, but...



Deborah Hook

The anglophone community in Quebec, which you looked at in the survey, is not at all homogeneous, especially in Montreal, where there are many people who speak English but don’t wish to be identified as anglophones. For them, it’s something derogatory. **The Quebec government, the English speakers in the Quebec government, and we refer to ourselves as English-speaking Quebecers** because “anglophone” has a connotation of mother-tongue English, and for many, many members of the English community in Quebec, their mother tongue is not at all English. That’s the reality in Quebec, which I sense in some of the discussions with my francophone colleagues as perhaps where the francophone community may be going with the immigration, so heads up. The second thing is, as our children grow up in this world where the lines are much more blurred, I think your point about multiculturalism and the official languages is something that the government and ourselves, too, and perhaps the secondary studies—not

* Characters in bold — verbatim transcription

surveys—would find worthwhile because the traditional lines, the traditional laws, the traditional regulations, I suspect, may not fit in a generation or two. Thank you.*



Daniel Bourgeois

[...] We have to be careful when saying that the question of identity is no longer very important, that we no longer have such a need to distinguish between someone who speaks French and someone who, culturally speaking, works and communicates in French because, in theory, I don't think that a cultural and linguistic group can survive without being anchored to a certain extent in a community and a history. I think that the challenge is to do this while remaining globally oriented, but to say that this is no longer very important. I'm not saying that this is so, but I know that people often say things like this, in FCFA discussions for example: "Look, this is not very important because we meet youth who find that these types of questions are no longer pertinent." I am quite prepared to believe that we no longer live in the same old monolithic world where everyone was Catholic, French, and drove a Chevrolet... but I find that we shouldn't be in too big of a hurry to conclude that this is no longer a very important issue. The day when this no longer has any importance, when there is no longer any sense of shared identity and community—I think this will signal the end of francophone communities in Canada, except in Quebec. Communities have to be rooted in something, and being rooted solely in a bill is not enough, because in truth, bilingualism is not all that universally embraced in Canada. We might envision it like this in a perfect world where all Canadians were bilingual—that speaking English and French would be a fundamental part of the Canadian identity—but we are not living in this world. As a whole, English Canada's openness toward bilingualism—and I don't mean this in a negative sense—is not deeply rooted in people's everyday lives. Let's not dispense with identity issues too quickly.

Josée Bergeron

I certainly didn't mean to dispense with them, on the contrary. What I wanted to emphasize was the question of identity, but according to what terms? These terms may no longer be the same for young people after 30 years of an official languages policy that is part of a representation of what Canada is. To what degree it is a part is another thing. But the definition of terms used in the 1970s and 1980s may not necessarily be the same today, and I think we need to take this into account. This has an impact not only in terms of policy

* Characters in bold — verbatim transcription

definition for the government, but also on the organization and mobilization of various minority groups—anglophone or francophone. If we think in these terms, it's the fundamental capacity of these groups to mobilize and organize that needs to be analyzed. So it's still a central issue, but we need to question the terms of reference, both for the government of Canada as well as groups.



Ricky Richard

Josée, you ended your presentation with a reference to Jeffrey Simpson, who commented on the CRIQ survey, and I think there are many interesting parallels to be made between your talk and the CRIQ presentation. I would like to highlight a few of them, and certain nuances too. We have seen that support for bilingualism varies among anglophones and francophones, with the latter being much more inclined to support bilingualism. However, there are parallels to make between both these communities, and if we move toward a more precise definition of what they mean by “bilingualism” in terms of individual economic advantage or in terms of purely personal bilingualism (learning a language), the distinctions level off. Of course, there are still parallels with your analysis—francophones tend to support bilingualism more strongly, as do youth. We also see in the CRIQ survey that the Atlantic provinces tend to support bilingualism. Lack of support tends to be concentrated among older men from the West, whereas the Canadian population in general tends to support it. Of course, there are distinctions between francophones and anglophones, but people tend to support it. But there is a major difference—which gets back to what Matthieu Brennan brought up—in the CRIQ survey, where it states quite clearly that the associations between bilingualism and national unity, particularly among youth, no longer operate the same way. In this sense, there's a paradox because we are talking about the Trudeau generation, but the comparison we're making shows people aren't getting on board. There's support for bilingualism, yes, but youth tend to tune out when it is a matter of “Is this a part of national identity, and is it necessary?” This gets back to the idea of founding peoples.

I'd like to make a final comment related to a recent presentation by William Floch at the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages. The data shows francophone minority and anglophone majority views are growing closer and closer on certain questions. The CRIQ survey shows this, and it seems to me that, if I remember correctly, data from this survey also shows that majority and minority members react to the same political events. Political context has an enormous influence on the attitudes they hold with

regard to the learning of a language and bilingualism, and we see that even if the levels of bilingualism and support are different—say 80 and 60 percent—people react to political events. For example, the referendum, the patriation of the Constitution—these events and this political context had the same effect on francophone and anglophone populations. So, to speak of a distinction, yes; an identification with language and culture, yes; however, Canadians are increasingly influenced by the same political events, which leads us to temper the old distinctions between majority and minority.

Yves Frenette

We often forget that the problem with identity is that we think it's static, but it is not static. The type of studies that Jean Lafontant and our colleagues at OISE, (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education) have carried out are very revealing. They use a qualitative approach and follow youth for five, six, or ten years, showing that during certain periods of their lives they completely reject their Franco-Ontarian ethnocultural identity (because our first identity is as youth and, in the North American context, as anti-parent, anti-older adults). I imagine it's the same thing in Quebec and English Quebec as well. At other times, they come back from this. There are not yet many studies—and I'm speaking of Ontario because I don't know as much about the other provinces—and we realize that it is the school that makes a big difference. When they choose—and it is a choice—at 18 or 19 years of age to live in French or to get involved in organizations, it is generally because they went to a French school. Maybe they rejected the school at one point, and maybe they fought with their parents who made them go to it, but it nonetheless has a big influence on them when they become young adults.

4. MINORITY REPORT: DIVERGING AND CONVERGING VIEWS ON SELECTED LANGUAGES ISSUES IN CANADA, 2002

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INTRODUCTION

Measuring and analyzing attitudes towards various aspects of Canada's policies in the area of official languages involves multiple challenges. A major survey of official language majority communities and official language minorities conducted in the fall of 2002 for the Department of Canadian Heritage inquires broadly into the issues and attempts to gauge the views of the population in an effort to determine the levels of support for language policy according to such demographic considerations as region, age, gender, language knowledge and linguistic identification. The division between majority and minority language communities presumes some commonality of thinking across such expressions of identity.

In the early 1980's a popular academic publication entitled the English of Quebec: From Majority to Minority Status¹ contended that until the 1970's Quebec Anglophones conducted themselves like a linguistic majority in the province as they strongly identified with the broader English-Canadian

1. Eric Waddell, *English of Quebec: from Majority to Minority Status*, Quebec, Institut quebecois de recherche sur la culture, 1982, p.453-464.

population (Caldwell and Waddell, 1984). Only with the introduction of Quebec language legislation and the stronger nationalist affirmation on the part of Quebec Francophones did Anglophones come to terms with their minority status. Following that logic it is often contended that as of the 1960's Quebec Francophones underwent an attitudinal shift with important behavioural consequences wherein they began to act like a majority within the province rather than a minority. The majority/minority paradigm has become a frequently evoked generalization in describing the historic behavior of Quebec Anglophones. Conversely Quebec Francophone attitudes often focus on the minority status of the French language within North America as having a profound influence on the conduct of Quebec's language majority.

Undoubtedly the degree to which one identifies with either a language majority or minority has a bearing on their views, understanding and support of language policies. One's region of residence also plays an important role notably as presumably does their proximity to members of the other official language community. The greater distance the less likely it is assumed the preoccupation with concerns of the communities in question. However living in areas where opportunities for contact between language communities are greater results does not necessarily imply heightened sensitivity to minority concerns. Throughout Canada's history there are several examples of contact between language groups breeding conflict rather than empathy. Recent debates over bilingual status for the city of Ottawa provide contemporary evidence for the notion that proximity does not give immediate rise to support for the concerns of language minorities.

LANGUAGE, SALIENCE AND DISCOURSE

Language is an important expression of the identity of many Canadians. A survey conducted in 2003 by the firm Environics for the Association for Canadian Studies revealed that whereas one-quarter of Anglophones in Canada declared that language was the most important part of their identity and culture (30% selected ancestry and ethnic origin), some sixty percent of Francophones stated that language was their principal marker of identity.

Surveys rarely attempt to gauge the salience of language identity in studying attitudes towards related policy issues. Clearly while many are willing to express opinion on language policy its impact on individuals across the country varies according to demographic circumstances and notably the concentration of language communities in certain regions of the country. In effect where one resides will likely have an effect on the importance that is attributed to linguistic

identity and the way they understand and interpret language policy. Since the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the 1960's and the introduction of the Official Languages Act in 1969 Canadian views on public policy and action in this area have evolved. So too has the discourse that is employed by government to explain policy to the population. Indeed the terms that are used to describe objectives of language policy can shape attitudes and very often the symbols that are evoked powerfully influence one's views. In part this is because while the impact of language policies will differ in their individual impact they can have a substantial bearing on national identity, the relationship between Quebec and the rest of Canada and the status of the country's language minorities.

Researcher Andrew Parkin has convincingly demonstrated the importance of the discourse that is employed by policy-makers when examining opinion on official languages. He points out that the manner in which a question on official languages is asked and the terminology that is employed in our numerous inquiries will have an important incidence on the response given. For example the use of term language duality or official languages can result in divergent reactions policies even if in substance they do not meaningfully differ.

Survey methodology is yet another consideration in assessing the attitudes of Canadians. For example scale measurement is used much less frequently in measuring attitudes towards issues of policy and identity and most polls limit responses to strong or moderate degrees of agreement or disagreement. The most recent large scale survey of majority and minority views on language and language related issues conducted in November 2002 by GPC for the Department of Canadian Heritage employs scale measurement which has the advantage of permitting a broader view of how soft attitudes may be on such issues. The disadvantage however is that in the absence of narrowing the choices available to the respondent one is confronted with how to interpret soft sentiments. Indeed the survey analyst sometimes opts for different standards in the majority language survey where on a scale from 1-10 it is the 4-7 responses that are deemed to be neutral and in the minority survey it is more often the number 5 response on the scale that is considered neutral. In the quest for narrowing the soft or neutral view of respondents for the purposes of this study the methodology used was that of the minority report. The survey also pays special attention to the relationship between policy knowledge and opinion on government action in the area of official languages. Such knowledge does by no means translate into support.

The GPC/PCH survey encourages comparison between language majorities that is Francophones in Quebec and Anglophones elsewhere in Canada. For the purposes of this analysis the data was reassembled to

focus comparison principally on the language community with which one identifies that is Anglophones or Francophones across the provinces. Doing so tends to more strongly highlight the differences between Anglophones in Quebec and the rest of Canada and Francophones outside of Quebec and within the province. The study also affords opportunities to examine views across a variety of social and economic indicators. Assessing ‘majority community’ results on basis of gender, income and education infers a certain commonality of opinion that may diminish the overriding regional predilections and notably those between Quebec Francophones and Anglophones elsewhere in the country. Thus cross-tabulation of the regional majority data with the other socio-demographic variables is crucial to understanding the importance of such considerations between regions in influencing opinion—something we propose to do at a later date.

IDENTITY

A survey conducted by the firm Environics in the year 2003 revealed that some 69% of English Canadians felt that bilingualism was very important to Canadian identity (31% very important and 38% somewhat) as opposed to 88% of Francophone Canadians (58% very important and 30% somewhat). Clearly the degree and intensity of importance is much greater amongst Francophones than Anglophones (with the exception of those residing in Quebec). But unlike the more traditional inquiry involving the importance of bilingualism to Canadian identity, the GPC survey asks about having two official languages and language duality. There seems to be little difference in the reaction to these two terms amongst language minorities in the country as both Francophones outside of Quebec and Anglophones within the province respond very favorably upon this discourse. Amongst the English language majority the notion of language duality yields a more sympathy than the notion of official languages. In the case of Quebec Francophones their attitude to official languages and language duality are far more similar to that of the country’s official language minorities than they are akin to that of the English language majority.

As observed below west of the province of Ontario more disagree than agree that official languages are important to their sense of being Canadian.

Table 4.0

Having Two Official Languages is important to my sense of Being Canadian?

Anglophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
Agree	45	89	36	30	30
Disagree	25	7	36	43	42
Neither	30	5	27	26	28

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 8A

Table 4.1

Having Two Official Languages is important to my sense of Being Canadian?

Francophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
Agree	94	68	97	92	95
Disagree	1	9	1	0	1
Neither	4	23	2	8	4

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 8A

As seen below the term language duality resonates better with the Anglophone majorities than does official languages. This is also true for Quebec francophones with some eight out of ten reacting positively to language duality as opposed to approximately two-thirds that respond favorably to official languages.

Table 4.2

Canada's Linguistic Duality is a source of cultural enrichment for me

Anglophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
Agree	55	84	54	40	53
Disagree	26	7	31	39	30
Neither/DK/Ref	18	9	15	20	17

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 22I

Table 4.3

Canada's Linguistic Duality is a source of cultural enrichment for me

Francophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
Agree	88	79	91	82	75
Disagree	3	12	2	4	14
Neither/DK/Ref	8	8	6	12	9

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 22I

Yet another aspect of how Canadians perceive the relationship between official languages and identity is in the degree to which they believe that government policy fosters national unity. Indeed it is commonly held by advocates of official language policies that they are essential to national unity. In fact the policies are often defended in defense of national unity. Opponents that for years have contended that support for language duality is divisive frequently challenge this fundamental tenet of the policy.

Minority or majority language status and region of residence undoubtedly play a significant role in shaping opinion on language policy. All might find arguments based on the survey in support of the effect of language policy on national unity. There are as many Anglophones in Ontario that agree as disagree on the issue with the largest percentage being somewhere in between. West of Ontario, Anglophone populations are somewhat more inclined to disagree than to agree that official language policy contributes to national unity while Anglophones in the Atlantic provinces are more apt to agree than to disagree with this idea. However as regards the relationship to national unity it may be more important that more Quebecers agree than disagree with importance of official languages.

Table 4.4

Government of Canada Official Language Policies Contribute to Stronger National Unity					
Anglophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
Agree	35	72	29	26	33
Disagree	41	13	29	32	36
Neither	22	12	39	41	29

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 22M

There are profound differences of opinion on this matter between the official language minorities and majorities. Some three-quarters of minority Francophones and Anglophones believe that official languages policy contributes to national unity.

Table 4.5

Government of Canada Official Language Policies Contribute to Stronger National Unity.

Francophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
Agree	79	34	79	74	71
Disagree	5	16	7	12	12
Neither	12	46	10	11	10

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 22M

It is also interesting to contrast the importance of official languages in its respective connection to Canadian identity and national unity. Anglophones in the Atlantic provinces and Ontario are somewhat more likely to perceive official languages as important to Canadian identity than they do to Canadian unity. Elsewhere there is a greater degree of consistency in the responses with one very important exception. While 89% of Francophone Quebecers agree that official languages is important to their sense of being Canadian 34% believe that public policy in this area contributes to national unity. Undoubtedly responses to the latter question are far more influenced by one's stand on the national unity.

THE BUSINESS OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

If there is some uncertainty as to the impact of language policy on national unity and Canadian identity there is wider agreement over the contribution of two languages enhancing employment and business opportunities. Amongst Francophone Canadians and Anglophones in Quebec the idea is endorsed overwhelmingly. But while the view acquires good support amongst Anglophones in Atlantic Canada and in Ontario it finds fewer subscribers in the Prairies and the West. These attitudes may be influenced by the perceived economic benefits that accrue to those who actually possess knowledge of English and French and those who do not. In effect those regions with a larger percentage of English and French speakers also include a larger share that agree with French and English enhancing employment and business opportunities.

Table 4.6

Having French as well as English Spoken in Canada enhances employment and business opportunities for all Canadians.

Anglophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
Agree	65	85	60	45	54
Disagree	27	8	31	30	30
Neither	8	6	9	25	16

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 22A

Table 4.7

Having French as well as English Spoken in Canada enhances employment and business opportunities for all Canadians.

Francophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
Agree	90	91	90	89	88
Disagree	7	5	4	6	8
Neither	2	4	5	5	4

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 22A

LANGUAGE POLICY

When asked whether the federal government is doing a good job at promoting and protecting Canada's two official languages the majority of the population responds affirmatively. The most favorable reaction comes from the country's French language minorities though Quebec Anglophones are a little less inclined than their minority counterparts in their endorsement. But the least enthusiastic endorsement-though still the majority view-comes from Quebec Francophones and Anglophones residing west of Ontario. Responses to other survey questions on language suggest that it is for quite different reasons that Quebec Francophones may feel less favorable to federal intervention than do Anglophones on the Prairies and in the Western part of the country.

Table 4.8

The Government of Canada is doing a good job in promoting and protecting Canada's two Official Languages.

Anglophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
Agree	67	63	60	55	54
Disagree	11	20	21	13	19
Neither	16	16	17	27	22

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 22J

Table 4.9

The Government of Canada is doing a good job in promoting and protecting Canada's two Official Languages.

Francophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
Agree	80	56	76	68	66
Disagree	9	27	9	13	14
Neither	10	15	13	18	19

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 22J

While most believe that the federal government is doing a good job in promoting and protecting the two official languages the country's Francophones remain convinced that the future of the French language in Canada is threatened. The majority of Francophones hold this view that is shared by relatively few Anglophones both in majority and minority situations. Indeed it is Quebec Francophones that are most likely to believe that the future of the French language is threatened in Canada (some 72% agree), followed by Francophones in Ontario (67) with Atlantic Francophones (60%) and Western Francophones (56%) least inclined to hold that opinion. Paradoxically it is in Western Canada where the level of language loss amongst Francophones is greatest. What might account for these discrepancies? It may be attributable to the expectations that are held by Francophones with respect to the condition they expect for the French language in their region rather than the actual situation of the language. This may also explain why many Francophones give the federal relatively good marks in its effort to protect and promote minority languages despite the persistent concern over the state of the French language in Canada.

AWARENESS OF LANGUAGE POLICIES

Awareness about public policy is often seen as critical to raising support for the issues that it addresses. It is presumed that it is the lack of knowledge around in this case language policies that gives rise to misunderstanding and hence increases opposition to state involvement in this area. Those who are deemed better informed are believed to be more likely to support government action on language policy. However greater policy knowledge does not always mean more support. Once the knowledge is acquired it is the manner in which it is interpreted that becomes crucial. Whether Anglophone or Francophone, most Canadians agree that the government of Canada is obliged by law to support minority language communities in their province of residence.

Table 4.10

As far as you are aware are Government of Canada departments obliged by law to support the Anglophone/Francophone community in your province of residence?

Anglophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
Yes	74	55	54	63	60
No	16	30	30	28	28
Refuse/Don't know	10	15	16	9	12

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 14A

Table 4.11

As far as you are aware are Government of Canada departments obliged by law to support the Anglophone/Francophone community in your province of residence?

Francophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
Yes	72	69	69	80	59
No	17	26	21	12	28
Refuse/Don't know	0	5	10	8	13

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 14A

Although they believe there is a legal obligation to support official language communities, most Canadians admit to being unfamiliar with the details of intergovernmental agreements to support language communities.

Table 4.12

How Familiar are you with agreements between the government of Canada, provincial and territorial governments to support the Anglophone/Francophone communities

Anglophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
Familiar	22	33	28	22	23
Unfamiliar	78	65	71	75	77

How Familiar are you with agreements between the government of Canada, provincial and territorial governments to support the Anglophone/Francophone communities

Francophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
Familiar	35	25	35	49	35
Unfamiliar	65	75	65	51	65

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 18A

Anglophone Canadians are more inclined to offer an opinion on what the commitment to the communities may or may not entail. For example amongst Canada's Anglophones it is the group within Quebec that are most likely to believe that the government of Canada is obliged to provide funding to organizations that serve the interest of official language minorities. Such views are relatively similar to those of other Quebecers. Conversely the views of Francophone Quebecers on such matters are more similar to those of other Francophones in Canada than they are of Anglophone majorities in the rest of the country (though Atlantic Canadian opinion is not vastly different from that of Quebec Francophones). Anglophones in Ontario are less certain that the government is obliged to fund organizations serving minority language communities. To the west of that province however a near majority feel that there is no such obligation.

Table 4.13

As far as you are aware is the government of Canada obliged to provide funding to organizations which serve the interests of the Anglophone/Francophone community?

Anglophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
Yes	58	67	36	35	35
No	26	21	42	49	51
Refuse/Don't Know	16	12	22	16	14

Source: GPC International Survey, Q.17A

For their part minority Francophones are most inclined to think that government funding in this area is mandatory although the view is not as strongly held in the provinces of Alberta and British Columbia.

Table 4.14

As far as you are aware is the government of Canada obliged to provide funding to organizations which serve the interests of the Anglophone/Francophone community?

Francophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
True	78	82	86	81	85
False	20	16	13	17	4
Refus/DK	2	2	1	2	4

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 17A

It is generally assumed that the Government of Canada must offer services in both English and French anywhere on the country. It is a perception held by both majority and minority language communities. Only do one out of five Anglophone respondents in the Atlantic provinces know this to be untrue.

Table 4.15

According to the Rules, the Government of Canada must offer public services in both English and French in all offices across the country?

Anglophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
True	78	82	86	81	85
False	20	16	13	17	4
Refus/DK	2	2	1	2	4

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 20E

Table 4.16

According to the Rules, the Government of Canada must offer public services in both English and French in all offices across the country?

Francophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
True	90	87	84	81	85
False	8	12	15	17	11
Refus/DK	2	0	1	2	4

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 20E

SUPPORTING OFFICIAL LANGUAGE POLICY

There is a big gap between the extent to which Anglophone Canadians believe that the government is obliged to provide funding for minority language communities and the degree to which they believe such support should be extended. While more precise cross-tabulation of responses is needed it remains relatively safe to conclude that there is a link between perceived commitments to official language concerns and individual support for them. Outside of Quebec, more Anglophones disagree than agree that the Government of Canada should extend funding to community-based organizations serving minority language interests. This issue may be in part connected to the widely held view amongst Anglophone Canadians that the future of the French language is not threatened and/or a generalized mistrust of funding to what is regarded as special interest groups.

Table 4.17

Please tell me to what extent you agree that the Government of Canada should provide funding for community-based organizations which serve the interests of the Anglophone/Francophone community in your province of residence?

Anglophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
Agree	38	81	36	31	28
Disagree	42	7	48	41	56
Neither	20	10	16	28	16

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 17B

Minority language communities that are more directly affected by such funding are considerably more sympathetic to government assistance to such organizations. Quebec Francophones part company with minority Francophones on this matter and offer views that are closer to those of Anglophones outside Quebec-though they still remain more supportive than that group.

Table 4.18

Please tell me to what extent you agree that the Government of Canada should provide funding for community-based organizations which serve the interests of the Anglophone/Francophone community in your province of residence?

Francophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
Agree	86	50	85	83	66
Disagree	4	22	5	7	17
Neither	7	26	7	10	17

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 17B

Very similar views are offered when it comes to the extent to which Anglophone Canadians feel that the government of Canada should support the development of language minorities. In the Atlantic provinces a majority of Anglophones agree with the provision of such assistance. Elsewhere however Anglophones majorities are less disposed to government underwriting such development.

Table 4.19

To what extent do you agree that Government of Canada departments should support the development of the Anglophone/Francophone community in your province of residence?

Anglophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
Agree	51	87	37	34	36
Disagree	25	4	42	47	43
Neither	24	8	21	19	21

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 14B

The views of Quebec Francophones resemble those of the Anglophone population of Atlantic Canada—with a majority in favor of such intervention. Clearly the more compelling issue for the majority communities is the view amongst Quebec Francophones that it is Francophone minorities that need assistance and the perception amongst Anglophones outside Quebec that it is Quebec Anglophones that need aid. While the survey does not provide direct evidence for this view other studies have demonstrated the existence of such a dichotomy when it comes to majority/minority views on the condition and need of official language minorities.

Table 4.20

To what extent do you agree that Government of Canada departments should support the development of the Anglophone/Francophone community in your province of residence?

Francophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
Agree	93	54	91	81	80
Disagree	2	22	2	8	13
Neither	4	24	6	10	7

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 14B

Anglophone Canadians may be divided over the types of support being offered to minority language communities and the extent to which they are legally obliged to extend such assistance however they acknowledge that there is a federal commitment to protect the French language. Across the regions majority Anglophones agree that the federal government does have such a responsibility.

Table 4.21

The Government of Canada has an important role to promote and protect the status and use of the French language in Canadian Society.

Anglophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
Agree	67	80	60	52	58
Disagree	21	10	25	29	29
Neither	12	8	15	19	13

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 227

And as regards the status of the French language there is near unanimity amongst Francophones as to the government's role and responsibility.

Table 4.22

The Government of Canada has an important role to promote and protect the status and use of the French language in Canadian Society

Francophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
Agree	96	91	94	89	88
Disagree	1	3	1	3	5
Neither	3	3	4	7	6

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 227

EDUCATION

Minority language and second language education are fundamental elements of official languages policy and strategy. Perhaps not surprisingly a majority of Anglophones in Quebec notes that they had a good opportunity to learn the other official language at the elementary or secondary level. It is surprising however that a majority of Anglophones surveyed in the western part of the country also indicate that they had such an opportunity. With the exception of Quebec the percentage indicating that they had a good opportunity to learn French at school vastly exceeds the real share of Anglophones that report knowledge of French.

Table 4.23

My Elementary/Secondary education provided me a good opportunity to learn my second official language.

Anglophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
Agree	40	55	44	39	51
Disagree	45	29	37	49	34
Neutral	15	9	14	11	13

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 22B

Table 4.24

My Elementary/Secondary education provided me a good opportunity to learn my second official language .

Francophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
Agree	76	46	78	82	65
Disagree	14	37	12	10	19
Neutral	9	13	7	5	12

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 22B

With one important exception Anglophone majorities appear largely favorable to the federal government supporting second language education. Only in the Prairie provinces are somewhat fewer respondents enthusiastic about such initiatives. Such findings resemble survey results of a poll conducted by Environics that found greater resistance in the Prairies to mandatory second language education. It is also worth noting that enthusiasm amongst Anglophones is greater in the Atlantic provinces than it is in the Ontario and in Western Canada. Likely underlying these results is the attitude towards French second language acquisition and the respective value that is attributed to it. As noted in the previous tables residents of the Prairies tend to have fewer opportunities to acquire French as a second language and although further research is required this may be a factor in the relatively limited support for such instruction.

Table 4.25

How strongly do you support the use of Government of Canada programs to provide for English/French as second language education?

Anglophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
Support (High)	64	86	54	45	52
Neutral/Neither	16	8	11	17	19
Do Not Support (Low)	20	6	35	38	29

Source: GPC International Survey, Q.21E

Not surprisingly Quebec Anglophones strongly support such programs and their views on this matter are similar to those of other language minorities elsewhere in Canada.

The views of Quebec Francophones tend to resemble those of the linguistic minorities than those of the majorities. Some three-quarters of Quebecers are highly supportive of federal aid for second language education.

Table 4.26

How strongly do you support the use of Government of Canada programs to provide for English/French as second language education?

Francophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
Support (High)	84	71	87	81	79
Neutral/Neither	9	21	7	9	10
Do Not Support (Low)	7	8	6	10	11

Source: GPC International Survey, Q.21E

MINORITY LANGUAGE EDUCATION

As for minority language education amongst English language majorities Atlantic Canadians are most supportive of federal programs in this area. More Anglophones agree than disagree with the extension of such support in Ontario and the Western provinces. Again it is in the Prairies that support for federal aid to minority language education seems to generate somewhat less enthusiasm though slightly more agree than disagree with this intervention.

Table 4.27

How strongly do you support the use of Government of Canada programs to provide for education in English/French?

Anglophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
Support (High)	65	87	49	39	45
Neutral/Neither	14	8	14	25	22
Do Not Support (Low)	21	3	37	36	33

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 21B

The view of Francophone Quebecers resembles that of Anglophones in the Atlantic provinces with in each instance nearly two-thirds endorsing federal support for minority language education. Not surprisingly official language minorities overwhelmingly support such programs.

Table 4.28

How strongly do you support the use of Government of Canada programs to provide for education in English/French?

Francophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
Support (High)	87	64	87	78	77
Neutral/Neither	9	17	10	12	15
Do Not Support (Low)	2	15	3	8	8

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 21B

Is familiarity an important factor in levels of support for minority and second language education? Judging by the relatively limited differences in declared degrees of familiarity with such programs across Anglophone communities such knowledge does not appear a crucial consideration in influencing levels of support.

Tableau 4.29

How familiar are you with Government of Canada (that is Canadian Heritage) programs supporting minority language education?

Anglophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
Familiar	35	38	31	36	38
Unfamiliar	65	61	68	63	61

Source: GPC International Survey, Q. 21A

For their part the minority language communities tend to regard themselves as much better informed of federal programs than are the majority communities (the Quebec majority's familiarity is somewhat closer to that of other provincial majorities than it is of the minority communities).

Tableau 4.30

How familiar are you with Government of Canada (that is Canadian Heritage) programs supporting minority language education?

Francophones	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	West
Familiar	61	42	53	55	47
Unfamiliar	39	57	46	45	53

Source: GPC International Survey, Q.21A

CONCLUSION

It seems fairly safe to conclude that for members of the majority language communities the region of the country within which they live has an impact upon attitudes towards language policies and the related issues that arise there from. Majority Anglophone groups appear divided in their views over the degree of support that should be extended to language minorities. It is true that for the most part that Anglophones in the Atlantic provinces and Ontario show more concern for the principal preoccupations of minority language groups than do Prairie and Western Canadians. Yet the differences in the respective importance attributed to official languages as more fundamental to the identity of some Anglophone Canadians is not substantial enough to warrant concluding that this constitutes the motivation for greater or reduced support for minority language needs.

Geographic distance from the larger minorities may play some role in shaping levels of empathy and support for minority language issues. This too however may not be the paramount reason in explaining why some support minority language concerns more than others. In this regard it is worth noting that across the regions majority Anglophone groups share reasonably similar levels of agreement that the French language is not threatened in Canada. Nor can it be presumed that awareness of language policies results in greater degrees of support amongst Anglophone majority for government action in this area. In short it is likely a combination of factors that contribute to majority Anglophone support for minority language concerns as opposed to one dominant consideration. Even some basic assumptions such as the

extent to which Canadians believe that official language policy strengthens national unity are open to question in the GPC/Canadian Heritage survey as many do not subscribe to this link. In some ways the survey raises more questions than provides answers and suggests a need for future focus on why Anglophones support the minorities. There may be some insight provided in responses to the perceived government commitment to the French language, a responsibility which most majority Anglophones acknowledge. Could it be they respond better to the idea of protecting the language versus the community and do not entirely see the connection between them?

While there appears to be no consensus on government action in the area of official languages amongst majority Anglophones, the minority language communities are far more unified in their opinions as regards the obligation and type of federal support extended. On nearly all the issues they pertain to identity, unity, governance, second language and minority language education there is a consistent degree of shared opinion. Yet common cause amongst language minorities has been difficult to attain. If that is the case it is perhaps connected to the survey question on the perceived threat to the French language. Clearly on this issue, Anglophones and Francophones diverge irrespective of their minority or majority status. A previous survey conducted by CROP-Missisquoi revealed that majority Anglophones are more inclined to think that minority Anglophones are threatened a prospect that is widely rejected by Francophones. On this point so crucial to the respective identities of Francophones Anglophones the wide gulf in views makes cooperation on several fronts most unlikely.

As to the Quebec Francophone majority its views tend to reflect its perceived status as both a majority and a minority. Hence its views on most issues tend to approximate those of other Francophones and perhaps astonishingly resemble those of Quebec Anglophones on many a matter. Conversely Anglophone Quebecers seem to share opinion on language issues with the province's Francophones than with other Anglophone Canadians. From the survey it seems apparent that when it comes to language issues Quebec Anglophones have at best limited influence on their Anglophone compatriots elsewhere in the country. In some areas Francophone opinion can be situated in between that of minority language and majority Anglophone views. Usually the situation arises when the question involves federal intervention. That said nearly all Francophones agree that the federal government has a responsibility to promote and protect the status of the French language. Overall the survey suggests to policy-makers that this commitment needs to be reiterated more often and that more Canadians be helped to understand that it extends to communities.

4.1 DISCUSSION

Rodrigue Landry

I read Jack's report at least twice, and I think he analyzes the results well in terms of [...]. But his analysis is—what's the word—I almost said “journalistic” because I think it's the type of analysis you'd expect from Jeffrey Simpson or Lysiane Gagnon, and you could add others, but I chose the word “sociopolitical” because I think it's based on his knowledge, his extensive knowledge of Canadian politics, federal programs, and tensions in the country's various regions. But still, we see that he uses certain basic assumptions in his approach, and he says a lot about majority versus minority status. Throughout the report, we see this is used to explain the results. He also talks about geographic distances but also the “social distance” between majorities and minorities, as well as language as a marker for linguistic issues.

An initial theoretical concept I'd like to advance involves the ideologies that underlie government action. Richard Bourhis created a model to explain government policies in which he says there is a worldwide ideological continuum that ranges from pluralism to ethnicism, with civism and assimilationism in between. Pluralism is when the government supports its minorities with actions, programs, and money. Civism is what we see especially in the United States and France, but we see that it sometimes slips into assimilationism, for example, “We have nothing against minorities but it's up to them to make their way.” Public funding in support of minorities is out of the question. Civism is very open, it's the idea of secularism in France, you don't want to support any group, so what happens before you know it—and I'm being generous here—is you tend to say you'll support the dominant group but not minority groups. Assimilationism is when you say, “For national unity, for the good of the community as a whole, it's better that minorities assimilate with the dominant group.” Ethnicism, as the word implies, is when you reject minorities, it's apartheid, and it can sometimes go as far as genocide.

I'm convinced a country becomes pluralist not because it wants to but through political necessity. In other words, you become pluralist because otherwise things might explode. At the other extreme, ethnicism occurs especially in situations of extreme and longstanding racism, apartheid, and historical conflict that can lead to genocide. In democratic countries, the most common positions are civism and assimilationism. Canada was the first country to establish a multiculturalism policy and is seen as perhaps not as pluralist as it could be, but still pluralist-leaning. That doesn't mean all citizens support government actions, and we can interpret many of the results here based on

this continuum. The assumption we can make is that dominant groups more generally hold civic or assimilationist beliefs. We can't verify assimilationism but we suspect this is true. Therefore, dominant groups are less supportive of government intervention, regardless of whether we're talking about money or programs, even in education, for example. In contrast, minority groups are more pluralist in their opinions because this benefits them. If the government doesn't support us, we'll disappear. This is an important point and explains certain subtleties. Minorities can even internalize their vision of the dominant group. At some point you become such a minority that you internalize the dominant discourse because it's better to assimilate, and you have a discourse that might even undermine your own group.

The second concept I'm going to use—and it helps explain certain subtleties in the data—is “subjective ethnolinguistic vitality,” which can be interpreted precisely based on the beliefs I have discussed. Richard Bourhis was there in 1977 when they introduced the concept that people's subjective vitality leads to involvement or personal action. Two things are necessary in their perception of group vitality. First, they must perceive that there is illegitimacy. In other words, my situation is not legitimate; it is not fair. In our questionnaires, we asked what would be necessary to make things truly fair and equitable for francophones and anglophones? They answered based on the same scales they used to answer for current vitality. As a general rule, young francophones said they should have more than they do. But in Maine or Louisiana, they said no, we're fine. They are more of a minority but have internalized the discourse of the dominant group. The second factor is instability. You have to believe change is possible. If you say, “It's not fair but we can't do anything about it; it can't change,” people aren't going to do much. So you need both perceived instability and illegitimacy to take action and make demands. According to this theory, you might expect groups that are very much the minority to protest less.

Taking all the questions Jack discussed brings me to the other diagram. There's a really simple little diagram. I made a few tables in the margins of the article to get my four groups. Take anglophones outside Quebec and give them a + + because they're a majority in their home province and a majority in the country—even in North America, you might add, but we're not going to complicate the picture. Francophone Quebecers are + - because they're a majority at home but a minority in Canada and North America. Quebec anglophones are - + because they're a minority at home and a majority in Canada. Minority francophones are - -. This makes a continuum. If you look at the questions with a normative or egocentric aspect, it's incredible how the responses follow this curve. For example, go to page 5 (“Having two official

languages is important to my sense of being Canadian”). Instead of the two tables, you could simply have four numbers. The + + ranges from 30 to 45, with 45 in the Atlantic provinces where we’re less dominant and therefore tend to be a bit more pluralist. Next we go up to 68 for Quebec, 89 and 92 to 97 for the minority groups. This follows the curve we expect according to this approach. Take another question that is more normative, such as “Please tell me to what extent you agree that the Government of Canada should provide funding for community-based organizations?” This is what distinguishes a more civic attitude from a pluralist one “which serves the interests of anglophones and francophones in your province.” If you look at the + + answers, they range from 28 to 38, for + - it’s 50, - + goes up to 81. It ranges from 66 to 86 but 66 is still in the West, where the minority is so small that many probably believe there’s not much that can be done. The two extremes can be explained either by weaker dominance or a minority with such a high rate of assimilation that there is not as much that can be done. We see the same thing for 22 and 23. I chose it on purpose because they represent a good example of questions that are not clearly factual or normative. **“The Government of Canada has an important role to protect the status and use of the French language in Canadian society*.”** Is that a fact or a true or false statement? Or does it mean it should play an important role? We don’t know—people can interpret it in a number of ways. There’s a mix of both in all this.

Even in education, we have the same trends again: 45, 64, support for education programs, 71 for Quebec, a rise to 86 and then 79, 87. So minorities tend to be more pluralist in that they support governments that have programs, etc. For the majorities it’s more of a civic attitude. There are also assimilationist attitudes. So, in conclusion, I would like to have had the time to recreate the data and verify it more accurately using a diagram like that one. I think we’d find fairly strong statistical support for these assumptions.

I will wrap up by saying it may be important to look at our reality to see to what extent our intergroup relations are relatively positive but can also be coloured by certain ideological positions found in any country. Our majorities do not fully back policies in support of minorities. I’m not sure a better understanding is enough, as Jack said, to change these deeply rooted attitudes. You may have also noticed that the pluralist, ethnicist continuum goes from left to right. There are many factors, opinions, and political ideologies at play. Last, our minorities strongly back pro-minority policies, but their survival depends on them. I’ll stop here. Thank you.



* Characters in bold — verbatim transcription

Matthieu Brennan

I'm trying to situate in my mind the notion of ideology, the notion of what has changed in Canada in terms of high-level values, the shared veneer of values that give us a common language, justice, respect for others, etc. I'm trying to situate myself in the historic context of what has changed. I wondering if Jack Jedwab is right in saying that giving too many details or trying to provide details on policies at a given point in time swamps people, and not only do they stop sharing the high-level values, but they come to disagree because they realize it's costing them a billion dollars a year—the old arguments that money spent on bilingualism is money wasted. Which specific value-based arguments can help defend linguistic duality or the official languages, the things that help us anchor this debate in a type of new language?

Rodrigue Landry

I don't know of any surveys with that focus. It's never been done. Studies have been conducted on vitality with these concepts but not on government support. What has changed—remember the ideological foundations I'm talking about—are the ways of explaining government action. I've used this to gain some understanding of individual opinions and see how they fit into this continuum. What happened is that with the *Official Languages Act* and multiculturalism policies—it started with the B&B Commission before them—the government provided leadership that strengthened certain ideologies that are more pluralist than before. As you may have noticed, there are still assimilationist civic opinions, but they are not as extreme as they might have been without this government leadership. Government actions can shape ideologies, just as ideologies can influence the government. It's as simple as that. We could actually show that the government has become more pluralist in its initiatives to support minorities, and people might eventually follow suit and become even more positive than they are now. It will all depend on how pluralist the government remains in its actions.



Jack Jedwab

We see for Quebec anglophones, if you're familiar with some of the literature, that one of the highly popular books by Gary Caldwell and Eric Waddel, *The English of Quebec: from Majority to Minority Status*, argues that anglophones in Quebec have functioned with a mentality typical of a majority (before the Quiet Revolution) in an environment where they were clearly a minority. Moreover, with the affirmation of a strong Quebec identity, francophones later functioned as a minority, but in an environment where they were clearly

a majority. So the survey imposes many shades of meaning in this majority-minority dichotomy with respect to Quebec anglophones and francophones, not in terms of their respective attitudes but in their answers to the series of questions asked.

Someone mentioned this earlier with regard to anglophones; they did not bring about this transformation, but I've always thought a slight clarification should be made in the historic treatment of attitudes and opinions. In certain circumstances, anglophones felt like a minority in Quebec, even before the 1960s under Duplessis. If you look at the newspapers from this time, you see that many anglophones felt like a minority. At the time, André Laurendeau referred to anglophones as a "colonial minority." Before the 1960s, he spoke of business people and not the anglophone minority as a whole. That's part of it. Even in the majority-minority relationship, you can feel like a minority in some circumstances and a majority in others. This applies to Quebec francophones and anglophones who reflexively—or ambiguously—feel like a majority in Quebec and a minority in North America. I think this has a major impact on their attitudes regarding various public policy issues. It's the idea that yes, you're in a majority environment, particularly in Quebec. This cuts across certain issues and attitudes, but you're also a minority in others. For this reason, I've cross-tabulated the results, as you'll see.

I took out the francophone portion of the majority study and combined it with francophones across Canada. I did the same thing for anglophones, combining them with other anglophones for comparison as a sort of alternative approach. I am comparing anglophones to other anglophones and francophones to other francophones on the question. I actually thought it was a better way to do it. So, having said that, it was sort of the approach that I opted for to try to situate opinion in that way, not only to colour your understanding of this a bit*.

The importance of language as a marker of identity. This isn't necessarily measured in the survey, but we did a survey at the Association for Canadian Studies that asked, "What is more important, your personal identity or a number of choices: language, ethnicity, religion, gender, etc. Most respondents in Quebec said language. In the rest of Canada, it was very divided. A majority of respondents said ethnicity and ancestral ties, so language is more important as a factor of identity for Quebec francophones and anglophones but less important for anglophones outside Quebec. Somewhere in the survey is the assumption that language is an important marker of identity. Since this can't be measured, I tried to structure the survey in this way.

* Characters in bold — verbatim transcription

In another section, I therefore talked about discourse—the discourse we use, vocabulary, terminology. This is very important for decision makers and elected officials. In their speeches, will they talk about official languages or cultural duality or bilingualism? These words are fraught with meaning and connotation, and are interpreted differently by different people. In the survey we could test the choice of concepts. We’ve already seen in other surveys, as Andrew Parkin, my colleague at CRIQ, has pointed out, that the way questions are asked can have a major impact on the results, and the words you use are very important. People in Western Canada seem less attached to the notion of official languages than to cultural duality, while at Canadian Heritage you could maybe say the same thing about cultural duality and official languages—it’s like the glass that’s half empty or half full. **If the buzz and the spin are no good with official languages we use duality. We don’t necessarily have to explain to everybody what it means; it’s fine. If they react positively in the survey, then we will start rewriting the speeches and we will just use the word “duality” instead of “bilingualism,” and we will use it in some parts of the country but not others. Yet the survey has the interesting effect of allowing us to test this a bit. You can see that the notion of duality does not seem to evoke as strong a negative reaction as official languages or bilingualism. This is good to know if you will be campaigning shortly*.**



Jack Jedwab

It’s funny because during the referendum campaign, it was often felt that it would be a good thing for Quebec anglophones to go out to the rest of Canada and tell other anglophones that actually everything was fine. Anglophones were doing wonderfully and so on and so forth. This would therefore sort of soften concerns that strategists had about anglophones reacting harshly (this is around the Charlottetown period I’m talking about, not so much 1995 but the national Charlottetown referendum). It was thought that if we could persuade anglophones, if we could persuade people outside Quebec that everything in Quebec is fine, that we are the best treated minority, **blah, blah, blah**, this would have a positive impact on the Charlottetown vote. We thought that on the distinct society issue, people were not voting because they thought the distinct society clause was harmful to anglophones; this could have had a negative impact on anglophones. In my experience, what I think the survey results confirm is that anglophones do not seem to have the ability to convince anglophones outside Quebec. That’s what I think, and even if there were a consensus between anglophones and fran-

* Characters in bold — verbatim transcription

cophones in Quebec, from what we see in the survey I don't think this would necessarily make it possible to influence anglophones outside Quebec by dictating how they should act. **There are many factors operating on their decision making process. It's a rare occasion where disagreement shows at least slightly with the idea of the dominant majority or less dominant minority. It's just more complicated; there are a lot more shades of meaning in it that are operating on these people who presumably identified themselves as dominant or are subconsciously dominant. If you ask people in Western Canada if they feel the dominant majority respect their language, and their language is not the basis for their identity—not the English language, I don't think—it's sort of something we share with other North Americans; it's not a Canadian thing. Other things are operating on their decision making process that will determine whether they react or not. The context is important as well, the timing of the survey, what is happening to draw their attention to these issues, etc.**

Rodrigue Landry

I'd also say that what Jack Jedwab just said at the end of his conclusion is very important, because you have to qualify the context. [...] When you're very dominant, you don't understand the reality of minorities. In New Brunswick there was a certain progression. It's no longer an issue of bilingual institutions but of duality, and I have the impression that the two groups have never respected each other as much as they do today, now that they have their own institutions. That took time. I lived in New Brunswick in the early 1970s, when managing a school system and having a francophone school board were seen as something horrible. I lived through the bilingual school board. At one point, when the minority asserts itself, it ends up being understood, despite everything. That takes time. It doesn't change from one survey to the next.

Bradley Bos

As a public servant involved in the official languages battle in the province of Quebec, I see Jack's report as a kind of report card. It's still important to note the drop from 35 to 15 percent, especially in terms of Canada's performance compared to the score given to the values in certain questions. For them, it's very important, it's significant. There's 85, 91, 99 percent, whatever, and when you get to how well the Canadian government has implemented the policy to improve the status of anglophones in Quebec, we see it's in the 60s, 40s, and 30s. For me, this is a small sign that maybe the Canadian government needs to change its approach to structuring programs and promoting visibility.

* Characters in bold — verbatim transcription

Jack Jedwab

It's just in terms of that issue of familiarity, which I think we need to explore further. It's the idea of being more familiar with the policy, the key to improving a sort of opinion warden. I came to this conclusion based on this survey, but you must see others, sometimes at the risk of confusing people with the facts.* We must not create confusion with the real facts of the situation.

* Characters in bold — verbatim transcription

5. METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES AND USE OF THE SURVEY IN DEVELOPING LINGUISTIC POLICIES IN CANADA

Research Team of the Official Languages Support Programs Branch

Canadian Heritage asked presenters, commentators, and researchers at the Official Languages Research Forum to discuss the methodological approach used in the survey conducted by GPC International on the Attitudes and Perceptions of Official Languages. Forum participants responded enthusiastically to this request. This exercise was very important to the Department of Canadian Heritage, as it allowed many researchers to discuss various approaches to the public opinion surveys carried out among official language minority communities.

Two researchers—Anne Gilbert and Edmund Aunger—accepted the invitation to put their comments and perceptions regarding the methodology of the GPC International survey in writing. Their reports are presented in the first part of this chapter, followed by a transcript of highlights from Forum discussions on the methodological approach. The Canadian Heritage research team outlines the constraints and limitations the Department encountered and explains its subsequent choices and methodological approaches in the last section of the chapter.

By and large, Canadian Heritage is convinced that with its strengths and weaknesses, the GPC International survey on the Attitudes and Perceptions of Official Languages is a unique tool that provides numerous opportunities for analysis, as well as an up-to-date picture of the official language communities with respect to a variety of topics.

Once again, the Department of Canadian Heritage wishes to thank participants for their many comments on the survey methodology. Their input will make it easier to develop a thorough methodological framework for our future investigations.

5.1 USE OF SURVEYS IN DEVELOPING LANGUAGE POLICY IN CANADA: A SECOND LOOK AT VARIOUS QUESTIONS RAISED DURING THE GPC SURVEY FORUM ON ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

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Canada has very little data on its official-language minority communities. Of course, the census contains a few questions on language, which have provided demographers and other analysts with a basis for their studies of the evolution of Francophone and Anglophone minorities in this country for more than thirty years. But we are obligated to recognize that this data, even when cross-tabulated with other census variables, constitutes a rather weak information base on the everyday experience of minority members. The GPC survey, a Canadian Heritage initiative, attempted to make up for this gap by profiling the linguistic behaviours and attitudes toward language, culture, community institutions, and public services of over 2,000 Francophones and Anglophones in minority communities from all the major regions of the country.¹ It may prove to be an important tool for developing Canadian language policies.

However, using it for this purpose raises certain questions. I will briefly touch on them in this commentary, which was inspired by the presentations and discussions at the forum organized to discuss this survey. The forum brought together some forty participants, including researchers enlisted by Canadian Heritage to do an initial analysis of the survey results, their colleagues who were invited to give feedback on their presentations, as well as representatives of community and government organizations that are potential users of the research. I have grouped the discussions under four headings, each of which corresponds to a key stage of the research process: sampling, the creation of an analysis plan, interpreting the results, and identifying courses of action.

1. This commentary does not deal with the section of the survey directed at the members of the Francophone majority in Quebec or Anglophones elsewhere in Canada.

1. SAMPLING

Sampling was the object of much debate. The question of the minimum sample size necessary to effectively represent the diversity of everyday experiences in minority communities was raised. The sensitive issue of representivity was also brought up. Finally, questions were asked about the value of the conclusions that could be drawn from the survey in light of the significant biases in the data.

Sample size

The survey was administered to what researchers generally consider a large sample of Francophone and Anglophone minority community members in Canada. More than 2,000 people responded to the questionnaire, including 800 from Quebec. As a group, their responses easily lend themselves to statistical analysis and solid conclusions. However, processing data for provincial subsamples, for example, or individual subgroups could prove more problematic. Researchers brought up this point and stressed the need to ensure a minimum sample size for each population analyzed.

Sample representivity

The survey covered all of the provinces and, within each province, the three main types of environments included in the category called “local concentration”: i.e., high concentration, medium concentration, and low concentration². At first glance the approach seems very interesting and, most importantly, capable of ensuring the representivity expected of such an endeavour, at least as far as geography is concerned.

Survey limitations

In this context, what value can we attribute to the information obtained by the survey? This was a hotly debated question at the forum. Without denying that the sample may not accurately represent certain regions of the country, guest researchers at the forum nevertheless insisted on the survey’s value, if only to better document daily behaviours of minority members and the attitudes that inform them in certain Francophone communities around the country. The key, as far as they are concerned, is to educate research users on the limitations of the survey data and ensure they do not go too far when using it to draw their conclusions.

2. The percentage of the sample issued from each of the three community types was not available for the researchers. Consequently, we calculated the percentages from the survey database.

2. THE CREATION OF AN ANALYSIS PLAN

The survey included a broad range of questions covering a variety of areas, including language use in various contexts, access to and satisfaction with French-language services, confidence in the community's ability to sustain itself in the future, the perceived role of the various levels of government in helping official language minority communities develop, and issues related to identity. So the second challenge consisted of creating a plan to analyze the principal results. This issue received much attention at the forum.

Which geography?

What would be the best way to divide the country geographically in order to accurately reflect the daily realities of members of Francophone and Anglophone minority communities in Canada? Clearly, opinions vary on the issue. Preliminary analyses were conducted using different approaches. Some made use of provincial and territorial divisions, probably based on the fact that issues raised by the survey were heavily influenced by the individual political and social contexts of each of the provinces and territories. Others chose to work with the major regions in Canada. Different regional groupings were thus established, some more judicious than others. One can only note, for example, the incongruity of combining Alberta and British Columbia, two provinces whose Francophone communities emerged from very different historical processes and have very different characteristics.

Other approaches could be explored, however. Divisions according to Francophone representation at the local or regional level would allow for control of the demographic effect. Divisions differentiating between large cities on the one hand and small towns and rural areas on the other could reveal key dimensions of community vitality for each of these major types of environments. The effect of other geographic variables, such as isolation, could also be explored by analyzing groups of environments that share similar characteristics for variables in question. These different approaches would compensate for the lack of provincial representivity in the abovementioned sample. They would also have the advantage of facilitating comparisons between the experiences of Francophone communities outside Quebec and Anglophone communities in Quebec.

Which groups?

The issue of which groups to focus on, particularly in the analysis, also deserves greater reflection. Initial analyses of the effect of certain demographic and socioeconomic variables on attitudes point to certain trends that call for further exploration. Age and gender were chosen by David Bourgeois' team (Bourgeois, Bourgeois, and Leblanc, 2004) as well as Josée Bergeron (2004). Their analyses also took into consideration levels of education and income. The relationships they studied seem weak, suggesting that these variables may not be the key to interpreting the minority experience. Are these the best factors for explaining minority member commitment to their communities, as revealed in their behaviours and attitudes? Should we not look elsewhere for the desired explanations of differences observed in survey responses?

According to which interpretive logic?

Participants also examined which relationships to focus on among the different variables. Which main relationships would be explored? Which variables would be most likely to affect them? According to Canadian Heritage, which initiated the survey, the data opens the door to numerous avenues of interrogation. They invited researchers in attendance to pursue the analytical work already underway by performing further cross-tabulations so as to uncover lesser-known aspects of the processes that play a role in community vitality.

Some participants expressed certain reservations in the face of an overly exploratory analytical approach and suggested that existing literature could provide interpretive frameworks for a study of the phenomena covered by the survey. In their view, drawing on the concepts these frameworks propose would lend more significance to the results obtained. It would suggest an interpretive logic that could guide the analysis, point toward the relationships to look for, and help attribute meaning to the results obtained by processing the data.

3. INTERPRETING THE RESULTS

Other methodological problems were also brought up. They concerned question design, proposed response scales, and the meaning to be drawn from the responses of survey participants. These three problems are closely related. In my opinion, they are all the more relevant because we possess so little information on the thought processes that guided the creation of the questionnaire—information that is needed to fully grasp its significance.

Questioning interpretation

The wording of some of the questions could be interpreted in several ways, as was shown with some particularly well-chosen examples. Response scales were also subject to different interpretations by respondents. In this context, one cannot be too cautious in analyzing the responses, as is the case with all surveys. However, it seems to me that the researchers who were approached to do the preliminary analysis of the survey were not exactly overly cautious. In fact, in certain cases they attributed meaning to responses that, in my view, greatly exceeded their explicit content. Did all responses used as indicators of minority confidence in their communities, institutions, and partners actually reflect such confidence? Can questions on knowledge of government language policies and initiatives, or jobs in the public sector be used to measure the importance attributed to bilingualism? I have my doubts. But I must recognize that the individuals who did these analyses had a tall order to fill, with a questionnaire that was clearly not designed according to the set of themes they were asked to work on.

Lack of a well-defined research objective

In my opinion, a more fundamental issue than the way the work was carried out is the lack of a clearly stated research objective. This would have allowed for a more structured questionnaire and the development of questions more likely to yield the expected results. The questionnaire goes off in several directions, and its structure is poorly defined. This was apparently one of the risks of involving a range of partners with different agendas, and who were not necessarily looking for the same information. This may be the case, but it does not excuse the fact that they seem to have proceeded without truly considering the survey's goals and objectives beforehand, and without having explicitly written a set of research questions to guide the development of the main questionnaire components and the wording of the questions. In hindsight, certain questions appear to have been rather poorly designed, if their purpose was indeed to measure confidence in or support for bilingualism. But perhaps this was not the intention at the outset, and the problem of orienting the analysis around this theme only emerged once the survey was completed. It is too late now to do anything about the weak problematic, but it is not too late to reflect more deeply on the meaning to attribute to the various survey questions and on their true significance.

4. IDENTIFYING COURSES OF ACTION

That leads us to a last set of comments on the survey, related to its use for the purposes of taking action. Possible uses suggested for the results include using them to draft language policy, review official language minority programs provided by Canadian Heritage and its partners, and even attempt to influence public opinion on these issues, as Jack Jedwab (2004) has suggested. Transferring knowledge obtained through the survey with a view to action represents a great challenge. I will limit myself to two specific questions raised by forum participants related to using the survey to guide future action: 1) the need to contextualize research results and 2) the need to recognize the diversity of responses according to environments.

A necessary contextualization of research

The results presented at the forum had a positive side—they appear to indicate that a number of the factors often invoked to explain the vigour of minority communities do exist, including confidence in the future of the French language and the communities who use it. We could stop our questioning here with regard to what this confidence represents and choose not to get involved with factors likely to have an effect on minority groups' perceptions of the future. Or we could target our efforts uniquely at communities and subgroups that have shown a lower level of confidence. But is this really the best approach to take? Should we not take the opposite approach and target areas where confidence is highest, given that overly optimistic views about the future of minority languages in a bilingual context have proven harmful in the past? For me, as one might guess, it is not a matter of choosing between either one of these strategies. My goal is completely different—to reiterate, like other forum participants, the importance of contextualizing research results in order to clearly assess the issues they raise. This requires different tactics: comparing results from other surveys of Canadian Francophone and Anglophone minorities on similar questions, taking into account existing studies on the questions raised by the survey and the interpretations they suggest for the phenomena it brings to light; and analyzing survey community social, community, and political contexts, which may have significant effects on the behaviours and attitudes measured at the time the survey was taken. It was impossible, at this preliminary stage of analysis, to do this kind of contextualization. But it cannot be avoided if we wish to use the survey results for policy development purposes.

Recognition of diversity

In the opinion of some forum participants, the specificity of the country's various French communities cannot be ignored. And one cannot intervene in the same manner in all places. This is an idea that I have strongly defended in different forums, insisting particularly on the need for different actions in different communities—for example, in predominantly Francophone communities, mixed or minority communities, or culturally or economically strong Francophone communities (Gilbert, 1999, 2001, 2004 forthcoming). Some forum participants also stressed the diversity of the Anglo-Quebec experience from one environment to the other.

The survey highlights the specific dynamics of the minority experience at the local and regional levels, as well as by minority subgroup. It also can reveal various facets of minority life in Canada, according to geography or particular subgroup. These include the diverse linguistic behaviours in the various everyday contexts mentioned in the survey, the various ways of participating in minority institutions, and a range of attitudes toward the community and its partners. My last comment is on the importance of paying special attention to this diversity when using the results—and especially geographic diversity, which is less frequently recognized in policies and programs directed at minorities.

Conclusion

The survey provides a new profile of official language minority communities, particularly the everyday experiences of their members in diverse settings across Canada. Although it should be analyzed with caution, for the reasons outlined above, it is nonetheless an excellent public policy tool, especially if the results are carefully contextualized and local and regional diversity is taken into account. However, the discussion at the forum suggests that before achieving this goal, we must first complete a step that has not yet received sufficient attention—that of reflecting thoroughly on the meaning of the different survey questions in order to determine their real significance. Only by doing so can we make judicious use of the survey and use it as inspiration in developing policies and programs for the sustainable development of Francophone and Anglophone minorities in Canada.

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5.2 GPC SURVEY SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

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In surveys of minority populations, sampling represents a daunting challenge. Take, for example, Francophone minorities, who make up only 4.4% of the Canadian population. The random sampling method, where each individual has the same likelihood of being chosen, would produce only four Francophones per hundred people surveyed. Thus, in order to interview one thousand Francophones, it would be necessary to first contact 22,700 individuals, a disproportionately costly exercise. Fortunately, there are alternative methods, although they come with increased risk, especially when the minority is scattered over a large area.

In order to evaluate the reliability of the GPC survey, several comparisons will be made with the results of the most recent census. All things being equal, the minority respondents, in both the survey and the census, should share the same attributes. However, all things are never equal, and some differences, probably minimal, may be expected. For example, the survey was administered in November 2002 and the census in May 2001. Just as you can never cross the same river twice at the same ford, you cannot survey the same population twice in the same subdivision. Second, the survey was limited to the adult population age 18 and over, whereas the census typically encompasses the entire population, all age groups included. Third, the survey defined the target population on the basis of a single question: “Regardless of the other languages you speak, which of the two languages, English or French, do you consider your first official language?” In contrast, the census obtained this measurement from three different questions—on knowledge of the official languages, on mother tongue, and on the language spoken at home.

Regional Concentrations

According to the 2001 Census, official language minorities are widely dispersed across Canada, with only 24% living in census subdivisions where they constitute a majority. At first glance, the GPC sample accurately reflects this same reality, with 25% living in such areas. However, this apparent representivity covers up significant regional variations. For example, in the West 2% of Francophones (but 19% of respondents) and in Ontario 9% of Francophones (but 24% of respondents) live in areas where Francophones are the majority group. On the other hand, in the East 72% of Francophones (but only 65% of respondents) and in Quebec 24% of Anglophones (but only 10% of respondents) live in areas where they are the majority group. As such, the sample paints a false picture of convergence between western and eastern regions, between low and high concentrations.

This distortion is particularly evident in the West, where the minority population is smallest and, consequently, sampling costs are highest. According to the census, 83% of Francophones live in subdivisions where they constitute less than 5% of the population, which breaks down as follows: 98% of Franco-Columbians, 81% of Franco-Albertans, 68% of Franco-Saskatchewanians, and 69% of Franco-Manitobans. But in the GPC survey, only 51% of respondents lived in such areas, which breaks down as follows: 77% of Franco-Columbians, 30% of Franco-Albertans, 0% of Franco-Saskatchewanians, and 53% of Franco-Manitobans.

Table 5.2.0 Concentration levels: Comparative breakdown of minorities according to the GPC survey and the 2001 Census

Concentration Level	Francophone Minorities		Anglophone Minority	
	Survey	Census	Survey	Census
0–9%	25%	41%	10%	10%
10–29%	28%	24%	78%	46%
30–49%	10%	8%	2%	20%
50–69%	10%	8%	5%	7%
70–89%	10%	8%	3%	16%
90–100%	16%	11%	2%	1%
Total	99%	100%	100%	100%
CL	1,138	1,038,750	863	1,009,265
V	0.01		0.02	

Source: GPC International Survey and Statistics Canada, Canada Census 2001

In order to compensate for this sampling bias, we have weighted the GPC survey responses to reflect the concentrations observed in the 2001 Census. This “new” sample enables us to paint a more accurate picture of official language minorities, but it cannot correct all deficiencies. These deficiencies are found primarily at the provincial level. For example, only one respondent came from an area in Saskatchewan with a concentration of less than 20%, although 83% of Franco-Saskatchewanians live in such areas. Further, there were only 17 respondents from British Columbia, the smallest number in any province or territory, with the exception of Nunavut, even though this province boasts the third largest Francophone minority, after Ontario and New Brunswick. For this reason, our analysis has focussed on regional, rather than provincial variations.

Mother Tongue

Areas with high minority concentrations are often areas occupied by traditional, native-born minorities, since they are also the historic sites of an earlier colonization. As a result, any over sampling of these concentrations will also lead to an overrepresentation of the so-called “founding peoples”. This explains, in part, the relatively small number of Francophone respondents claiming a third language (other than English or French) as their mother tongue—1% according to the survey, but 10% according to the census. This also explains the small number of Francophone respondents who were born abroad—4% according to the survey, but 12% according to the census.

In contrast, the method used by the census to measure first official language tends to exclude English-mother-tongue respondents from membership in the Francophone minority, and French-mother-tongue respondents from the Anglophone minority. In this regard, the GPC survey definition may provide a more accurate representation of the official language minority communities.

Table 5.2.1 Mother Tongue: Comparative breakdown of minorities according to the GPC survey and the 2001 Census

Mother Tongue	Francophone Minorities		Anglophone Minority	
	Survey	Census	Survey	Census
English	4%	0%	67%	58%
French	95%	90%	7%	0%
Other	1%	10%	27%	42%
Total	100%	100%	101%	100%
CL	1,137	202,495	863	192,746
V		0.08		0.10

Note: When the census was taken, 3.5% of minorities indicated at least two mother tongues.

This table covers only those who gave a single response.

Source: GPC International Survey and Statistics Canada, Canada Census 2001

Gender

According to the 2001 Census, official language minorities are comprised of approximately the same number of women and men. (It should be noted, of course, that the census language questionnaire is based, itself, on a 20% sample of the Canadian population.) The survey gives slight yet significant preference to women over men.

Table 5.2.2 Gender: Comparative breakdown of minorities according to the GPC survey and the 2001 Census

Gender	Francophone Minorities		Anglophone Minority	
	Survey	Census	Survey	Census
Female	62%	52%	57%	50%
Male	38%	48%	43%	50%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
CL	1,138	171,520	863	159,245
V	0.02		0.01	

Note: In both cases (the survey and the census), the breakdown by gender is calculated only for the population age 18 and over.

Source: GPC International Survey and Statistics Canada, Canada Census 2001

Age

The survey overrepresents the older population. Typically, older adults and women are easier to reach.

Table 5.2.3 Age: Comparative breakdown of minorities according to the GPC survey and the 2001 Census

Age Group	Minorités francophones		Minorité anglophone	
	Survey	Census	Survey	Census
18–34	21%	26%	29%	32%
35–54	37%	43%	34%	40%
55 and over	43%	31%	38%	28%
Total	101%	100%	101%	100%
CL	1,127	171,525	849	159,250
V	0.02		0.02	

Source: GPC International Survey and Statistics Canada, Canada Census 2001

5.3 DISCUSSION

Daniel Bourgeois

I'd like to come back to the discussion on the provincial sample. I think it's dangerous to generalize and say "the West and the Prairies think this way," while Saskatchewan is completely different from the other Prairie provinces. We also generalized for the Atlantic provinces, even though there's a big difference between New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, which are very positive, and Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, which are much less so. There's nothing we can do about the sample. But we agree that we're generalizing from small samples, and that the opposite is probably just as dangerous.

Rodrigue Landry

We have to remember that in statistics, when there are hundreds or thousands of respondents, a very small difference is statistically significant. In the PISA study with 250,000 respondents, a difference of one tenth of a percentage point was statistically significant. It's important to look at the strength of the correlations. It seems to me there's not a single correlation above 13, which means 1% explained variance. That doesn't explain much. Lastly, I think it's wrong to draw strong conclusions, and especially to make a big deal out of them in our discussion. I would also say that even if we had controlled certain B factors, or spurious correlations, a correlation could mask something else. For example, do low education levels mean lower education in regions with higher Francophone concentration? That could automatically be due to the concentration, not education. I'm sure if we had controlled for concentration—there are ways to do so—by looking at the correlation between education, age, etc., we might have found that the relationships are not significant or take a different tangent. We have to stay alert. It's important not to make too much of very small correlations that may be statistically significant, but explain little.



Josée Bergeron

This is more of a comment than a question. When you presented the level of confidence in institutions and whether they serve minority communities well, I wondered whether the respondents were first asked “How are you involved in the community?” This is a general question that doesn’t necessarily apply to the authors. Do respondents belong to various associations? Are they involved in any way? People may be more interested in answering the questionnaire if they are committed, involved, or part of a network of associations. From there, with regard to differences between younger and older respondents, as Gratien Allaire mentioned, are older groups more strongly committed? What happens when young people join associations? These are questions about the general context and the extent to which the context has an impact, but one that’s not reflected in the data.

William Floch

That’s a good point. There are not many questions like that. There’s one question on the importance of protecting language, culture, and personal commitment. A few questions touch on individual commitment, but not experience or degree of frustration. This may be a something to consider for the future.

Jean-Pierre Corbeil

I have a comment about Saskatchewan, where it’s important to keep in mind that the ratio of people aged 65 to those 15 and under is about four to one. This factor could certainly affect what may be interpreted as confidence or attitude toward the future.

I would like to pick up on Rodrigue Landry's point. We know that questions about general attitude have been provoking intense and emotional debate for a century now, because so many people have asked “Do public attitudes and public opinions exist?” We know it simply from a review of the literature and the thousands and thousands of documents on the subject. Pierre Bourdieu caused an outcry in France in 1970 when he said public opinion did not exist. He had reasons to make his claim. I would say there’s a difference between measuring the data in the survey and understanding it. We tend to take things for granted. We assume all respondents interpreted the questions the same way. As soon as we start assuming, we have to remember that the science of opinion surveys—because it has become a science—comes particularly from election polls, which ask “Which candidate do you plan to vote for?” This is clear cut.

As soon as we touch on attitudes and interpretations of social issues, phenomena, themes, etc., we have to be careful. We pull out our entire arsenal of statistical tools to interpret all of these correlations, and we assume we are in fact measuring exactly the same thing for each person. But people with more education probably interpret questions differently than those with less education. Their experience may be very different. We also assume that all respondents interviewed have something to say on the subject.

So, this is a word of caution, because when we use factor analysis to make very sophisticated analyses, we often end up asking “What exactly are we measuring?” Did we create the results we’re studying today by asking respondents the very questions that we asked? We think we’re measuring attitudes and opinions, but in a way, didn’t we play a part in creating these attitudes and opinions.

And so, I think I see this survey as one indicator or portrait among many others, but one that should definitely be explored further, because the questions only just scratch the surface. If we push it much further, I’m sure we’ll succeed. There are many studies, in countries like New Zealand, for example. New Zealanders in the country’s majority group were asked this type of question about the Maoris, who they consider not quite New Zealanders. Responses tended to be very positive. But as soon as the sample group was asked much more probing questions—45 minute to 1 hour interviews—gross contradictions in perceptions and opinions emerged. All I can say is that there were people who seemed very positive toward a situation at first, but when pushed further, showed a lot of discrimination and racism toward these groups. So, my cautionary advice is to analyze the results carefully, but remember that the simple fact that we use extremely complex statistics and have tools to validate correlations does not necessarily make them significant or mean a point is important.



Deborah Hook

[...] Can you do the same type of analysis of the English-speakers who responded in English and those who responded in French within Quebec? Is it a possibility?

William Floch

Not enough Anglophones answered the questionnaire in French to do this type of analysis. That is why we only looked at Francophones outside Quebec.

Deborah Hook

So, most Anglophones answered in English. Very few answered the questionnaire in French. Did they have the choice or did they answer in the language in which they were addressed?

William Floch

The choice was given. Respondents, after they were identified as being Anglophones or Francophones, inside or outside Quebec, were then offered the opportunity to say in which language they would prefer to conduct the questionnaire. Actually, colleagues at Statistics Canada have shown us in the past that many Francophones prefer to have their questionnaires in English, and we gave them that opportunity.*



Jack Jedwab

[...] First, I would like to say that with large surveys like this, the type of conclusion we're looking for depends on our expectations. It's important not to raise the bar too high, otherwise we might not learn anything. The survey is a photograph, a portrait, a snapshot if you will, of reality. It takes many qualitative and quantitative studies to understand it.

I worked closely with GPC International on a major study on racism, which is not available publicly. The four of us who worked together to write the questions had long debates. One of the debates was about the number 5 on a racism scale. What does 5 mean? Our team of four was divided two to two. It would have been better if there had been five of us. Two considered a rating of 5 an indicator of racism, because it implied a certain indifference. For an already loaded question like "Do you believe X are lazy?" if someone answers 5, which means neither yes or no—it means they're racist! The others said no—be careful! All that to say this type of measurement issue comes up often in social research. I'll talk more about it when the time comes. I thought it was important to point this out at the beginning, because there will be more comments like this.



* Characters in bold — verbatim transcription

Marielle Beaulieu

I completely agree we need to take snapshots like this at some point and try to use them, but always with many precautions. Around the table today, we see there are many factors that raise questions, which is completely natural.

There are two quite important factors that may not have been mentioned, and Gratien Allaire can surely tell us if I'm right on these. When we're talking about Francophone minority communities where a lot of people aged 60 and over are surveyed, many of them have very little education. Indeed, they are often uneducated. To me, asking people with little education elaborate questions about involvement, community leadership, etc. causes problems when it comes to a generalized interpretation. I think you definitely have to pay particular attention to that. There are considerable differences, as Mr. Allaire stressed. In these results, why are the least educated people the ones with the most positive views on leadership, involvement, etc.? That's really the question I have about these results—age and education.

Bradley Bos

I am a program officer. I work a lot in the regions and especially with community-based organizations and though I can understand your point of view, I feel that it is relevant as well to point out the reason why this community group has lasted and thrived. It's generally the leadership placed by the elderly. They are retired and have a stronger sense of community and community attachment. Therefore, they would probably have a more reliable approach to what is in the community and what the leadership level is at. If you speak to a university student who is transient in and out the urban areas, to what level or degree would he know the community and community associations?*



Rodrigue Landry

I'm going to repeat the question I asked as I didn't have the questionnaire in front of me. Did you calculate the linguistic continuity scale using the same variables, since you had them in the questionnaire from 1.a and 1.b—"What is your mother tongue, that is the first language that you learned and can still speak," and "Which language do you speak most often at home?" The first thing I looked at to see if the survey was representative, was that on the same index as Statistics Canada uses, Francophones are much less threatened than according to the census. I don't know whether you calculated or looked at this, too...

* Characters in bold — verbatim transcription

William Floch

We did not. I repeat my analogy that we're a lumber company and we collected the wood. We ask others to do the building—not only the four speakers, but other researchers as well. Jean-Pierre and I discussed the possibilities the language questions offered. The first three are from the Statistics Canada census—knowledge of the official languages, language used at home (part A), and mother tongue. The next questions are filters to determine whether the person is Anglophone or Francophone. We asked, “Regardless of the other languages you speak, do you consider yourself Anglophone or Francophone ?” But we did not deviate from the Statistics Canada algorithm.

Rodrigue Landry

I'm not talking about Deviation, but a very simple thing of one variable divided by the other. The language respondents speak most often at home divided by their mother tongue—that's the linguistic continuity indicator. It's the figure to the left of your table. You can do exactly the same calculation. It takes three seconds ...

William Floch

We planned on doing it quickly. That's a very good point.

Jean-Pierre Corbeil

The first question on mother tongue is not exactly the same as the Census, since it says “...language that you learned and can still speak.” There are some Francophones who don't speak their language, but still understand it. You have to be careful about this type of comparison.

William Floch

Good point. Thank you.

**Anne Gilbert**

I think Ed Auger's presentation on education showed the sample was absolutely not representative—at least for Alberta. As a strategy, I would suggest we talk about it and take into account what we have here.

If we have 40 people in St. Albert and the surrounding area, it may be a unique opportunity to find out what people think in clearly identified localities—in this case an isolated Francophone community in Northern Alberta. The results could

perhaps be compared to those from another isolated Francophone community in Acadia. Let us take the results for places with relatively high numbers and learn something from them. If we don't have the numbers in Edmonton alone—it seems Calgary wasn't considered—we could add the results for Edmonton, Vancouver, Halifax, and Saskatoon, which all have about the same Francophone makeup, and say “today, in this survey, we know that Francophones in big cities think this way.” This could be a strategy for the future and a way to make the situation work for us instead of saying it isn't representative. Maybe the other provinces are better, but it's clear that it doesn't make sense here. Let's take it straight on, say what's interesting, and analyze the results by locality. That's how a polling firm does it. They take a series of telephone numbers for an area. It's easier, it's faster, it's normal. Anyway, we would probably do the same thing. But let's be upfront and say we sampled 5 or 6 similar places in Canada and compare the results.

William Floch

Anne is right. There are a number of ways to use the information in the existing databases, and we can use computer functions, to reorganize it, take a different respondent distribution. I'm also thinking of other approaches Edmund mentioned, like trying to study quasi-random or targeted aspects. With Martin Lagacé and Astri Thorvik, who were working on a recent Decima survey done for us on access to arts and culture in minority communities, 2 000 people of which 700 were from minority communities, we found trying to get a representative sample is impossible. In this case, six census areas were targeted—one per major region—which makes two in Quebec (one in Montreal and one in the regions), one in the Atlantic provinces, one in Ontario, and two in the West. This will give us at least 100 respondents per census area. We can run a parallel demographical analysis and a profile of institutions and stakeholders in arts and culture, then bring these three sources of data together and really learn something about the situation. But I think there's still the problem of identifying minority respondents who make up a very small proportion of the population in communities in the West and certain regions of Quebec. That's a challenge. We plan to discuss it with other groups that may need this information, as well as polling firms to determine how to proceed. There's the idea of a panel, where we identify someone who matches our minority profile. If this person is willing to work with us over a long period and be interviewed, that's another option. It's less random, but it may still be useful.

* Characters in bold — verbatim transcription



Jack Jedwab

The other last question is the mix—I don't know how it was handled in the survey. There are people like my children who are half Francophone and half Anglophone. Are they majorities or minorities, or do we have to invent another category, say "mi-jority or ma-nority?"—I don't know. I don't know what to do about youths. I hear a lot of students speaking English or French in the hallways. I say to my colleagues, "There's a lot of English." It's a debate, but maybe as much about identity. **"I don't know how the survey confronts that reality on the one hand. Having said all of that, I still feel it's a snapshot and it's sort of like saying "What do Francophones or Anglophones think in trying to make some generalizations—which is not illegitimate, I don't think—without sort of going through all the various elements and breaking it all down into components, saying this component does not match that component, whatever... I mean, if you go to the States and go to Gallop, they do random samples. Remember we used to have random samples? You just phone any 1,000 people and bang, you get on CNN and whatever it is, that's *the opinion*. Obviously, you can tear those things to shreds. I mean it's not hard, people probably do it after. But it is a snapshot and this one of the largest snapshots I have seen of this reality.**

Jean-Pierre Corbeil

Has anyone mentioned that the survey had a margin of error of 3%, 19 times out of 20? We often hear that, and we often refer to what is called a statistical reality. Further to Anne's comment, whenever we talk about representativity, we always have statistics in mind. But there's another type of representativity that's more sociological in nature, you could say. The idea, of course, is always to ask "representative of what?" Is the sample representative of numbers, representations, or the proportion of communities or individuals in the community? Or are we actually interested in the fact that we're developing or analyzing the representativity of a phenomenon, a theme, or a situation and that regardless of statistical representativity, we are gaining an understanding of a reality that may be localized, but is also part of a more generalized sociological phenomenon. That's why every time academics use qualitative analysis it tends to be discredited because it's not statistically representative. But we often see situations where we say there's a margin of error of 3% 19 times out of 20 when in fact we're way out in left field studying an artificially constructed reality, rather than analyzing certain communities in

more detail and gaining understanding of a phenomenon—a reality we couldn't have understood any other way. You always have to keep in mind that a survey can address the entire population. We can conduct a special study with a larger sample and a lot of questions. Or we can spend a whole day with a single person to understand an individual reality, but one which sheds light on a slightly broader world.

Rodrigue Landry

As Anne Gilbert and Jean-Pierre Corbeil were saying, I think there's another way to get more out of the database. We may be too focused on provincial, Atlantic, regional aspects, etc. There's another way to use the data—and that is to completely set geography aside. When people live a certain reality, we have to consider the relationship with other identity phenomena and factors. This may help us better understand the Canadian reality, even if the data is not completely representative in every region. Literature on ethnolinguistic vitality teaches us certain things that we can predict and validate from the survey, regardless of where respondents are from.



Rachel Gauvin

Would it be possible to have a copy of the sample details not only for each province, but also for Eastern, Northern, Southern Ontario... and the same thing for the West—what region, what community. Especially in terms of Francophone minority immigrants. The percentage seems very low.

William Floch

I'll respond, but it's David Bourgeois who has provided the answer. He ran a quick SPSS analysis to see where Francophone respondents were from, and, as I told Rachel, some provinces were divided up into different regions. There are three regions in Ontario: Eastern Ontario, with 271 respondents; Northern Ontario, with 208; and Southern and Central Ontario, with 69 respondents. This lets us analyze the data based on three large regions. In New Brunswick, there were 249 respondents from the northeast, where a high concentration of the Francophone Acadians live, but only 32 in south central New Brunswick, where their numbers are low. This is a minimum, but it still allows us to do some analysis. In Quebec, there were 35 respondents in the east, 31 in the north, 600 in Montreal, and 161 in south central Quebec (excluding Montreal). In these provinces, the data can be broken down regionally to some extent.

5.4 METHODOLOGICAL CHOICES IN THE GPC INTERNATIONAL SURVEY ON ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

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Designing a public opinion survey is a long and delicate process. The many methodological choices made at each stage of survey development are often complex and never safe from criticism. In addition, survey developers must work with time, money, and other resource constraints. Surveys should therefore be analyzed based on their strengths and weaknesses. The GPC International survey is no exception. For this reason, it is important to remember that Canadian Heritage has always considered the survey developed by GPC International on Attitudes and Perceptions of Official Languages as a pilot project.

To help us develop a more precise and rigorous methodological framework for future surveys, we asked various Forum participants to share their comments and criticisms on the survey's methodological choices. While most comments were relevant, some participants unfortunately did not have enough time for an in-depth analysis of the databank made available to them. Consequently, certain comments were fairly general and/or lacking in detail. The Canadian Heritage research team has decided to follow up on a number of recommendations that will help improve our future public opinion surveys.

This section will explain the methodological choices and limitations Canadian Heritage encountered in developing this survey, and respond to certain criticisms expressed at the Forum. We have grouped the information in this article by theme, ranging from the survey objective to the questionnaire response scale. First, we address the objective and focus of this public opinion survey.

Objective and Focus of the Opinion Survey

Anne Gilbert argued that the survey lacked an obvious research objective and that it was impossible to clearly identify the focal point or underlying objectives by reading the questionnaire. However, it would be wrong to assume we designed this survey without first developing precise research objectives. Consequently, it would have been wiser for us to provide Forum participants with some background on survey development.

For Canadian Heritage, this survey is part of an initiative to assess programs for official language minority community development. The survey's main objective was to collect information on Canadian attitudes and perceptions regarding official languages and the various stakeholders that promote minority community development. This survey was also aimed at positioning Canadian Heritage programs with respect to community development, improving our understanding of the current challenges faced by these communities, and surveying majority opinion on subjects like linguistic duality. We hope to have the opportunity to readminister this survey in the near future in order to compare results and identify major trends in the evolution of attitudes and perceptions regarding official languages, as well as the scope and effectiveness of our programs.

Sample/sampling

Size, representativity, geography

Many Forum participants questioned the representativity of the sample used by GPC International. To fully understand this methodological choice, we must first point out that the costs of identifying respondents from official language minority communities are extremely high, as they are scattered across Canada. In these circumstances, polling firms simply cannot assume the financial burden of randomly identifying respondents, since Canadians in minority communities represent only 4.4% of the total population. However, when we look at the distribution of the minority population within the 288 Canadian census divisions, we note that 91% of the minority population is located in 86 census divisions representing 30% of the country.¹ This makes it much easier to understand why polling firms target areas with a high incidence of minority residents in their search for respondents. The extremely high costs of reaching individuals who belong to the 9% of the population that lives in census divisions where the minority community is under 5,000 or less than 5% quickly discourages survey firms. This approach led to the significant under-

1. These statistics are based on census divisions with a minority population greater than 5,000 or more than 5% of the total population.

representation of Edmonton Francophones in the “Western Canada” sample. The small number of Francophone respondents from the city can be explained by the low incidence of minority residents compared to total population. Even though Edmonton’s minority population is 21,543 (first official language spoken), this represents only 2.1% of the total population. With such a low incidence, it was therefore very difficult and costly for the survey firm to find Francophones willing to complete the survey. The situation is similar in many communities in British Columbia and Newfoundland, as well as big cities like Vancouver, Toronto, and Calgary. Still, it is possible to compensate for the limited representation of certain Francophone communities by increasing or decreasing the weight of respondents to more accurately represent their demographic weight within the Canadian population. However, this solution is not ideal and has certain weaknesses.

As our colleagues noted, we cannot study the opinion of the Western provinces as a single bloc. The Francophone populations living in the regions have different histories and roots in each province. The same is true to a certain extent of Francophone communities in Eastern Canada. That being said, it is virtually impossible to create a representative profile of all the situations from a national sample of 2,000 respondents. This is one reason why we have presented a more regional² than provincial portrait in our analyses thus far. However, this approach is open to criticism, as it tends to distort provincial and national realities.

By and large, to obtain a very good sampling, the questionnaire must be limited. For the survey developed by GPC International, we tried to get the best of both worlds. We did not want to favour one over the other, since this would have had a significant impact on survey results. But we believe, as Rodrigue Landry and Anne Gilbert have pointed out, that certain geographic scales can be compared by temporarily setting aside the cultural, historical, and social experiences of the various communities studied (high concentration of minority residents in an urban setting, low concentration of minority residents in an urban setting, high concentration of minority residents in a rural setting, low concentration of minority residents in a rural setting, etc.).

2. Our regional analyses are based on the five regional blocks covered by the Department of Canadian Heritage. Those regions are : Atlantic, Quebec, Ontario, Prairies and Territories and West.

Response Scale

Jack Jedwab expressed his preference for using certain types of scales to study minority communities and others to study majority communities. The survey developed by GPC International primarily uses an 11 level response scale³ (0–10). This scale has certain weaknesses, as it gives respondents the option of not taking a position on a statement by indicating a neutral response (5). It also allows respondents to express weak support for or opposition to statements (3–4 and 6–7). A series of questions using this scale can wear respondents out, causing them to always give the same general answer (5, 5, 6, 4, 5). In contrast, a 4 to 6 level response scale⁴ encourages respondents to position their opinion in one of the categories provided. With the GPC survey, we decided to use a 0–10 scale since the questions were fairly unrestrictive for respondents in terms of wording. In this perspective, a reduced scale would have produced extremely positive or negative results, depending on the questions. Given that our questions were fairly unrestrictive, we believe the choice of scales was appropriate. However, we are aware that on the whole, this approach may not be ideal and has certain drawbacks

Conclusions

Public opinion surveys are becoming increasingly popular in research to take the pulse of Canadians on various subjects. This form of data collection cannot provide all the answers to the various issues raised by the official language minority communities. It is simply another way for us to deepen our understanding of these communities. These surveys should always be interpreted within a clear and detailed context. In addition, researchers must be able to clearly explain the methodology they used to arrive at their conclusions in order to prevent any confusion in interpreting the results.

Despite the limitations pointed out at the Forum, we believe the survey developed by GPC International contains valuable information that deepens our understanding of official language minority communities. Once again, we wish to emphasize that participant comments will help us to develop a more rigorous methodological framework for future surveys and facilitate our task in the event that we readminister this survey on Attitudes and Perceptions of official languages.

3. For this response scale, 0 means the respondent completely disagrees with the statement, and 10 means the respondent completely agrees with the statement.

4. For example, a 4 level response scale eliminates neutral responses, allowing respondents to agree completely, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree completely with the statement.

6. APPENDIXES

6.1 GPC MINORITY SURVEY – FALL 2002

- Q1A: What is your MOTHER TONGUE, that is the first language that you learned and can still speak?
- Q1B: Which language do you speak MOST OFTEN at home?
- Q1C: Which languages do you know well enough to carry on a conversation?
- Q1D: Regardless of the other languages you speak, which of the two languages English or French, do you consider your first official language or your main official language?
- Q1G: In which province or territory do you currently reside?
- Q1E: Were you born in Canada?
- Q1F: In which province or territory were you born?
- Q1H: How long have you lived in the province or territory in which you currently reside?
- Q2A : Do you ever speak “English/French” at home?
- Q2B: Do you ever speak ”English/French” with members of your family who do not live with you?
- Q2C: Do you ever speak “English/French” when you do recreational activities such as playing sports?
- Q2D: Do you ever speak “English/French” at work?
- Q2E: Do you ever speak “English/French” in stores?
- Q2G: Do you feel comfortable speaking “English/French” with a bilingual sales clerk if there are other customers nearby?

- Q2H: Do you feel comfortable speaking “English/French” in a Government of Canada office where it is indicated that bilingual services are available?
- Q3A: Importance of using “English/French” ... at home?
- Q3B: Importance of using “English/French” ... with members of your family who do not live with you?
- Q3C: Importance of using “English/French” ... when doing recreational activities such as playing sports?
- Q3D: Importance of using “English/French” ... at work?
- Q3E: Importance of using “English/French” ... in stores?
- Q4A: Is it possible for you to live in “English/French” in your region, that is anywhere within one hour's drive of your home?
- Q4B : How important is it, or would it be, to you to be able to live using “English/French”.
- Q4C: Again, just thinking of your region, how easy or difficult do you think it will be to live in “English/French” in 5 years time?
- Q5A: Now, I'd like to ask you a few questions about information technology. Do you have access to the Internet?
- Q5E: Approximately how many hours a week do you spend on the Internet?
- Q5F: How would you rate the availability of on-line information about your region and services in “English/French”?
- Q5G: Compared to two years a go, would you say that there is much less, somewhat less, somewhat more, much more or about the same amount of information in French on the Internet?
- Q5H: Compared to two years ago, would you say that the quality of information on the Internet in French today is much worse, somewhat worse, somewhat better, much better or about the same?
- Q5I: Using a scale of 0 to 10 where 0 means you totally disagree and 10 means you totally agree, to what extent do you agree that French Canadian culture is sufficiently represented on the Internet.
- Q5J: Please tell me how interested you or other people in your household would be in educational courses, offered in “English/French” over the Internet.

- Q6A: Level of confidence in ... the capacity of the “Anglophone/Francophone” community, in your region, to remain strong in the future.
- Q6B: Level of confidence in ... the ability of the “Anglophone/Francophone” community to keep young people in the region.
- Q6C: Level of confidence in ... the likelihood that the “Anglophone/Francophone” community in your region will continue to exist in the future.
- Q6E: The future of the “Anglophone/Francophone” community is important to me.
- Q6F: I will do my part to ensure the continuance of my language and culture.
- Q6G: My generation is committed to transmitting our language and culture to the next generation.
- Q6H: The “Anglophone/Francophone” community of your province has strong and effective leadership to represent its interests.
- Q6I: “Anglophone/Francophone”'s from outside Canada are welcome in my “Anglophone/Francophone” community.
- Q6J : Compared to 5 years ago, and again, just thinking of your region, is the attitude of the “Anglophone/Francophone” community toward the “Francophone/Anglophone” community much less positive, a little less positive, a little more positive, much more positive or about the same?
- Q8A: Having two official languages is important to my sense of what it means to be a Canadian.
- Q8C: I would be interested in knowing more about Francophone Quebecers, for example: their history, their contributions to Canada, and what it is like for them to live as Francophones in North America.
- Q8D: I would be interested in knowing more about Francophones living outside Quebec, for example: their history, their contributions to Canada, and what it is like for them to live as members of a linguistic minority.

- Q8E: I would be interested in knowing more about Quebec Anglophones, for example: their history, their contributions to Quebec and Canada, and what it is like for them to live as a “minority within a minority”.
- Q8F: The Government of Canada has an important role to play in supporting the development of the “Anglophone/Francophone” community.
- Q9A: How satisfied overall are you with the services offered in “French/English” in your region?
- Q9B2: Satisfaction with ... primary and secondary education.
- Q9C: Satisfaction with ... media and communications (radio, television, internet, newspapers).
- Q9D: Satisfaction with ... health and social services.
- Q9E: Satisfaction with ... sports and recreation services.
- Q9F: Satisfaction with ... postsecondary education and training.
- Q9G: Satisfaction with ... arts and culture (movies, theatre, books, literature).
- Q9H: Satisfaction with ... employment.
- Q9I: Satisfaction with ... daycare/preschool services.
- Q9J: Satisfaction with ... legal services or court proceedings.
- Q10A: How would you rate the access to services in your region in “English/French”?
- Q10B2: Rating the access to service to ... primary and secondary education.
- Q10C: Rating the access to service to ... media and communications (radio, television, internet, newspapers).
- Q10D: Rating the access to service to ... health and social services.
- Q10E: Rating the access to service to ... sports and recreation services.
- Q10F: Rating the access to service to ... postsecondary education and training.
- Q10G: Rating the access to service to ... arts & culture (movies, theatre, books, literature).
- Q10H: Rating the access to service to ... employment.

- Q10I: Rating the access to service to ... daycare/pre-school services.
- Q10J: Rating the access to service to ... legal service or court proceedings.
- Q11A: Again, thinking of your region, how has access to services in “French/English” changed overall over the past 5 years?
- Q11B2: Change in access to “French/English” service in ... primary and secondary education.
- Q11C: Change in access to “French/English” service in ... media and communications (radio, television, internet, newspapers).
- Q11D: Change in access to “French/English” service in ... health and social services.
- Q11E: Change in access to “French/English” service in ... sports and recreation services.
- Q11F: Change in access to “French/English” service in ... postsecondary education and training.
- Q11G: Change in access to “French/English” service in ... arts & culture (movies, theatre, books, literature).
- Q11H: Change in access to “French/English” service in ... employment.
- Q11I: Change in access to “French/English” service in ... daycare/pre-school services.
- Q11J: Change in access to “French/English” service in ... legal services or court proceedings.
- Q12A : Generally how committed would you say that PUBLIC sector organizations are to representing and serving the interests of “Anglophones/Francophones” in your province?
- Q12C: And how committed would you say that COMMUNITY-BASED AND NOT-FOR-PROFIT organizations outside of the government are to representing and serving the interests of “Anglophones/Francophones” in your province?
- Q12D2: Commitment of organizations in serving the interests of “Anglophones/Francophones” in ... primary and secondary education.
- Q12E: Commitment of organizations in serving the interests of “Anglophones/Francophones” in ... media and communications (radio, television, internet, newspapers).

- Q12F: Commitment of organizations in serving the interests of “Anglophones/Francophones” in ... health and social services.
- Q12G: Commitment of organizations in serving the interests of “Anglophones/Francophones” in ... sports and recreation services.
- Q12H: Commitment of organizations in serving the interests of “Anglophones/Francophones” in ... postsecondary education and training.
- Q12I: Commitment of organizations in serving the interests of “Anglophones/Francophones” in ... arts & culture (movies, theatre, books, literature).
- Q12J: Commitment of organizations in serving the interests of “Anglophones/Francophones” in ... employment.
- Q12K: Commitment of organizations in serving the interests of “Anglophones/Francophones” in ... day care/pre-school services.
- Q12L: Commitment of organizations in serving the interests of “Anglophones/Francophones” in ... legal services or court proceedings.
- Q13A: How well do you think the Government of Canada represents your interests as “Anglophones/Francophones” in your province?
- Q13B: And how well do you think your provincial government represents your interests as members of the “Anglophone/Francophone” community?
- Q13C: And how well does the municipal government represent your interests as members of the “Anglophone/Francophone” community in your province?
- Q14A: As far as you are aware, are Government of Canada departments obliged by law to support the development of the “Anglophone/Francophone” community in your province?
- Q14B: To what extent do you agree that Government of Canada departments SHOULD support the development of the “Anglophone/Francophone” community in your province?
- Q14C: Compared to five years ago, how involved would you say that Government of Canada departments are in the development of the “Anglophone/Francophone” community?

- Q15A: Taking everything into consideration, how satisfied, overall, are you with the services provided by the Government of Canada in “English/French” in your province?
- Q15B: And how satisfied are you with the level of access to services provided by the Government of Canada in “English/French” in your province?
- Q15C: Five years from now, do you think that the access to programs and services from the Government of Canada in “English/French” will be ...
- Q15D: Five years from now, do you think that the access to programs and services from the PROVINCIAL government in “English/French” will be ...
- Q17A: As far as you are aware, is the Government of Canada obliged to provide funding to organizations which serve the interests of the “Anglophone/Francophone” community?
- Q17B: Please tell me to what extent you agree that the Government of Canada should provide funding for community-based organizations which serve the interests of the “Anglophone/Francophone” community in your province?
- Q17C: In your view, is the support provided by the Government of Canada to community-based groups serving the interests of the “Anglophone/Francophone” community in your province more effective, less effective, or about the same as five years ago?
- Q17D: Is the current level of support provided by the Government of Canada to community-based groups serving the interests of the “Anglophone/Francophone” community in your province ...
- Q18A: How familiar are you with agreements between the Government of Canada, provincial and territorial governments to support the “Anglophone/Francophone” community?
- Q18B: To what extent do you agree or disagree that the Governments of Canada and your province should work together to improve services in “Anglophone/Francophone” in your province?
- Q18C: To what extent do you agree that cooperation between the governments of Canada and your province has helped to improve services in “French/English” compared to 5 years ago?

- Q19A: Have you ever been or would you be interested in seeking a job with the Government of Canada in your province?
- Q19B: Compared to members of the “Francophone/Anglophone” community, would you say that “Anglophone/Francophone”’s have greatly superior, somewhat superior, somewhat inferior, greatly inferior or about the same access to jobs within the Government of Canada in your province?
- Q20A: In the Government of Canada, all employees, whether they are Anglophone or Francophone, have the right to work in the official language of their choice.
- Q20B: The goal of Government of Canada language policies is to make the majority of public service positions bilingual.
- Q20D: One of the primary objectives of language policy in the Government of Canada is to ensure employment equity for both French and English-speaking Canadians.
- Q20E: According to the rules, the Government of Canada must offer public services in both English and French in all offices across the country.
- Q21A: How familiar are you with Government of Canada (that is, Canadian Heritage) programs supporting minority language education?
- Q21B: How strongly do you support the use of Government of Canada programs to provide for education in “English/French”?
- Q21C: Compared to five years ago, how involved is the Department of Canadian Heritage in supporting “English/French” education in your province?
- Q21D: How familiar are you with Government of Canada programs to support “English/French”-as-a-second-language education?
- Q21E: How strongly do you support the use of Government of Canada programs to provide for “English/French” as a second language education?
- Q21F: Compared to five years ago, how involved is the Department of Canadian Heritage in supporting “English/French”-as-a-second-language education in your province?

- Q22A: Having French as well as English spoken in Canada enhances employment and business opportunities for all Canadians.
- Q22B: My elementary/secondary education provided me a good opportunity to learn my second official language.
- Q22F: Relationships between Francophones and Anglophones in my region are more positive today than they were 10 years ago.
- Q22H: “Anglophones/Francophones” receive equal access to Government of Canada services as do “Francophones/Anglophones” in your province.
- Q22I: Canada's linguistic duality is a source of cultural enrichment for me.
- Q22J: The Government of Canada is doing a good job in promoting and protecting Canada's two official languages
- Q22K: I would be (or would have been) interested in participating in school-based language exchanges to interact with young people from the other official language communities.
- Q22M: Government of Canada Official Languages policy contributes to stronger national unity.
- Q22N: Government services (federal/provincial/municipal) should be available in English and French across the country.
- Q22R: The future of the French language in Canada is threatened.
- Q22T: The Government of Canada has an important role to promote and protect the status and use of the French language in Canadian society.
- Q: Language of Survey.
- Q: Gender of Respondent.
- Q: Age of Respondent.
- D2: Do you consider yourself a permanent resident of your province?
- D3: Five years from now, do you think that you will still be living in the same province?
- D4: Why do you think you will not be living in the same province in 5 years time?

- D5: Have you ever moved to another province, either permanently or on a temporary basis, to pursue post-secondary educational opportunities for yourself or anyone else in your household?
- D6: Do you think that you will move to another province at some time in the future (either on a permanent or temporary basis) to pursue post-secondary educational opportunities for yourself or anyone else in your household?
- D7: What is the highest level of formal education that you have completed?
- D8: Do you have any children under the age of 18 years living at home?
- D9: Are they attending primary or secondary school in “English/French”?
- D10: Why are they not attending a “French/English” school in your province?

The only majority question

- Q2F : Thinking about your personal contact with “Anglophone/Francophone” like friends, neighbours, relatives or co-workers. Would you say you have regular contact with ... ?

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