



RESEARCH REPORT

Linguistic Duality in Canada: Investing in Citizen Engagement

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SETTING THE SCENE

1.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the phenomenon of Canadian society's adherence to the linguistic duality in Canada on the eve of the reform of the Official Languages Act. The ultimate aim of our work is to identify strategies for strengthening individual bilingualism and linguistic duality in Canada.

In short, we aim to contribute to the development of a list of concrete actions that could be used to stimulate interest in being bilingual and to strengthen support for linguistic duality. To do this, it seemed logical to us to first identify measures and conditions that would ensure the maintenance of second-language skills from existing research, and then to talk directly to experts in various sectors related to linguistic duality in Canada.

This research project is being led by a team of researchers who are experts in the field of minority language communities, at the request of the Dialogue Foundation. The researchers are assisted by a support committee made up of experts from the fields of education, second languages, business, language rights and public service.

This document begins with a brief overview of the current situation of linguistic duality in Canada, based primarily on evidence available from various government bodies. It discusses the prevailing attitudes towards bilingualism and linguistic duality, the perceived value of these concepts in the eyes of Canadians, and the initiatives currently being used to promote them. It then summarizes the main findings of a systematic review of the scientific and governmental literature on opportunities for second-language learning and use in Canada, organized by them. The results of the interviews are then presented, culminating in a model that we hope will be of great interest to government agencies and bodies.

We believe that the results presented below reflect the current state of the limitations and possibilities of coexistence between English and French speakers, and that they will be very useful in formulating recommendations for updating the discourse and initiatives on linguistic duality.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

2.

The questions to be addressed by this study can be confined to the two fundamental issues stipulated in the terms of reference given to us in the initial proposal for the research project, and set out as follows:

- A. How can Canadian society's support for linguistic duality in Canada be strengthened?
 - a. What are the prevailing attitudes towards bilingualism and linguistic duality in Canada? How have these attitudes evolved historically?
 - b. What are the perceived advantages and disadvantages of bilingualism and linguistic duality in Canada?
 - c. What initiatives have been used (or intended to be used) to promote support for linguistic duality?

- B. How can we make it more attractive to be bilingual (French/English) and maintain knowledge of the second language throughout life?
 - a. What are the main systemic barriers to increased access to second language learning opportunities?
 - b. What are the main systemic barriers to increased access to second language opportunities?

We recognize the enormity of this task and have therefore tried to confine the research field to what seems to us to be the most suitable for identifying possible concrete solutions, starting with the broadest concepts and moving towards more precise notions. Admittedly, the deadlines imposed on us mean that we have to be content with collecting data that is complete, but not exhaustive: complete because it covers each of the concepts included in our research questions, but not exhaustive because it is necessarily limited.

The first stage of our approach - the review of scientific literature and government reports - took place between December 2020 and February 2021. We tried to

maximize the effectiveness of our approach by focusing only on the most recent and most relevant articles. Our choice of texts for study focused on those most closely related to the issue of linguistic duality in general and to second-language learning and use experiences in various contexts across Canada.

The second stage - the expert consultation - took place between March 10th and 17th, 2021. By means of individual interviews with researchers and representatives of various sectors interested in linguistic duality, we attempted to validate the findings identified in the literature review, to expand on them and to develop recommendations for concrete action. This phase of the survey was carried out by PGF Consultants. They organized and conducted 19 telephone and videoconference interviews, in French or English, depending on the preference of each interviewee. These 19 people volunteered from a non-probability sample of 65 Canadians identified by the Dialogue Foundation, representing all provinces and territories and many sectors related to bilingualism and linguistic duality - youth, education, immigration, the labour market, and media and government services. Evidently, the final sample is not representative of Canadian society and, according to the consultants' analysis, presents a positive bias with regard to the issues of linguistic duality and bilingualism. It goes without saying that the people who are most keen to take part in a survey of this kind are those who care deeply about the subject being researched. That said, the participants, with their varied expertise and enthusiasm for the question under study, were able to provide a wide range of perspectives, which proved beneficial to this exploratory work.

Finally, a few terminological clarifications are in order. First, the terms "Francophone" and "Anglophone." These are commonly used in the literature, sometimes to designate people whose mother tongue is French and sometimes to refer to people with a particular knowledge of these languages, even if it is not their first language. Whatever the case, beyond language, these terms generally encompass representations of heritage, identity and community. They pit the two language groups against each other, which, in our view, runs counter to the aim of linguistic duality. A Canadian can be both French-speaking and English-speaking, or neither. Many Francophones identify themselves as such, but not all of them. The term "Anglophone" is attributed to all those who speak English, but most of them would not choose to expressly identify themselves as such. Therefore, if we sometimes use these two terms in the following pages, our intention is simply to refer to the speakers of these languages, and not to reduce these people to particularizing identity categories.

We should also be equally careful about the use of the terms "bilingualism" - speaking two languages - and "linguistic duality" - having two languages - which are sometimes

confused in writing and debate. Let's not forget that bilingualism is not a representative characteristic of Canada's population; according to the 2016 census, only 17.9% of Canadians are bilingual French-English (Canadian Heritage, 2019). However, the country is indeed characterised by its linguistic dualism, i.e. the coexistence of two official languages; 98.2% of the population speaks English and/or French (*ibid.*). While, in theory, bilingualism allows the two languages to coexist harmoniously, an appreciation of linguistic duality does not necessarily involve learning the second language. The aim of this study is to identify ways of accentuating duality rather than simply increasing the level of bilingualism.

In short, the terminology used in this report aims to recognize the coexistence of two languages and not of two linguistic communities, while acknowledging that this duality is exploited among a plurality of languages and overlapping communities.

PORTRAIT OF LINGUISTIC DUALITY IN CANADA

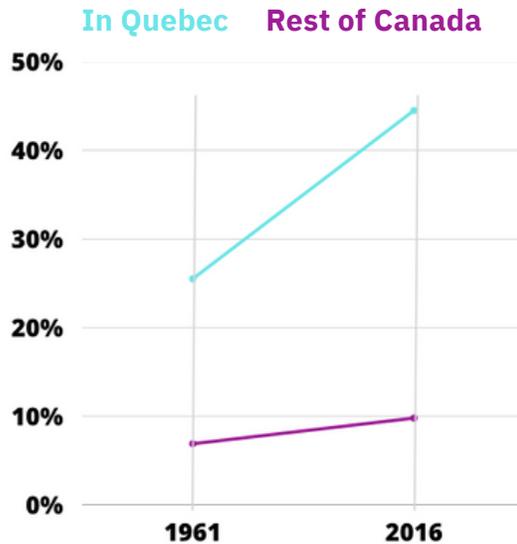
3.

The preceding statements about bilingualism and linguistic duality serve as a starting point for this section, which is intended to provide an overview of the current linguistic situation in the country.

Statistics from the 2016 census are revealing about the state of bilingualism in Canada. While the rate of bilingualism among the Canadian population is relatively low, it is growing steadily, rising from 12.2% in 1961 to 17.9% in 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2017b). This growth is largely due to Quebec's growing bilingual population: between 2011 and 2016, 61.3% of the growth in the province's bilingual population was due to bilingualism.

The number of bilingual people in the country has risen, while growth has been very slow in most of the other provinces and territories (*ibid.*). Another Statistics Canada report points out that:

Bilingualism Rate



while the rate of bilingualism almost doubled in Quebec between 1961 and 2016, rising from 25.5% to 44.5%, the proportion of bilingual people rose by nearly 3 percentage points in the rest of Canada, from 6.9% in 1961 to 9.8% in 2016 (Turcotte, 2019, p. 3).

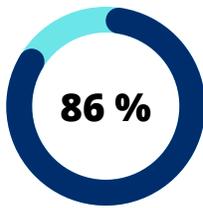
Also in 2016, 46.2% of people with French as their mother tongue said they were bilingual, compared with 9.2% of people with English as their mother tongue and 11.7% of people with all other languages (Statistics Canada, 2017b).

Despite these gains related to bilingualism, the demographic weight of Francophones (based on first official language spoken) is declining across the country (from 27.5% in 1971 to 22.8% in 2016) and in Canada outside Quebec (from 6.1% in 1971 to 3.8% in 2016) (Canadian Heritage, 2019). The rate of bilingualism varies considerably: the rate for Quebecers whose first official language spoken is English is the highest (from 86.8% in 1996 to 89.0% in 2016), while the rate for Canadians outside Quebec whose first official language spoken is English is the lowest and slightly decreasing (from 6.9% in 1996 to 6.8% in 2016) (*ibid.*).

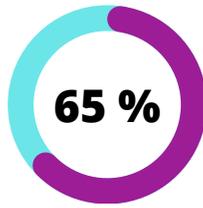
To return more specifically to the objective of this study, it is difficult to imagine strengthening support without first describing society's current support for the idea of linguistic duality. How do Canadians generally view bilingualism and linguistic duality? How are these notions useful or useless, advantageous or disadvantageous to Canadians? Why should people want to embrace linguistic duality, and why do some not? Let's try to answer these sub-questions.

- A. What are the prevailing attitudes towards bilingualism and linguistic duality in Canada? How have these attitudes evolved historically?

Two surveys commissioned by government bodies in 2016 provide an initial snapshot of the situation. Firstly, a survey conducted by Ad Hoc Research for Canadian Heritage shows that official languages are popular with the majority of Canadians. The Department has chosen to highlight three positive statistics in support of its efforts:



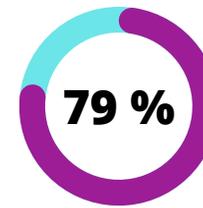
Francophones



English-speaking Canadians



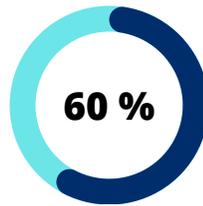
Francophones



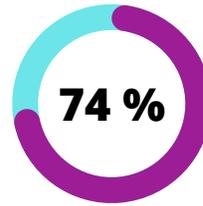
English-speaking Canadians

86% of Francophones and 65% of English-speaking Canadians believe that having two official languages is an important part of what it means to be Canadian;

93% of Francophones and 79% of English-speaking Canadians believe that learning both official languages contributes to a better understanding between Canadians;



Francophones



English-speaking Canadians

60% of Francophones and 74% of English-speaking Canadians believe that the Government of Canada effectively protects both official languages (Canadian Heritage, 2019).

Then, the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages conducted a public opinion survey on linguistic duality and bilingualism in 2016; 1,000 adult Canadians participated by telephone and 1,016 by means of an online non-probability survey. Researchers at Nielsen (2016) found that a large majority of the population supports OLA and bilingualism, but that this support varies according to age, region, exposure to language and belief in certain inaccurate ideas. In particular, young adults, residents of Quebec, and people who are most exposed to the other official language in their community and on television, for example, are more likely to be in favour of the OLA. Added to this is the

fact that a greater proportion of bilingual people (68%) strongly agree with the objectives of the OLA than unilingual people (44%), as do a greater proportion of people whose main official language is French (70%) than those whose main official language is English (51%) (Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, 2016a). Respondents who oppose the OLA believe that the costs of providing services in both languages are too high and that the government should simply not be involved in promoting or protecting languages (Nielsen, 2016).

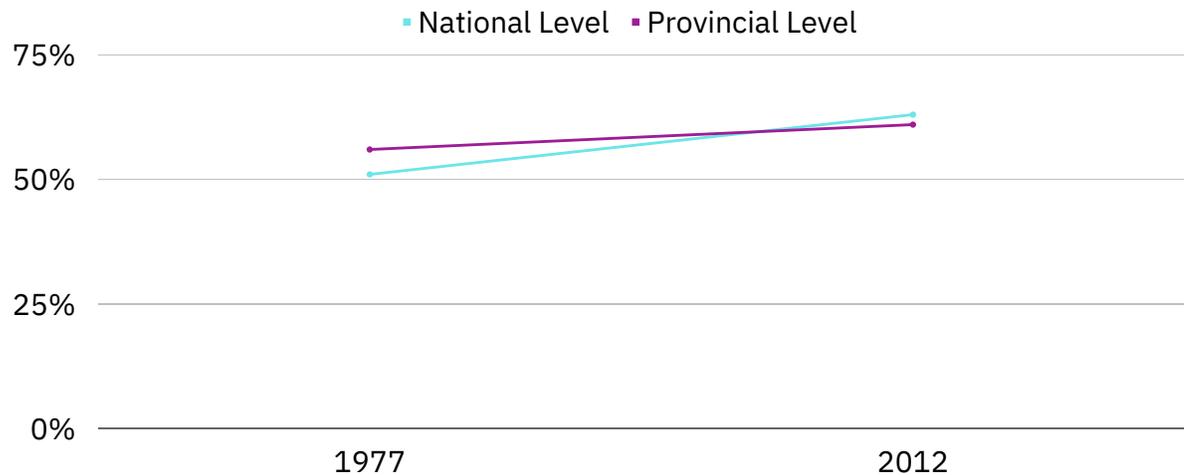
News media outlets paint a similar but less flattering picture of the appreciation of bilingualism. A non-probability survey of 1,529 Canadians conducted by Léger in 2019 for The Canadian Press suggests that Canadians outside Quebec care little about bilingualism. Overall, 54% of Canadians consider it very or fairly important that Canada be recognized and seen as a bilingual country (Fragasso-Marquis and Plante, 2019), but this figure weakens the further one moves away from Quebec. For example, 42% of respondents in the Atlantic provinces, 45% in Ontario, 52% in British Columbia and 53% in Alberta answered that it was "not very important" or "not important at all". Young adults and Liberal voters are the most likely to be in favour of bilingualism.

The gap in perspectives widens when we look at the issue of institutional bilingualism from the perspective of monolingual speakers. Brasart (2017) summarises what distinguishes the opinion of English-speaking monolingual speakers - who feel disadvantaged by the obligation of bilingualism - and French-speaking monolingual speakers - who feel insecure, threatened with assimilation. The author explains:

bilingualism mainly concerns the French-speaking minority, who see bilingualism less as an opportunity than as a step, as it were, towards potential anglicisation. Bilingualism is perceived by some [Anglophones] as a class privilege, an unfair selection criterion for the public service and its opponents denounce the "Francofication" [sic] of Canada (paragraphs 68-69).

The research firm Environics Institute (2012) sheds some historical light on support for bilingualism among Canadians. In 1977, 51% of respondents said they were personally in favour of bilingualism at the national level and 56% at the provincial level. In 2012, these percentages had risen to 63% and 61% respectively. However, there was considerable variation in the breakdown by province. In particular, support for provincial bilingualism increased between 2010 and 2012 in Manitoba (from 52% to 62%), British Columbia (from 42% to 51%) and Saskatchewan (from 39% to 42%), while it decreased in Alberta (from 43% to 37%) and Ontario (from 60% to 58%).

Supporting Bilingualism



B. What are the perceived advantages and disadvantages of bilingualism and linguistic duality in Canada?

A statistical portrait is not enough to understand the complexity of prevailing attitudes towards linguistic duality and bilingualism. How do Canadians justify their positions on official languages? Charbonneau's (2015) analysis of some 800 English-language newspaper articles published between 2004 and 2009 provides an inventory of the arguments put forward by the defenders and detractors of bilingualism.

First, let's look at the arguments raised in favour of bilingualism:

- Bilingualism is a definitive characteristic of Canada, a value, an ideal and a political achievement worthy of admiration.
- Linguistic pluralism is necessary to guarantee the rights and ensure the survival of minority language groups.
- Bilingual individuals benefit from financial and psychological advantages.
- A policy of bilingualism represents economic added value - in fact, an international literature review carried out by the Department of Canadian Heritage details the economic benefits of bilingualism and states that second- or foreign-language skills are a direct benefit to workers and businesses, both large and small (2016, p. 91).
- The detractors of bilingualism demonstrate a closed-minded attitude, which we wish to denounce.

Conversely, arguments against bilingualism include:

- The political and artificial nature of bilingualism, seen as an imposed ideal rather than a necessary national reality.
- The cost of bilingualism is considered too high for the country as a whole.
- Inequity in hiring and promotion, with systematic discrimination against Anglophones.
- The fact that the State is overstepping its function by protecting languages through a "liberal" or "neo-liberal" policy of bilingualism that does not correspond to the will of the market.
- The irrelevance of French given that there are only a small number of speakers outside Quebec and that other language groups are more numerous.
- Unilingualism is tolerated in Quebec while bilingualism is imposed elsewhere in Canada.
- The policy of bilingualism is a source of conflict and undermines national unity.

Charbonneau concludes by underlining the difficulty of what he describes as a "dialogue of the deaf" between the two groups:

the arguments currently used to convince those who are opposed to bilingualism are simply not adapted to their concerns. The current defence of bilingualism is based on a moral ideal, i.e. an idealised understanding of Canada, which does not correspond to that of many individuals who, not surprisingly, are invariably sceptical about what they see as social engineering (2015, p. 52).

There is a clear divide, then, between those who see bilingualism as an idealised social construct imposed on everyone, on the one hand, and those who see it as an enrichment, an added value in economic, cultural and social terms, on the other. According to the statistics, those in favour of bilingualism are bilingual, French-speaking, regularly exposed to the other language, younger and live in Quebec - the opposite of those who oppose bilingualism.

C. What initiatives have been used (or intended to be used) to promote support for linguistic duality?

Promoting bilingualism and linguistic duality therefore requires a formal rapprochement between these two groups with opposing visions. What does it take to get there? A glance at the Department of Canadian Heritage's Action Plan for Official Languages is all it takes to grasp the Canadian government's preferred approach to promoting linguistic duality and bilingualism in the current era. The 2018-2023 strategy is based on three pillars:

- 01** Strengthening our communities: initiatives include funding for organizations, economic development efforts, community media, Quebec's English-speaking communities, community gathering places, families' access to learning and daycare services, cultural activities in minority communities, and welcoming French-speaking newcomers.
- 02** Strengthen access to services: initiatives include improving minority-language education through identity-building activities and teacher recruitment strategies, access to legal services, access to health services, government services in the communities, and access to provincial and territorial services.
- 03** Promoting a bilingual Canada: initiatives to promote bilingualism include free learning opportunities, recruitment of second-language teachers, language and cultural exchange opportunities, and investment in improving language statistics (Government of Canada, 2018).

The strategy for promoting official languages at the federal level does not just concern the department responsible for languages and culture, but cuts across the entire machinery of government. The Linguistic duality is a concern of the economic sector, health, immigration, the arts, justice, research, etc. (See Appendix 1, "Summary of Government Investments," of the Action Plan for Official Languages 2018-2023 [Government of Canada, 2018] for a list of initiatives funded by department and program). It is not surprising that the

federal governments invests heavily in many sectors; after all, the government says it is fully committed to ensuring the vitality of both official languages to ensure that every Canadian can flourish, be enriched by contact with others and take part in Canada's prosperity, in French and in English (*ibid.*, p. 6). What is surprising, however, is that most of the Action Plan for Official Languages does not target all Canadians. Rather, it focuses primarily on minority communities: French-speaking communities outside Quebec and Quebec's English-speaking community. Most of the initiatives explicitly target and support official language minority communities. In other words, the action plan is designed primarily for these communities and has little specific intention for the others, namely the unilingual English-speaking population of Canada outside Quebec. In doing so, the action plan suggests that language rights and the promotion of official languages are somehow the responsibility of minority language groups.

The programs it proposes meet the expectations of bilingual people - who are already convinced of the importance of adhering to the linguistic duality - but do little to encourage the unconvinced to change their minds. From this perspective, can we really hope to bring the "two solitudes" closer together?

This observation echoes that of Traisnel (2012), who questions the relationship to citizenship of French-speaking minorities, suggesting that the bilingualism policy and the initiatives surrounding it certainly ensure the recognition and representation of these communities, but are gradually creating a distinct regime of citizenship (p. 84) for minority Francophones in Canada. Cardinal's comments on the federal government's very first action plan for official languages are certainly still relevant:

there is still no stable relationship between official languages in Canada. The planning of official languages should aim towards the development of such a relationship between French and English (2004, p. 100).

Minority Francophone researchers are in no doubt: the intention to advance linguistic duality has little chance of success if it is only the concern of official language minority communities. The Department of Canadian Heritage is also aware of this; the most recent publications show an explicit desire to focus on "living together" in promoting official languages (Jenkins and Charon, 2020). We hypothesize that adherence to the linguistic duality depends on initiatives that bring minority and majority language communities closer together on a real, everyday basis, by directly addressing barriers to second language learning as well as barriers to second language use.

BARRIERS TO SECOND-LANGUAGE LEARNING AND USE

4.

This next section of the literature review looks at what limits and prevents second-language learning and use in Canada. It attempts to answer these two questions in order to identify possible courses of action:

- a. What are the main systemic barriers preventing greater access to second-language learning opportunities ?
- b. What are the main systemic barriers preventing greater access to second-language use opportunities ?

In the course of our reading, categories of analysis were defined: family, education, work and immigration. The rest of this book will deal with each of them in turn, summarising the related literature.

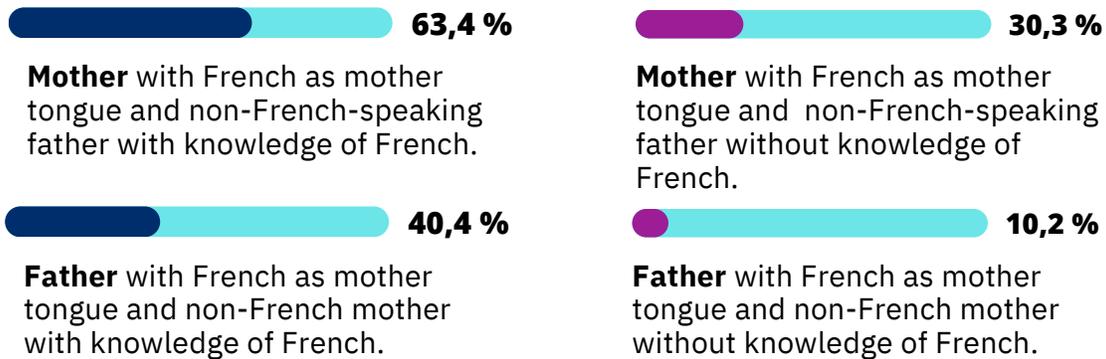
4.1 THE FAMILY

Let's start with the first place of socialisation, the very first context in which a language is passed on: the family. But if language learning begins at home, assimilation also takes place there. The barriers to second-language learning and use identified in the literature on the issue of the family in a minority setting are, firstly, the parents' language skills, the changing relationship to ethnolinguistic identity, individuals' everyday language choices and, finally, access to social and community life in the language of the minority group.

It goes without saying that two parents who share a common language will pass it on to their children. When the parents do not have the same mother tongue, a different dynamic is required. In a study of the transmission of the French language in Canadian families of exogamous couples - one parent whose mother tongue is French - the other parent's mother tongue is English. Vézina and Houle (2014) point out the importance of each parent's language skills. While it is still true that the mother's influence is always more significant than the father's (as Bernard, 2000, had shown), the father's knowledge of French is particularly influential. In exogamous families outside Quebec, the rate of transmission of French to the child is at its highest (63.4%) when the mother's mother tongue is French and the non-French-speaking father is at least able to conduct a conversation in French. If the father has no knowledge of

French, the transmission rate falls to 30.3%. Conversely, if the father's mother tongue is French and the mother has a basic knowledge of French, the transmission rate is 40.4%. This rate falls remarkably if the mother has no knowledge of French, to 10.2%.

Transmission rate:



Clearly, the fate of the French language within exogamous households can be problematic. [I]t is very difficult to maintain the habitual use of French in exchanges between parents and children, says Bernard, who adds, the older the children get, the more the space reserved for French diminishes (2000, p. 43). In the scientific literature, exogamy is generally presented as an important factor in the assimilation of Francophones in Canada. The exception is Landry (2003), who argues that exogamous alliances multiply the number of children entitled to education in the minority language.

Exogamy is often blamed for this decline in the French-speaking population, yet it is a hidden potential. For example, if all the children of rights-holders attended minority schools, the potential would be considerably greater than the proportion of the Francophone population (p. 9).

To this argument, Landry adds another opportunity made possible by exogamy: it turns out that an exogamous family represents a context conducive to the simultaneous learning of both languages, leaving children with two mother tongues. International studies have looked at the reality of bilingual homes and children's language learning. In particular, the work of De Houwer (2006) demonstrates that young children can, through family interaction, learn to function adequately in two

languages; they are able to produce a discourse in each language and know how to select the expected language in different situations. However, learning one or two languages at home is always subject to the effects of the attitudes that dominate the public arena:

no bilingual family living in a community can escape its influence. Negative stereotypes about certain languages, as well as negative preconceptions about bilingualism itself, can undermine a child's bilingual development (De Houwer, 2006, p. 44).

The preponderance of exogamous households in minority language communities has had the effect of generating a whole new identity reality: a bilingual identity. Several researchers have investigated this, including Deveau and Landry (2007), who state:

for children from exogamous families, who make up almost two-thirds of the population under the age of 18 in the minority Francophonie, hybrid identity may be the only legitimate basis for belonging to the Francophonie, allowing them to respect their father's and mother's origins (p. 126).

Boissonneault (2004, 1996) and Dallaire and Denis (2005) also maintain that young Francophones living outside Quebec experience a form of hybrid identity, identifying themselves as both Francophone and Anglophone. Bilingual identity has also been observed among young Anglophones living in Quebec (Pilote, Magnan and Vieux-Fort, 2010). In short, it would seem that these young people manage to maintain a stable form of bilingualism while using the majority language in a number of contexts. All the researchers are essentially asking the question by way of conclusion: is the bilingual identity a path to assimilation of the minority, or does this hybrid identity offer the minority an ideal functional stability in the context of linguistic duality that the federal government prides itself on?

To provide an answer to this question, according to these authors, one must necessarily take into account the environment, the relative weight of English and French in the community, the awareness strategies implemented to encourage the maintenance of the minority language at home and to promote enrolment in minority language schools, as well as the formal support in this regard from public authorities.

In this regard, Mougeon's (2014) study of French-speaking minorities outside Quebec highlights the decline in French transmission rates from one generation to the next, but observes that this phenomenon is being mitigated thanks to the range of measures taken by the provincial states in favour of French (p. 69), including the provision of public and parapublic sector services in French, and access to French-language education. The author suggests that the government needs to do more:

as far as the impact of state intervention on the labour market is concerned, we have seen that while it is real, it is limited to a small number of economic sectors. For the recovery in the linguistic reproduction of French-speaking minorities to continue in the future, or even to be consolidated, state intervention in favour of French would have to be maintained at the very least, and even undergo a phase of expansion (p. 70).

Parents' ability to express themselves in both languages is therefore the main barrier to learning in the home environment. The other barriers identified relate to language use. In particular, language habits in everyday private life. Even within these Francophone families in a minority setting, there is a decline in the use of the French language, even in households where the parents value the French language and culture (Bernard, 2000). Mougeon (2014) twice measured the frequency of use of French among adolescents in four Ontario communities: once in 1978 and a second time in 2005. This enabled her to observe changes in linguistic behaviour from one generation to the next. In all cases, there was a drop in frequency. This drop is more marked in traditionally very French-speaking towns, such as Hawkesbury, where 95% of teenagers speak French, were frequent users of French (between 80% and 100% of the time) in 1978, a rate that had risen to 74% by 2005. In North Bay and Pembroke, the number of teenagers who often used French fell to 0% in 2005, although it was already low in 1978 (16% and 8% respectively).

The region and municipality where the family lives will dictate access to the resources and services to which they are entitled in the language of their choice. Some Canadian regions have sufficient numbers of Francophones to support a wide range of institutions, but this distribution is uneven across the country: Some benefit from a minority/majority ratio that ensures French a certain place in the public sphere, while others do not (Langlois and Gilbert, 2006, p. 448). We are referring here to schools, health services, social and legal services, etc., but also to all other forms of community activity, both formal and informal: sports, artistic and cultural activities, any event that represents an opportunity to exchange and socialize in both languages.

Simply put, whether a family lives in Lethbridge, Alberta, or Sudbury, Ontario, they do not have the same opportunities to use the minority language, and its place in the public sphere is more or less important and valued.

In short, the more each parent's language skills are developed and the more advantage is taken of the particular context of exogamy and identity pluralism, the more likely it is that language knowledge will be passed on to the next generation, but only if we manage to combat the imbalance caused by the dominant language and counter the effects of the negative attitudes that circulate in the public arena about the minority language. It is therefore important to nurture environments conducive to linguistic duality through the provision of services, resources and activities of all kinds, as well as through state intervention in the protection of minority languages.

4.2 EDUCATION

After families, educational institutions are the main agents of language socialization.

In a minority context, a linguistic group needs a large number of institutions to nurture its community life, but one fact remains: educational institutions are the cornerstone of community development, the basis of the institutional completeness required to maintain and develop its ethnolinguistic vitality (Landry, 2003, p. 4).

It goes without saying that the barriers to access to language learning and use correspond to those that prevent access to daycare centres, schools and second-language study programs. Here we look at the education sector from four angles: early childhood, the school environment (primary and secondary), language immersion programs, and post-secondary education.

Landry (2010) and the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages (2016b) have recognised early childhood development as a vehicle for the vitality of Francophone minority communities. For young children, it is a key time for learning French, building identity and developing a sense of belonging to the community (Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, 2016b, p. 4). For many families who speak little of the minority language at home, daycare may be the only place for their children to socialize in that language. The document reports that daycare centres are "veritable

nurseries" for French schools, and that children exposed to French in the first five years of their lives achieve better results (learning, communication, comprehension and vocabulary) when they enter school (p. 5).

The benefits are many. So what is preventing families from accessing childcare services in a minority setting? The Office of the Commissioner's report points out that families face a highly fragmented landscape with a variety of models, eligibility criteria and fee requirements for early childhood services (p. 8). The preferred model is one that brings together various services for Francophone families (including health and literacy services, for example) and links them to the school, thereby helping to strengthen families' sense of belonging to the community. This model still seems unattainable due to a lack of resources and funding, a lack of infrastructure (daycare spaces), a lack of awareness among parents and educators about the importance of daycare services for children's language development and sense of belonging, a shortage of Francophone staff trained in early childhood education, and a lack of training for educators in the minority language.

Certain challenges surrounding the training of educators are unavoidable. Génier-Bédard and Roy-Charland (2018) wanted to equip educators to interact and use appropriate language practices to enable children in childcare centres in official language minority communities to increase the frequency of use of French. They observed very few gains, which may be explained by the low motivation of staff to participate in the study, the high dropout rate among educators during training, and high staff turnover. The authors suggest:

that families and educators be made more aware of the need for regular exposure to French, to enable young preschoolers (birth to 4 years) to foster the positive integration of French into the student's experience, both at home and in educational daycare (p. 27).

From daycare, children from the minority language group move on to primary school and then on to secondary school. According to analyses of the 2016 census, Statistics Canada states:

in Canada outside Quebec, mother-tongue-English speakers who acquire the ability to conduct a conversation in French generally do so in a school setting when they are between the ages of 5 and 19. Bilingualism rates then decline gradually from one age group to the next (2017b, p. 5).

A first barrier to access to minority-language education is, of course, the student's eligibility under the definition of eligible students. In a nutshell, in Canada, children whose parents have "ayant droit" status - that is, their mother tongue is that of the minority in the province where they live, or they received their primary education in a province where they live - are eligible to attend school in the minority language. If they live in a minority-language school in their province, or have another child in a minority-language primary or secondary school in their province, they are entitled to instruction in that language.

However, just because you are entitled to it doesn't mean you benefit from it. The proportion of children who have the right to minority-language education and who attend these schools is unbalanced, as Mougeon attests:

[I]n the nine provinces of English-speaking Canada, a variable proportion of the children of entitled parents attend English-language schools rather than French-language schools. In fact, in four provinces (Newfoundland, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia) the proportion of children attending French-language primary schools is only 30% or less, and in the other provinces it is around 50%, with the exception of New Brunswick, where it is over 80%. We have seen that this result reflects the effect of several factors, the two main ones being the lack of availability of these schools locally and the perception of the value of instruction in French compared with that in English in preparing students to continue their studies or obtain a job at the end of secondary school (2014, p. 70).

If the primary audience for minority-language schools is not there, what about the other audiences? There is a question about non-entitled students. Minority-language school boards have the discretionary power to admit the children of non-rights holders if they consider that they have sufficient language skills to function, but the practice of this power varies from one province and territory to another. Doucet (2015) offers the example of Ontario, which takes several factors into account - the use of French in the home and the importance parents place on Francophone culture, for example - to ensure that parents understand the commitment they are making by enrolling their child in a minority-language school:

Minority-language schools should not be seen solely as immersion schools or second-language learning centers. The specific mission of this institution, which is essential to the development and vitality of the minority community must also be well understood (p. 8).

Variable-geometry access to minority-language schools is certainly an obvious barrier, but the perceived "threat" posed by the majority group's entry into the minority-language institution' (Levasseur, 2018, p. 132) is just as obvious. Levasseur is interested in the phenomenon of exclusion experienced by British Columbia families who identify or are identified as Anglophone in their dealings with French-language schools. The text ends with the author asking: Would the future of French-language schools in a minority context involve greater recognition of the commitment and involvement of English-speaking parents? (p. 134) In this case, to ask the question is probably to answer it.

The challenge of access to second-language learning does not end once schooling begins in a minority-language school. A not-insignificant proportion of students leave to join the dominant language school before graduating from high school. This is what Boissonneault and Laflamme (2017) report in their study of what they call the "cultural dropout". Much more than a school dropout, leaving a French-language school - one of the few public places, if not the only one, where they can express themselves in French (p. 107) - to go to an English-language or French immersion school marks a real break with the Francophonie and culture for a young Franco-Ontarian in the case of this study. The researchers list the factors that explain the choice to move from one school system to another, emphasizing this one: The main factor in the change of linguistic orientation, as far as schooling is concerned, is the fact of feeling better in English than in French (p. 154). The more a student claims to feel better in English than in French, and the more they claim to have been teased by other students because of their French, the more likely they are to leave a French-language school. Without addressing it explicitly in their book, Boissonneault and Laflamme refer here to the phenomenon of linguistic insecurity.

Blain, Cavanagh and Cammarata (2018), who are interested in the teaching of writing in a minority Francophone environment, point out that language insecurity manifests itself when a person assumes that their level of language is not at the height at which they believe is socially acceptable:

This norm, known as standard French, even more commonly known as “good” French, is difficult to access for many students who grow up in exogamous families where only one parent, who is often bilingual, speaks French and the language used more commonly is English. Even with endogamous families, the variety of spoken language, the vernacular, is often far from standard French. (p. 1112).

Who experiences language insecurity and what are the consequences? Bergeron (2019) draws on several other research studies to assert the following:

in a Francophone minority context, the people who seem to be most affected are girls and young women (Desabrais), and this insecurity can disrupt the learner of French as much as Francophones in a minority setting. What's more, it can be felt both orally and in writing, but is more pronounced in oral communication situations (Lamoureux; Lozon). As a result, students' academic performance is negatively affected (Boudreau, Dubois and d'Entremont), and insecurity even leads to a questioning of linguistic identity and skills (Hinch and Larouche). Finally, linguistic insecurity affects language practices and can lead to assimilation to the English language and to dropping out of school or culture (Desabrais) (p. 97).

To motivate students and counter insecurity, Blain & al. maintain that language teachers need to place less emphasis on the normative aspects of French and more on allowing students to use the vernacular of their home language, among other strategies. Beyond vocabulary, Bergeron (2019) adds that to counter language insecurity, it is necessary to preserve the pluralism of Francophone accents and to search to legitimize this plurality which would be the reflection of the plural reality of Francophone communities.

These ideas hold value equal in the context of second-language immersion programs. The 2016 census demonstrates that more students are studying in their second official language, and the number enrolled in French immersion programs is growing as well, increasing by 59% between 2003 and 2016 (Canadian Heritage, 2019). That said, a major barrier to second-language learning is teacher recruitment and training. According to Cammarata, Cavanagh, Blain and Sabatier (2018), pre-service and in-service teacher training must be improved to make explicit the

pedagogical challenges inherent in immersion teaching (p. 115) in a context of linguistic and cultural plurality.

Second-language immersion programmes are not limited to primary and secondary schools, but also extend to universities. Séror and Lamoureux (2014) shed light on the case of the University of Ottawa's French immersion system to explore the tensions underlying this approach to learning in a university setting, including the place of non-Francophones in French language courses. As idealists, the researchers believe that it is worthwhile taking the time to develop the immersion program, because:

if a sense of welcome and respect can be achieved, affinities and strong bonds of friendship can be forged between young Francophiles and Francophones in French discipline courses at the University of Ottawa (Lamoureux, 2007; 2013; Séror & Weinberg, 2012) (para. 36).

Finally, let's take a closer look at the issue of post-secondary education. According to the scientific literature, the main barrier to second-language learning and use in post-secondary education is the availability of study programmes in the language and locality of choice. The report by Labrie, Lamoureux and Wilson (2009) takes stock of access by Ontario Francophones to postsecondary education in French and reveals some interesting facts for the period from 1998 to 2006:

The total number of young Francophones with direct access to postsecondary education has increased slightly over the years. The vast majority of young Francophones go on to college rather than university. [T]he vast majority of young Francophones go on to university. There are significant regional differences in the patterns observed between the type of institution sought and students' mother tongue. The proximity or remoteness of postsecondary institutions is a determining factor in young people's choices. Finally, the majority of graduates from French-language schools go on to post-secondary programmes in French (a proportion that remains stable at around 60% over the study period from 1998 to 2006) (p. i).

That said, how can we explain the fact that around 40% of graduates of French-language secondary schools enrol in English-language institutions, despite the many bursaries and initiatives to encourage study in French (Lamoureux, 2010, p. 19)?

Here too, Lamoureux is trying to imagine better arrangements between English-language and French-language and bilingual post-secondary institutions, so that English-language colleges and universities in minority communities outside Quebec can participate in the development of the minority language community and better serve all students in their regions.

In short, access to formal second-language learning goes through these educational institutions, from early childhood to adulthood. Attending these institutions has an effect on cultural belonging, as Pilote and Joncas (2016) point out in their study of Fransaskois university students: university education has an impact on the construction of participants' identities (p. 142). We can talk about school and university socialisation, whereby pupils and students from one language group differentiate themselves from pupils and students from another group, in order to define themselves in their own context. Only if the two linguistic communities were able to forge bonds of affinity and mutual support could we hope to reduce the gaps in access to second-language learning opportunities and encourage adherence to linguistic duality in general.

4.3 THE WORKPLACE

The workplace represents a third area of interest that brings together barriers to learning, but above all barriers to the use of the second language. Let's look first at the facts about official languages in the public sector, and then at information relating to private enterprise.

The Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages (2021) recently published the results of a survey on official languages in the federal public service, a study that follows up and echoes the findings of the 2017 report by the Privy Council Office. The Office of the Commissioner's survey was conducted among workers located in regions covered by Part V of the Official Languages Act (regions where they have the right to work in the official language of their choice). The main focus is on the phenomenon of linguistic insecurity to find out to what extent public servants experience it and what could be done to reduce it. The probability sample is forgivable given that the survey amassed some 10,000 responses. Here are the main findings, taken directly from the report:

- 01** Official languages are important to public servants working across Canada.
- 02** Language insecurity is a problem in federal government offices in Part V regions.

03 The reasons for language insecurity in the first and second languages are different, but interrelated (p. 3).

This third point deserves our attention above all, since the varied and complex reasons for the feeling of language insecurity correspond entirely to what can be defined as barriers to the use of the second language. Simply put, on the one hand there is the fear of not being understood by our colleagues if we use our first language, and on the other hand the fear of being judged for the quality of our second language:

Among respondents who say they feel uncomfortable or would feel uncomfortable using their first official language, the discomfort usually stems from the fear that colleagues are not sufficiently comfortable in that language. Among respondents who say they feel or would feel uncomfortable using their second language officially, the discomfort is most often due to the extra effort required, lack of confidence or fear of being judged or corrected (p. 34).

Table 8 on page 43 of the report lists the solutions envisaged by respondents. Anglophones are calling for better access to learning opportunities in more encouraging and open contexts for second-language speakers (13.8% of Anglophone respondents feel this way). Anglophones also maintain that people who try to express themselves in their second language should no longer be discouraged from changing languages; instead, they should be offered resources and constructive feedback (proposed by 13.8% of Anglophone respondents).

Among Francophones, the main recommendation related to the language skills of management: they should be bilingual and able to use and promote both languages equally (suggested by 12.3% of Francophone respondents). Then, a large number of Francophones called for a truly bilingual work environment in which civil servants should have at least some knowledge of both languages (7.4%) and that both French and English are used in day-to-day activities (7.1%).

The authors of the report put forward the possibility of creating a "virtuous circle" of linguistic security in which the two language groups would support each other. In short, using and encouraging the use of the under-represented language would serve to reduce the fear of disturbance and give relevance to efforts to improve the second language. The authors also highlight the importance of receptive bilingualism - the ability to understand the second language without necessarily being able to use it

orally or in writing - which would be beneficial for both French-speaking and English-speaking public servants:

[I]t could be advantageous for both groups to know that some of their colleagues may be more bilingual than they think, and that some of them, both first and second language speakers, might actually want to use the non-dominant language more often (p. 44).

Within the federal public service, there's a growing enthusiasm for the official languages and a desire for a better balance between the two official languages, and a desire for a better balance between the two languages that would encourage respect for each other's abilities. What about the private sector? Using 2006 census statistics on the language most often used at work, Mougeon (2014) infers that provincial language laws in New Brunswick, Ontario, Manitoba, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island have had a relatively positive effect on the weight of French in the labour market (p. 23). That said, the utilitarian value of the French language outside of Quebec is low, with the exception of New Brunswick (p. 24).

Government reports say little about the work environment and the quality of relations between speakers of the two official languages, but are more interested in the economic aspects of bilingualism and linguistic duality in private enterprise within private companies. Naturally, in the business world, commercial logic is business logic. Canadian Heritage's 2016 report on the economic benefits of bilingualism emphasizes the market value of second-language skills. It also addresses the special case of official language minority communities (OLMCs), attesting that workers in these communities have greater professional latitude thanks to their bilingualism, and that their skills and assets can be put to good use in the local economy:

Members of OLMCs are often bilingual, more adaptable and less reluctant to migrate to other parts of Canada to pursue economic opportunities. We should explore the possibility of adding programs to ensure their social integration in their host region. Programs to help with their economic reintegration should they return to their home region are equally essential, as they would return with new skills and experience, as well as with the savings and assets they have accumulated while they were outside the region. Policies and programs should be in place, such as training to enable

to put their skills to work in sectors of the local economy, advice on how to set up a small business, and they should be approached for assistance by the local economic development agency to provide information on local information on local investment opportunities (p. 96).

It's worth noting that, in the particular context of the city of Montreal, we're witnessing a weakening of the French language in the workplace. In short, lack of knowledge of the minority language - in this case, English - is limiting Quebecers' access to employment. This is the observation made by the Conseil du patronat du Québec (2021) in its recent report on French as the language in Quebec. The authors cite a 2020 survey by the Institut de la statistique du Québec which reveals that 40% of Quebec companies have required employees to have English language skills; this rate climbs to 63% for companies on the island of Montreal (p. 1). To maintain the vitality of French as a language of work, and thus avoid the decline of French, the CPQ recommends an approach based on supporting employers and providing them tools and training programs, especially for their non-French-speaking employees.(p. 10). The report's conclusion is revealing employers' reluctance to impose new administrative constraints in order to maintain a balance between the two languages on the job market: [The CPQ is] of the opinion that measures that will enhance our pride in speaking quality French to increase the use of French in the workplace are more promising than the use of another language (p. 10).

We can deduce from all this that linguistic duality is doing well in business environments where it is profitable, where it enables the company to improve and where the state intervenes to promote bilingualism in the workplace. Some see it as a threat to the majority language in the Quebec context. To return to our question, the shortage of bilingual workers in certain business fields, the costs associated with language skills, the lack of interest in official languages on the part of certain provincial and territorial governments, and the well-founded desire to protect the language of the majority in Quebec are barriers to the use of second languages in business.

4.4 IMMIGRATION

Everything to do with immigration and welcoming newcomers to Canada is part of this fourth theme. This fourth theme is essential to understanding the realities of official language communities and the barriers to language use. After all, with declining fertility rates and an aging Canadian population, international migration has become the main

driver of demographic growth. In 2019, it accounted for 85.7% of this growth, a downward trend was observed in 2020 due to border restrictions imposed as a result of the pandemic (Statistics Canada, 2021, p. 1). It is agreed that immigration must be a prime strategy for slowing down demolingistic trends. Given the Canadian government's increase Francophone immigration to Canada, outside Quebec, by 2.82% in 2019, to reach a target of 4.4% of all French-speaking admissions by 2023 (Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, 2020), a position of openness to cultural diversity, particularly on the part of linguistic minority communities in particular.

We won't go into an exhaustive profile of immigrant populations in Canada but we do believe it's important to highlight a few elements related to their numbers, origins and socio-demographic characteristics in order to better understand barriers to second-language learning and use among immigrants to Canada.

First of all, the vast majority of the French-speaking immigrant population outside Quebec are located in Ontario, nearly 70% of them according to Houle's study, Pereira and Corbeil (2014). This study paints a portrait of the French-speaking immigrant population outside Quebec between 1991 and 2011. It shows that, while this population is small relative to the total number of immigrants or the total number of Francophones, its relative weight within the French-speaking population has increased from 6.2% in 1991 to 11.7% in 2011 (p. 9). In Canada outside Quebec, according to the 2016 census, 1.1% of the immigrant population reported French as their mother tongue, while 5.9% claimed to be able to conduct a conversation in French (Statistics Canada, 2017a, p. 2).

The origins of French-speaking immigrants to Canada are varied, but can be pinpointed to certain areas. Between 1991 and 2011, Houle, Pereira and Corbeil observed an increase in the number of French-speaking immigrants from Asia, Africa and Latin America at the expense of those from Europe (2014, p. 26). In 2011, two-thirds of French-speaking immigrants came from these ten countries: France, Haiti, Democratic Republic of Congo, Mauritius, The United States, Morocco, Lebanon, Belgium, Algeria and Egypt (2014, p. 27).

As for the sociodemographic characteristics of French-speaking immigrants, the Annual Report 2017-2018 of the Office of the French Language Services Commissioner of Ontario sheds some light on this province's immigrants. According to their data, the Francophone immigrant population is significantly younger than the non-immigrant population. It also has a higher level of education - only 28.9% of immigrants do not have a university certificate, diploma or degree compared to 46.0% of the non-immigrant

Francophone population - but earns a lower average income - 14.8% of Francophone immigrants with low incomes compared to 7.6% among non-immigrant Francophones (2018, p. 27).

That's fine for French-speaking immigrants to Canada outside Quebec; what about native English-speaking immigrants in Quebec? A report produced for the Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada profiles them.

In 2011, 8.5% of immigrants in Quebec were considered English-speaking (Enviro-nics Analytics, 2015, p. 3). Their origins have varied over time; the proportion of immigrants from the U.K. and the Caribbean has dropped from 51% in (long-standing immigrants, arriving before 1981) to 22% (recent immigration in 2011), while the proportion from Africa and Asia rose to 45% (recent immigration) 13% (long-standing). The proportion from the United States remained relatively stable (*ibid.*, p. 4). The same report states that older, have higher levels of education and earn lower incomes than the Quebec population as a whole. Half of Quebec's English-speaking immigrants know both official languages (52.1%), lower than that of English-speaking Quebec non-immigrants (72.4%) (*ibid.*, p. 5), and 70% use more than one official language. English at work, compared to 64% of non-immigrant English-speaking Québécois non-immigrant Quebecers (*ibid.*, p. 11).

So there are many similarities between immigrant populations from minority language groups in Quebec and elsewhere in Canada in terms of their ability to integrate into Canada. A study by Ravanera, Esses and Lapshina (2014) reports on the economic and social integration of official language in Quebec and the rest of Canada. They argue that economic and social success do not go hand in hand:

[W]hen comparing English-only and French-only immigrants, English-speaking immigrants, Anglophones, tend to have better economic results than Francophones in Quebec, and Francophones tend to have better economic results than Anglophones in the rest of Canada. However, these results are not always reflected in life satisfaction and a sense of belonging to the local community. On the contrary, it seems that for recent immigrants in particular, Francophones tend to have greater life satisfaction and a stronger sense of belonging to their local community in Quebec, and for established immigrants in particular, they also have better life satisfaction than in the rest of Canada, but a lower sense of belonging to their local community (p. 12).

Is there a link between economic performance and sense of belonging, on the one hand, and appreciation of the local character, and on the other, appreciation of the country's bilingual character? The findings of the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages on the perceptions of newcomers to Canada - new Canadians - towards linguistic duality may help us answer this question. The Office of the Commissioner held a series of discussion forums between 2007 and 2012, with first- and second-generation new Canadians from diverse backgrounds, in Vancouver, Toronto, Montreal and Halifax.

Comments of all kinds were collected. In particular, new Canadians are of the opinion that the measures put in place to encourage learning a second language are important for the development of a tolerant attitude and open to the world's other cultures and languages (p. 7). Learning a second language would enable Canadians to become aware of what newcomers experience. Then, the population consulted mentioned three sources of motivation for learning both official languages: they recognize that French-English bilingualism is a professional asset; they wish to embody the Canadian dream (p. 8) of bilingualism; they appreciate the modern multiculturalism, opening up international opportunities.

Participants had many positive comments to share on the subject of linguistic duality, but they also had some criticisms:

[The comments] were positive in terms of the overall level of satisfaction with the values that underpin the Canadian identity, so diverse. Bilingualism and multiculturalism were praised as valuable and complementary civic ideals. Conversely negative comments were largely aimed at problems of implementation. First- and second-generation Canadians look forward to the prospect of harmonizing their own culture with the bilingual heritage of their adopted country, but felt that they lacked the institutional means to do so. In their view the problem was a gap between rhetoric and reality (2014, p. 6).

In short, the new Canadians felt that there was a dissonance between the message - the purported values of bilingualism - and the reality- the values of bilingualism - and the practice - the means put in place to bilingualism on a daily basis. There's a lack of information, poor quality of French-language services, a lack of second-language learning opportunities for children and adults, divergent government policies, the need to master English even in French-speaking regions, and problems as well as problems with the visibility of minority-language institutions and services. This last point is essential to the social integration of immigrants.

When French-speaking families succeed in finding the local French-speaking community, they are able to forge lasting social ties and develop a sense of belonging to the community. However, participants felt that contacts of this nature between Francophone newcomers and existing Francophone communities were too often accidental rather than planned. (p. 9).

Violette's (2014) study of Francophone immigration to Acadia highlights another element of dissonance, this one between the intentions of the community and those of the immigrant. The researcher explains:

[T]he arrival of immigrants is legitimized on the basis of a linguistic allegiance to the Francophone community, which is why Acadian organizations focus specifically on immigrants who are already French-speaking immigrants. Many immigrant stories show a decommunized relationship to languages that reflects, above all, individualistic interests that are at first glance incompatible with the demands of linguistic nationalism presented above (p. 138-139).

The internal contradiction between rhetoric and reality, on the one hand, and the instrumentalization of immigration in the cause of linguistic minorities, on the other, are evidence that host communities and Canada as a whole to better think of the minorities within a minority, as Fourot (2016, p. 43) in his article on the immigrant population in Francophone spaces in minority settings; spaces whose contours have ethnocultural diversification. Thus, barriers to learning and using a second language among immigrant populations in minority their ability to integrate economically and socially into the Canadian economically and socially in the Canadian context, i.e., to the measures put in place to promote second-language learning, the professional opportunities available to them, as well as the presence and visibility of institutions and services in the official language of their choice.

The family, the school and the workplace are the most important social environments; immigrants also integrate into the Canadian context through these spaces. This is why we've organized our literature review around these four themes to explore adherence to linguistic duality and the barriers that prevent it. We're now ready for the next stage of this investigation, that of interviews involved in the issue of linguistic duality in Canada.

INTERVIEW RESULTS

5.

Twenty experts shared their impressions of the current state of linguistic duality in the country, as well as on possible courses of action to promote exposure, appreciation and cooperation between groups of both official language groups, in order to influence adherence to linguistic duality and generate interest of being bilingual in Canada. Each participant - a true leader in his or her in their respective fields - had a perspective rooted in a region, a sphere of activity and personal experience, which ensured a certain wealth of richness of the data gathered.

The team from the research firm that conducted the interviews produced a report their findings (PGF Consultants, 2021). Here, we summarize their analysis of their analysis and reproduce several excerpts from their work so as to retain their rigor.

5.1 THE CURRENT STATE OF BILINGUALISM AND LINGUISTIC DUALITY

The opening questions of the interviews were designed to set the scene by participants to describe the current state of linguistic duality and bilingualism in their environment. In their opinion, are French and English able to coexist harmoniously? Firstly, the consultants observe a certain ambivalence:

While most noted positive points (e.g., relative "stability" in the issue and a and a reduction in radical gestures towards minorities; growing interest in bilingualism, as evidenced by a growing rate of bilingualism growing rate of bilingualism; particularly noteworthy and encouraging interest among young people and new arrivals; growing demand for immersion learning programs - which exceeds the capacity of the supply; etc.), others are more circumspect (e.g.global trends masking regional disparities and more worrying realities) including a relatively low, stagnant rate of bilingualism among English for years; a significant number of young people dropping out of immersion programs after elementary or early high school first years of high school; the "stability" observed is often more for a coexistence of two monolinguals rather than living together; and so on. (p.4).

More specifically, participants raised some interesting perspectives in relation to the with the principle of Canadian linguistic duality, with that of bilingualism, learning French as a second language, and language insecurity. Firstly, with regard to linguistic duality, those interviewed were in favour and believe that relations between the two language groups are generally harmonious, although harmonious, although conflictual or uncomfortable situations still exist. A few nuances are in order.

That said, underneath this general observation, various people mentioned that they see more of a form of coexistence/neighborhood between of English and French, or the presence of two parallel monolingualism, rather than a rather than "living together". Francophone and Anglophone groups coexist, without necessarily integrating with one another. One another. Many of the people we spoke to mentioned a kind of disinterest, and in some cases, a certain closeness to the other language group. This closure is fuelled by certain media and even political groups. This phenomenon is palpable in both language groups (albeit for different reasons and in different forms: indifference mistrust, frustration, etc.) (p. 5).

Initiatives that promote encounters between language groups, foster curiosity , reduce mistrust and, ultimately, encourage mutual appreciation and the desire to collaborate (*ibid.*), as well as initiatives for teaching the history and contributions at local, provincial/territorial and national levels (*ibid.*), will be those that bring language groups closer together, which respondents feel must be done on a community basis.

Others point out that the current dominant discourse is too focused on the concepts of inclusion, diversity, plurilingualism and multiculturalism, to the detriment of a discourse that emphasizes both official languages. Then, others suggest that there is a paradox in the very question of linguistic duality:

It is often approached through the lens of defending minority rights. This does not seem inappropriate, as there is a certain "majority reflex", which has the effect of placing minority communities in a difficult situation (English-speaking people in Quebec, French-speaking people in even on the part of Quebec, whose positions sometimes result in the defense of the French-speaking community in minority situations for fear of setting precedents that could then be claimed by the English minority. by Quebec's English-speaking minority). It's clear that it is often "protective" solutions for minorities that are employed. To reinforce linguistic duality and interest in bilingualism, it's more likely to be measures that focus on the majority groups, as this is the only way to which they are the ones who will have to make the effort and invest in a form of civic a form of civic engagement (p. 6).

With regard to Canadian bilingualism, respondents agreed that there had been a positive evolution in social acceptability of bilingualism in the country (*ibid.*), but they also recognize that the growth in bilingualism rates is being observed mainly among Francophones and in Quebec.

When it comes to learning French as a second language, the growing interest in French immersion programs is seen by respondents as a very encouraging sign, although demand is outstripping supply, mainly due to a shortage of qualified teachers. In particular, they are concerned that young people in immersion programs tend to drop out or not continue immersion training for graduate studies (p.7). This is explained by the fact that language levels can be more complex in post-secondary education, as well as the fact that there are few support programs for post-secondary immersion graduates.

With regard to immersion program graduates, some respondents attest to the fact that they don't have the opportunity to use their second language as adults. As the consultants note: The problem of people who are initially but later become disillusioned is a phenomenon that is potentially counterproductive for linguistic duality (*ibid.*). Then, according to some respondents, it would be worthwhile to better monitor and supervise these graduates to identify champions and advance the cause of linguistic duality in this country (*ibid.*). Many of them also stressed that the potential of immigrants was being misused and that, de facto, they were being called upon to 'choose learning English to the detriment of French (*ibid.*).

Finally, several participants noted a worsening sense of insecurity:

Numerous interviewees stressed the importance of the phenomenon of language insecurity and the hindrance this could represent to bilingualism - particularly active bilingualism - and linguistic duality. They also stressed the importance of welcoming people, the need to be flexible and tolerant of people who put themselves at risk by learning a second language, and the availability of safe and welcoming and events for this practice (p. 7).

Having clarified these initial reflections on the state of bilingualism and linguistic duality in the country, the interview participants went on to discuss on possible solutions. The consultants organized them according to strategies, detailed in the next five points.

5.2 "NORMALIZING" BILINGUALISM

The first proposed strategy is to embed linguistic duality more firmly in everyday life to the point where it would appear completely "normal". The courses advocate greater openness towards others (from majority groups towards minority groups, and from minority groups towards), as well as concrete actions to bring groups closer together, with a view to bring about changes in attitudes and behavior. The table below lists the proposed ideas:

1. Promote the "normalization" of bilingualism and encourage closer ties between language groups

Courses of action

- Put an end to linguistic divisions, e.g. by no longer labelling individuals, groups, institutions and initiatives as "Francophone" or "Anglophone English speakers".
- Share good and bad learning experiences to normalize difficulties and successes.
- Promote cultural transformation within the education system.
 - Set up co-educational daycare centers.
 - Encourage school boards and schools to adopt a more approach to linguistic duality and bilingualism and bilingualism (e.g. with mixed school transport transportation; with a reflection - particularly in minority that the growth in enrolment in immersion programs enrolment in immersion programs is not necessarily a negative necessarily a negative factor, even if it results in a perceived a perceived loss of funding).
 - Encourage universities to play a more active role as essential essential role as incubators of bilingualism for the building Canada (e.g., offering courses in both languages languages, offer bilingual master's programs, etc.).

1. Promote the "normalization" of bilingualism and encourage closer ties between language groups

Courses of action (cont.)

- Create and promote activities that welcome both language groups exposure to and appreciation of each other (e.g. the other (e.g. contests, exhibitions, conferences, shows, sporting events, TV shows, comedy sketches etc.).
- Create and promote bilingual activities where content simultaneously or alternately in both languages (e.g. languages (e.g. theater with subtitles, conferences with speakers, yoga sessions with bilingual instructions, etc.).
- Collaborate on joint activities (e.g. art exhibitions, festivals with mixed festivals with mixed programming, language forums). forums). Such activities should be more focused on an area of common interest (e.g. love of theater or music music, advocacy of a common societal cause, etc.) rather than as a positioned as a "militant act" in defense of one linguistic linguistic community or the other.
- Consider bilingual/francophile people as a community in community in its own right, and set up initiatives specifically dedicated to them.
- Identify and call on friends of the Francophonie (e.g., French speakers, Francophiles, etc.).
- French speakers, francophiles, etc.) to act as champions champions.
- Reinforce language security by encouraging people who are trying to express themselves in their second language and using positive reinforcement (avoid noting mistakes, switching to the other language to language to "help").
- Encourage Canadians to listen to podcasts; use sites like Youtube, etc.; and like Youtube, etc.; and to consult newspapers, radio, TV, social media in their second language.

(PGF Consultants, 2021, p. 9-10)

5.3 DEVELOPING LANGUAGE SKILLS

The second strategy is particularly aimed at youth and immigrant populations, who appear to be the most fertile ground for mastery of an official of Canada as a second (or third, or fourth...for certain individuals) (p. 10), with schooling and integration into the country contexts that foster this learning. Suggested courses of action include different forms of support that target these groups specifically to develop their language as a non-native language.

2. Support the development of language skills among youth and immigrants

Courses of action for youth

- Expose youth to bilingualism as early as possible bilingualism (e.g. neighborhood activities; co-educational daycare programs (web or TV) that include both official languages; etc.) languages; etc.).
- Create opportunities for exchange and networking via school or community school or community initiatives.
- Strengthen regular second-language learning programs second language.
- Target youth and their parents to encourage immersion education.
- Enable a post-elementary and post-secondary continuum for immersion youth.
- Increase the level of resources available to offer more immersion programs at college and university levels.
- Make better use of distance education to facilitate learning a second language at university or other institutions.
- Offer concrete incentives (financial incentives, additional credits, bonus points, access to specific internships, support for language exams required to practice a profession profession, etc.).
- Organize bilingual groups and activities, open not only to not only to Francophones, but also to passive or less confident bilinguals (e.g. flash mob-type activities, film or debate clubs debating clubs, etc.).

2. Support the development of language skills among young people and immigrants

Courses of action for youth (cont.)

- Clearly demonstrate the social, cultural and economic and economic benefits of mastering Canada's second official language, with an emphasis on personal benefits.
- Offer a vision of how today's youth will be able to play a decisive role in Canadian society through proficiency in second official language, and, on an individual level, engage young people to play such a role.
- Encourage the implementation of caring practices for young people entering the market who speak a second language in the workplace, as well as incentive mechanisms to promote this practice.

Courses of action for immigrants

- Create a committee to reflect on how to promote the study of French among immigrants.
- Better understand how to offer opportunities for the integration of immigrants within a bilingual Canada with which many identify and believe.
- Demonstrate the benefits for the children of new immigrants.

(PGF Consultants, 2021, p. 11-12)

5.4 IMMERSION PROGRAM GRADUATES

The popularity of French immersion programs demonstrates the interest of a portion of the Canadian population in second-language learning. However, as interview participants observe, the decline caused mainly by a lack of continuity in opportunities to practice one's second language at the post-secondary level (p. 12) dampens the fervor of graduates from these programs. Then, it would seem, there are few initiatives to follow up with these young people to monitor their progress and make them champions for the cause of linguistic duality. The proposed strategy therefore concerns initiatives that would encourage the pursuit of immersion studies, promote existing programs, and track the progress of graduates so that we can mobilize these high-potential individuals more effectively (p. 13).

3. Guide immersion graduates to continue their second-language studies and/or enter bilingual careers

Courses of action

- Create a database of all immersion programs in the country possibly on a regional basis, in a coordinated fashion, and the students enrolled in them.
- Protect immersion programs from government budget cuts.
- Identify in an official document the career opportunities and personal by continuing to use the second language in post-graduation post-graduation opportunities for immersion students.
- Facilitate administrative procedures to encourage the establishment of new immersion programs.
- Create bridges and business relationships between French-language school boards and immersion programs to help foster collaboration between these players.
- Bring provincial governments to the table to establish the benefits and determine the benefits to the provinces and the country to encourage enrolment of young people in immersion programs.
- Inform parents and young people about second-language activities outside educational settings.
- Unlock funding for immersion programs to make them more sustainable and more effective.

(PGF Consultants, 2021, p. 13-14)

5.5 IMPROVED COMMUNICATIONS

The interviewees agreed that we need to make a more conscious effort and promotion of activities and programs directly or indirectly related to linguistic duality or bilingualism. (p. 14). Technology can be better exploited to provide opportunities to hear and practice a second language, and to bridge the distance between speakers of different languages.

4. Increase communications and use diversified and emerging

Courses of action

- Support promotional campaigns for activities and programs that promote encounters between language groups (such as those listed above). Such campaigns will need to be targeted and diversified.
- Raise awareness of existing second-language learning programs and focus communications on specific, targeted benefits.
- Communicate celebrations and positive experiences.

(PGF Consultants, 2021, p. 14)

5.6 FEDERAL GOVERNMENT LEADERSHIP

It is clear, in the eyes of participants, that the responsibility for promoting linguistic duality in Canada falls to the federal government. Numerous initiatives, including the "Explore" program, have been undertaken to this end, but it is necessary for the federal government to go further and take strong initiatives to celebrate and defend linguistic duality (p. 15). Among the suggested courses of action include more appropriate hiring policies and the offering real incentives for second-language learning and use for people of all ages, in all regions.

5. Strengthen the federal government's leadership in promoting linguistic duality in Canada

Courses of action

- Create a coordinating committee to clearly define the federal government's the leadership role as a vehicle for promoting linguistic duality in Canada.

- Increase funding for institutions and programs that promote and defend linguistic duality in Canada (e.g., institutions operating at a deficit, such as universities).
- Create programs similar to the "Explore" program to encourage young citizens to discover Canada's linguistic duality.
- Draw up an official document listing all the social, cultural, economic and personal benefits for all Canadians citizens to present the advantages of Canada's linguistic duality.
- Find incentives for Anglophones in the federal public service to continue learning French and strengthen their ability to work and communicate in French.
- Inform all federal government employees about the definition of language insecurity and its impact on the workplace.
- Designate more bilingual positions in the provinces and territories.

(PGF Consultants, 2021, p. 15-16)

MODELING THE VALUE OF LINGUISTIC DUALITY

6.

The intention of this section of the book is to respond - on the basis of the findings and interviews - in a concise and concrete manner to our initial questions:

- a. How can we strengthen Canadian society's commitment to linguistic duality?
- b. How can we increase interest in being bilingual (French/English) and maintaining second language throughout life?

We wanted to give a schematic form to the elements identified in order to information into a logical structure that stakeholders can apply. The main stakeholders - federal government officials - will recognize that this explanatory model is inspired by the three-level pie chart from the Framework for Appreciation and Cooperation" between English-speaking and French-speaking.

Canadians proposed by Canadian Heritage in January 2020 (Jenkins and Charon, 2020). A compendium of best practices published by the department describes the three categories into which linguistic duality should fall into, as follows:

LEVEL 1 **Exposure**

This first level groups together initiatives designed to offer Canadians of each language group the opportunity to discover the other, to expose themselves through contact with the language history or culture.

LEVEL 2 **Appreciation**

Initiatives at the second level are designed to encourage members of one of the two language groups a positive attitude towards the other language by giving them the opportunity to interact with the other through interpersonal contacts.

LEVEL 3 **Cooperation**

This third level brings together initiatives that set out to increase opportunities for collaboration and cooperation between the two language to achieve common goals in contexts requiring the skills of both groups.

Consequently, the modeling that follows is intended as a toolbox that focuses on the four main categories identified in the literature review and interviews (family, education, work, immigration). Of course, it would be relevant to add other categories, such as the arts, justice, communications, youth communications, youth, etc. In each cell, we have ideas and suggestions, in addition to the many other examples of initiatives identified by government publications.

We believe it would be beneficial for the Department of Canadian Heritage to organize regional and sectoral meetings to increase the number of suggestions for activities and opportunities in each of the cells in this table. The result could serve as a bank of ideas for civil society organizations, business and government, all of whom have a role to play in strengthening Canada's linguistic duality.

	Level 1 Being exposed	Level 2 Appreciation	Level 3 Cooperation
Family	Rethinking the links between language and identity		
	<p>Creating opportunities for parents from exogamous families to meet.</p> <p>Develop youth programming aimed at both communities.</p> <p>Support parents in second-language learning.</p>	<p>Invite festivals to plan language zones for children from families and Immersion schools.</p> <p>Develop cultural products offered in bilingual format or with subtitles</p>	<p>Identify leaders in Francophone and immersion families plan joint activities.</p> <p>Explore ways to reverse the contexts assimilation in exogamous families.</p>
Education	Revisit the notion of rights-holders so that everyone has the right to learn both official languages		
	<p>Complete the offer and harmonize second-language opportunities.</p> <p>Develop and share resources for families.</p> <p>Identify and make accessible resources available in all post-secondary institutions.</p>	<p>Invite classes from a school board in the other language presentation artists or theater.</p> <p>Promote the creation bridges between post-secondary institutions enable students to take courses in their second language.</p>	<p>Develop projects between school boards and institutions.</p> <p>Organize joint activities between French-language and immersion schools</p> <p>Increase credit recognition credits between post-secondary institutions In different languages.</p>
Work	Exploit the potential of having two official languages		
	<p>Encourage signage and communications in workplaces.</p>	<p>Create language zones favoring the use of language.</p> <p>Encourage organizations and creators to reach the other language group.</p>	<p>Identify a product, an activity, an initiative that would require the use second language in the workplace</p>

	Level 1 Being exposed	Level 2 Appreciation	Level 3 Cooperation
Immigration	Reducing the gap between rhetoric and reality in relation to linguistic duality		
	Inform new arrivals opportunities to maintain or develop their skills in both both official languages.	Recognize cultural and linguistic linguistic heritage in ways that be done in the second language.	Support organizations that promote linguistic duality linguistic duality by supporting hiring newcomers.

DISCUSSION

7.

In light of the results of our survey, we feel it is timely to put forward some additional thoughts and considerations to further elucidate barriers to bilingualism and linguistic duality.

The Minister of Economic Development and Official Languages, the Hon. Mélanie Joly, unveiled, on February 19, 2021, her white paper on official languages entitled: English and French: Towards Real Equality of Official Languages in Canada (Canadian Heritage, 2021). This document has been well received from Francophone associations. In addition to commitments to official-language minority communities (OLMCs), the book proposes improvements to the training of immersion teachers to meet the ever-increasing demand for these programs.

However, the book fails to answer a key question if we are to succeed in increasing the number of bilingual people in Canada and appreciation of bilingualism among all Canadians. I am talking about the absence of a robust strategy on the part of governments, Francophone education and existing associations for students and graduates of French immersion programs.

The word "community" is often used, without specifying whether it refers to French speakers or Francophones according to historical definitions. Many traditionally speak of "by and for"; but by whom and for whom, exactly? Are they ignoring exogamous marriages and the growing bilingual identity among young

people? What efforts are traditional Francophone associations to ensure the inclusion of these mother-tongue Francophones with English or other mother tongues? These speakers want to maintain their language skills, but opportunities to practice their French. It's enough to note - with rare exceptions - French school boards' refusal to cooperate with immersion schools. The same is true of many industry organizations.

The unloved orphans of French-as-a-second-language learners are increasingly numerous. Without profound changes to the programming of Francophonie organizations and community development support programs, the sector will remain trapped in a situation of parallel monolingualism rather than fostering "vivre-ensemble". Will we one day see the emergence of other organizations dedicated entirely to these populations? If nothing changes, it's simply a matter of time.

A second question that deserves sustained attention - even 20 years after the launch of the minority immigration strategy in 2002 - is that of the successful empowerment of Francophone organizations and institutions as well as challenges faced by people from immigrant backgrounds, especially those from Africa. It begs the question of whether these communities should not be self-determination. It will also be important to look at demographic trends and draw the appropriate conclusions.

The number of Francophones whose parents were born in Canada and who are both Francophones according to the definitions in place are declining. Exogamous marriages, which impart a variety of cultural elements and identities to their children, are on the rise. The historical heritage of children from immigrant families is quite different. Is this part of the curriculum in French-speaking schools? This is all the more glaring given that, in some provinces, many Francophone schools have a cohort of mostly new-Canadian students.

The White Paper's references to aboriginal languages bode well for the future; We still need to build bridges with these different components of Canadian society.

The Supreme Court's Bugnet decision emphasized the need for remedial measures for past abuses. Reparation also means harm, which was experienced by several generations either under Ontario's Regulation 17, or elsewhere under other unjust laws or regulations. These people - sometimes the entire family - have

all too often been left with negative feelings about their lives as Francophones. And yet, they are often more comfortable in their mother tongue, hence the concept of security of supply. When you advertise the availability of services in French, it's important that this is true at all times during coffee breaks, at meals, and during vacation periods. One of the best models are the French-language service centers that exist in certain localities. A single refusal is enough to risk losing a member for life.

The post-secondary sector could do much more to promote bilingualism and linguistic duality. Dual recognition of university or college credits as early as high school, greater efforts to ensure employment opportunities for graduates, as is the case at Collège Boréal in Sudbury, mobility grants within the network, easier transfer of credits between member institutions of the Réseau des universités et collèges de la francophonie as well as additional efforts to offer additional training based on the acquisition of essential skills, are just a few examples.

To ensure that the institutions in the Francophone network are able to fulfill their roles, they need greater academic control and decision-making autonomy. New models, including one modelled on that of the ACUFC, should be studied. For its part, the federal government should ensure that funds for Francophone post-secondary education are negotiated directly with institutions and paid to them in full. This idea, though difficult to implement, is based on a rich history of federal initiatives in the sector including the Consortium national de formation en santé (CNFS) for example. The ACUFC network must behave as a network, and its mandate must be recognized and respected, as a thorn in the side of the federal government, and be recognized and respected as the backbone of the Francophone post-secondary in the country.

Today's young people don't have the same cultural and identity experience as previous generations. The efforts of some to teach a monolithic are doomed to failure. Identity and cultural choices are purely personal, but they can be nurtured by shared historical knowledge. A young Fransaskois from a mixed family summed up the process well: “stop telling me how to live my Francophonie. I'll take care of it.” It may be arguable that Francophones share similar cultural traits. But it's a long way from assuming that language itself offers a single identity, that's a long way off. Before denying the contribution made by Francophones from other mother tongues, we should think about it.

After all, the French language also belongs to those who learned it as a second language.

The bottom line is that official languages should foster diversity, as well as being a beacon of it. Without forgetting or neglecting the contribution of First Nations languages and the languages and the languages of those who have chosen to make Canada their home, it's important to remember that Canada's linguistic duality and its two official languages are a fundamental vector of Canadian identity.

CONCLUSION

8.

The aim of this study is to draw from the scientific literature and the key perspectives that would enable the key players to take action in order to promote linguistic duality, while creating interest in being bilingual in Canada. We have modeled a toolbox that we now need to fill with activities and extend it to other sectors: justice, the arts, youth, the media, etc. Sometimes initiatives do not fit neatly into a single box, but we feel that the structure of this model is ideal to ensure that action is taken on all fronts: exposure to the second language, development of a positive attitude towards the second language, and the development of collaborative practices between language groups.

Ultimately, strengthening adherence to linguistic duality requires us to messages circulating in public space. As long as bilingualism is perceived as "abnormal", as a threat or a class privilege, detractors - from both English and French-speaking Francophones - will be right to distrust it and reject the opportunities it offers related opportunities. We've said it before, and we'll say it again in conclusion: official languages belong to all Canadians. The proposed toolkit aims to do just that.

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